00035473

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

CHARLES KNIGHT'S

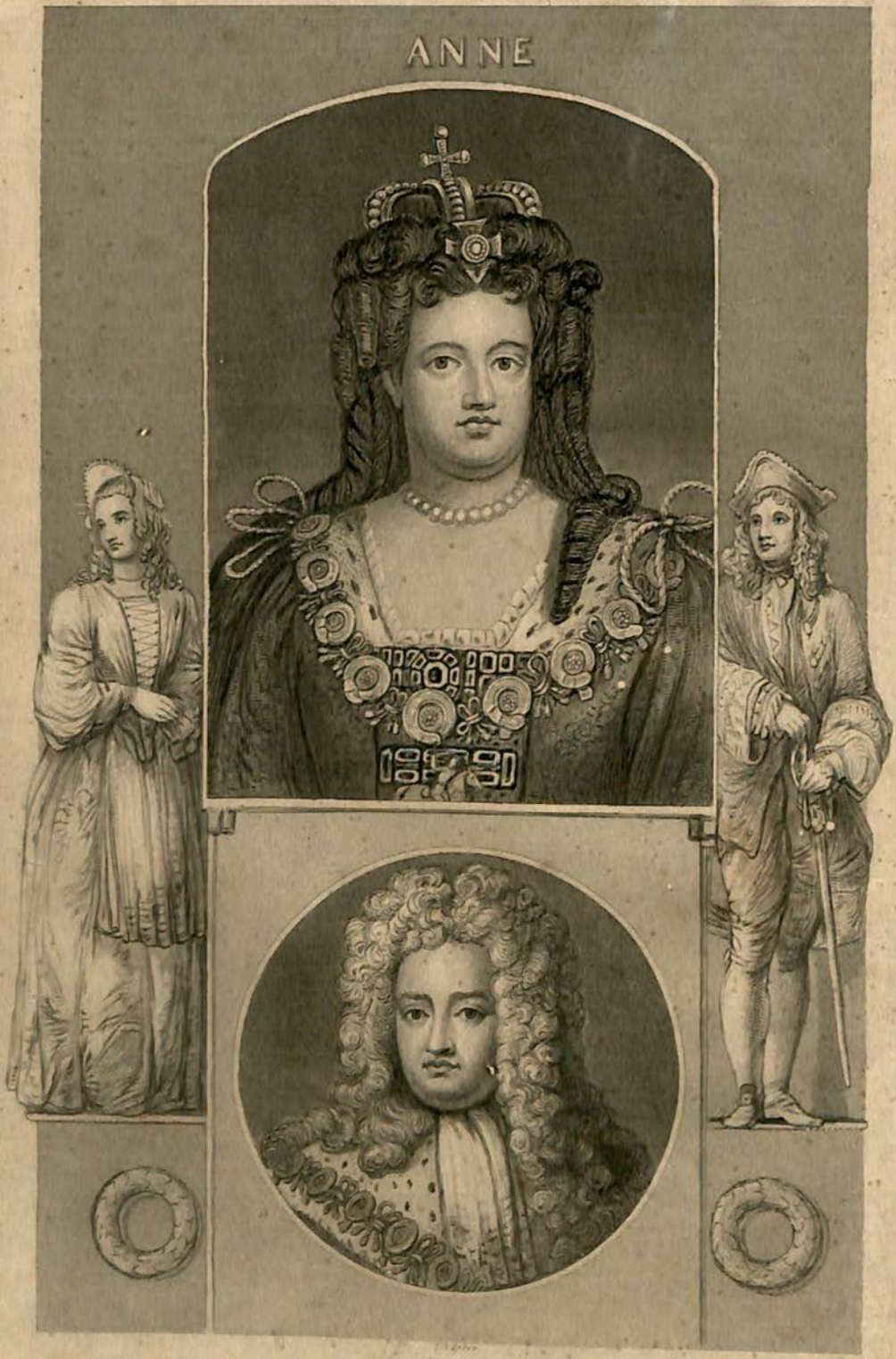
POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present."—Dr. Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History.*

VOL. V.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688, TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.


ANNE

THE POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

An Illustrated History

OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

35473

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present."—DR. ARNOLD, *Lectures on Modern History.*

VOLUME V.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688, TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, 11, BOUVERIE STREET.

[*The Right of Translation is reserved by the Author.*]

00035473

CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

View of the National Industry from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of the House of Brunswick—Population—The South-Western Counties—The Woollen Manufacture—Clothing Trade of the West—Domestic Character of the Manufacture—Foreign Trade—Bristol—Watering-places of the Coast—Travelling for Pleasure—Inland Watering-places—Bath—Arsenal of Plymouth—Iron Manufactures—Forest of Dean—South Wales—Tin Mines of Cornwall—Copper Mines—Welsh Coal Fields—Varieties of Employment in the West of England . . . . . 1—14

CHAPTER II.—A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

The West-Midland and North-Midland Counties—Birmingham—Hardware—The Potteries—Glass—Nottingham—Stockings—Lace—Derby—Silk—Lead Mines—Lincolnshire—Salt—Soda—Soap—Lancashire before the Cotton Era—Manchester—Liverpool—Linen Trade—Yorkshire—The Clothing Villages—Leeds—Sheffield—Hull—The Greenland Trade—Newcastle—Cumberland and Westmoreland—Scotland—Agricultural Counties—Norwich—South-Eastern Coasts—Cinque Ports—Dover, Brighton, Portsmouth, Southampton . . . . . 16—33

CHAPTER III.—A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

Gregory King's Scheme of the Income of the several Families in England—Degrees of Society—Town and Country Populations—London—Its Population—Commerce—Trading Companies—Banking—Unemployed Capital—Projects for New Companies—Lotteries—Tradesmen—Their Character and Habits—Extent of London—Progress of Fashion Westward—Street Economy and Police—Robberies and Outrages—Comparative Table of the number of Houses and Estimated Population, and of the Populations of 1801 and 1851, with the Assessment for Aid in 1689, arranged in Registration Divisions . . . . . 35—47

CHAPTER IV.—A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1714.

Fixed Position of the various Classes—Difficulty of passing from one Position to another—The Rural Population—The Cottager—The Agricultural Labourer—Character of the Agricultural Labourer—The Farmers and Small Freeholders—The Gentlemen and Esquires—Character of the Country Gentleman—His Animosities—The Nobility—The Nobility and Esquires in London—The Clergy—Great Social Evils—Neglect—The Press—Liberal Arts and Sciences—A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England, calculated for the Year 1688 . 48—64

CHAPTER V.—A.D. 1689.

Resolution and Conduct of the Prince of Orange set forth in the Proclamation of William and Mary—Character of William—Aspirants for Office—The King's

PAGE

Ministers—The Judges—Jealousy of William's Dutch Friends—The Convention declared to be a Parliament—Oath of Allegiance—Refused by some Spiritual and Lay Peers—Nonjurors—A Supply voted—The Principle of Appropriation established—Religious Liberty and Union desired by William—Comprehension Bill—Reform of the Liturgy—The Test Act—The Toleration Act—High and Low Church—Mutiny at Ipswich—The first Mutiny Act—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Bill of Indemnity postponed—The Coronation Oath—The Coronation—War with France 65—78

CHAPTER VI.—A.D. 1689.

King James lands at Kinsale—Schemes of Tyrconnel—Condition of the Protestants in Ireland—James enters Dublin—Siege of Londonderry—The Siege raised—The Revolution in Scotland—The Highlanders—Dundee—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death of Dundee . . . . . 79—94

CHAPTER VII.—A.D. 1689 to A.D. 1690.

Close of the first Session of the English Parliament—The Irish Parliament—Second Session of the English Parliament—The Bill of Rights—The Princess Anne—Whig and Tory Factions—Parliament dissolved—State of the Army in Ireland—Abuses in Government Departments—Opening of the New Parliament—Corruption—Jealousy in settling the Revenue—Act of Recognition—Act of Grace—William goes to Ireland—Landing and March of William—The Boyne—William slightly wounded—Battle of the Boyne—Flight of James—His Speech at Dublin—Naval Defeat at Beachy Head—Energetic Conduct of the Queen . . . . . 95—111

CHAPTER VIII.—A.D. 1690.

James embarks for France—William enters Dublin—The French devastate Teignmouth—William's March to Limerick—Siege of Limerick—The Siege raised—William goes to England—Parliament—War Supply—England and Continental Politics—William leaves for Holland—Congress at the Hague—Mons capitulates to the French—Vacant Sees in England filled up—Plot of Preston and Ashton—Treason Laws—Marlborough in Flanders—Ireland—Limerick surrenders to Ginkel—Treaty of Limerick . . . . . 113—128

CHAPTER IX.—A.D. 1690 to A.D. 1695.

Scotland—Affairs of Religion—Plots—The Highland Clans dispersed—State of the Highlands in 1691—Breadalbane—Proclamation of the Government—The Master of Stair—Tardy Submission of Mac Ian—Order as to Rebels not submitted—Order for Mac Ian of Glencoe, and his Tribe—Letters of the Master of Stair—Highland Troops arrive in Glencoe—The Massacre of the MacDonalds—Inquiry into the Massacre in 1695—Resolutions of the Scottish Parliament—Master of Stair dismissed—The other Persons implicated—Breadalbane—Misconceptions connected with the Massacre—Character of William unjustly assailed . . . . 130—143

CHAPTER X.—A.D. 1692 to A.D. 1693.

Marlborough dismissed from Office—Parliamentary Debates—Independence of the Judges—The King leaves for Holland—Threatened Invasion—Declaration of James—Battle of La Hogue—Siege of Namur—Grandval's Plot to Assassinate William—Battle of Steinkirk—Parliament—Debate on the Battle of Steinkirk—Court-Martial on Grandval—Crime and Public Distress—Commencement of the National Debt—The Licensing Act expires—Parliamentary Reform—Place Bill—Bill for Triennial Parliaments—The King's Veto—Murder of Mountfort, the Player—Trial of Lord Mohun . . . . . 145—160

PAGE

CHAPTER XI.—A.D. 1693 to A.D. 1694.

Ministerial Changes—Preparations for the Campaign—Louis and William with their Armies—Louis returns to Versailles—Battle of Landen—Naval Miscarriages—A Ministry formed—Government by Party—Preponderance of the Whigs—Financial Difficulties—Establishment of the Bank of England—Expedition against Brest—Illness of the Queen—Her Death . . . . . 161—174

CHAPTER XII.—A.D. 1694 to A.D. 1696.

Extreme Grief of William—Parliamentary Corruption—War in the Netherlands—Siege of Namur by the Allies—Namur taken—William's Reception in England—State of the Currency—A New Parliament—Measures for a New Coinage—Trials for Treason regulated by Law—The Assassination Plot . . . . . 176—186

CHAPTER XIII.—A.D. 1696 to A.D. 1698.

William in the Netherlands—His Financial Embarrassments—Great Crisis of Commercial Difficulty—Revival of Credit—The New Currency established—Attainder of Sir John Fenwick—Negotiations for Peace—The Peace of Ryswick—Opening of St. Paul's Cathedral—Parliament—Reduction of the Army—Dangers of an insufficient Force—The East India Company—Statute against Socinians—Reformation of Manners—Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel—Licentiousness of the Stage—Embassy to France—French Embassy to England—Czar of Muscovy in England . . . . . 193—211

CHAPTER XIV.—A.D. 1698 to A.D. 1700.

Commercial Policy of England—System of Prohibition—Restrictions upon the Trade of Ireland—Restrictions upon the Trade of Scotland—Scotch Spirit of Commercial Adventure—African and Indian Company—Scotch Colony at Darien . 212—218

CHAPTER XV.—A.D. 1698 to A.D. 1699.

Question of the Succession to the Crown of Spain—The Partition Treaties—Negotiations at Loo—Correspondence of the King with his Ministers—First Partition Treaty Signed—The New Parliament—The Troops disbanded—William's Mortification—A rash Resolve and a calmer Judgment—The Dutch Guards dismissed—Irish Forfeitures resumed—Penal Law against Catholics—Portland and Albemarle—Admiral Rooke in the Baltic—Policy of Louis the Fourteenth . . . . 225—238

CHAPTER XVI.—A.D. 1700 to A.D. 1702.

A Tory Administration—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—The Electress Sophia of Hanover—Death of the King of Spain—Will of Charles, which Louis accepts—The New Parliament—The King asks Assistance for the States-General—The Act of Settlement—Impeachment of Somers and other Whigs—The Kentish Petition—The Legion Memorial—The Great Alliance formed by William—Death of King James—Louis declares the son of James, King of England—William opens his last Parliament—His Accident—His Message on the Union—Death of William the Third—Note: The Act of Settlement . . . . . 239—255

CHAPTER XVII.—A.D. 1702 to A.D. 1703.

Accession of Queen Anne—Her Declaration to the Privy Council—Parliament continues Sitting—Preponderance of Tories—Marlborough sent as Envoy to the States-General—War declared—Marlborough's first Campaign—Expedition to Cadiz—

PAGE

Vigo—New Parliament—Tory Majority—Bill against Occasional Conformity—Defoe's "Shortest Way with the Dissenters"—Marlborough created a Duke—Revolt in the Cévennes—Marlborough's second Campaign—The Methuen Treaty with Portugal—Occasional Conformity Bill again rejected by the Lords—Aylesbury Election Case—The Great Storm—Oaths of Witnesses—Queen Anne's Bounty—Touching for the Evil—May-Poles . . . . . 257—272

CHAPTER XVIII.—A.D. 1704.

Difficulties of recruiting the English Army—The Campaign of 1704—Marlborough's secret Plan of Operations—His March along the Rhine—Arrives at the Danube—Battle of the Schellenberg—Devastation of Bavaria—Junction of the French and Bavarian Armies—The Battle of Blenheim—Results of the Victory—Subsequent Operations of the Campaign—Marlborough returns to England—Honours and Rewards—Party Conflicts—Parliament dissolved . . . . . 273—289

CHAPTER XIX.—A.D. 1704 to A.D. 1706.

The War in Spain—Expedition to Catalonia—Gibraltar taken by Sir George Rooke and the Prince of Darmstadt—Sea-fight off Malaga—Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards—Expedition to Spain under Peterborough—Siege of Barcelona—Peterborough surprises Montjouich—Barcelona taken—Peterborough's rapid Successes in Valencia—Philip V. besieges Barcelona—It is relieved—The Allies enter Madrid—Supineness of the Austrian King—Disgust of Peterborough—He leaves Spain—Prince Eugene drives the French out of Italy . . . . . 290—300

CHAPTER XX.—A.D. 1705 to A.D. 1706.

Marlborough's Campaign of 1705—His Disappointments and Anxieties—He forces the French Lines—Retreat of the French under Villeroy—New Parliament—State of Parties—The Regency Bill—Cry of the Church in Danger—Marlborough's Campaign of 1706 in the Netherlands—The French and Bavarian Armies under Villeroy pass the Dyle—The Battle of Ramilies—Results of the Victory . . . . 301—309

CHAPTER XXI.—A.D. 1703 to A.D. 1707.

Scotland—New Parliament assembled in 1703—Irritation against England—Proposal for a Treaty of Union—Meeting of Commissioners of each Nation—Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners—Charges of Corruption—Demonstrations against the Union—Debates in the Scottish Parliament—Lord Belhaven's Oration—Material Interests of Scotland—Views of the Union by Seton of Pitmedden—Provision for the Church of Scotland—Riots—Demonstration of the Cameronians—The Act of Union passed in Scotland—The Act passed in England . . . . . 311—328

CHAPTER XXII.—A.D. 1707 to A.D. 1709.

Warlike Addresses of Parliament—Reverses—Battle of Almanza—Marlborough's Visit to Charles XII. of Sweden—Indecisive Campaign of 1707—Siege of Toulon—Wreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel—Naval Miscarriages—Complaints in Parliament—Discontents in Scotland—Jacobite Plots—Attempted Invasion—Dismissal of Harley and St. John from the Ministry—Campaign of 1708—Ghent surrendered to the French—Battle of Oudenarde—Sardinia and Minorca surrendered—Death of Prince George of Denmark—Surrender of Lille—Meeting of Parliament—Proposals of France for Peace—Campaign of 1709—Surrender of Tournay—Battle of Malplaquet—Battle of Pultowa . . . . . 329—344

CHAPTER XXIII.—A.D. 1709 to A.D. 1710.

PAGE

Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel—Proceedings in Westminster Hall—Articles of the Impeachment—Passages from the Speeches of the Managers—Popular Manifestations—Sentence upon Sacheverel—Sentence regarded as a triumph of the High Church—Prosecution of Rioters for High Treason—Trials of Rioters—Progress of Sacheverel through the Country—His Character . . . . . 347—359

CHAPTER XXIV.—A.D. 1710 to A.D. 1712.

Conferences at Gertruydenberg—Negotiations for Peace broken off—Despotism and Limited Monarchy—The Whigs dismissed from Office—New Parliament—Duchess of Marlborough dismissed from her Offices—Disasters in Spain—Surrender of General Stanhope—Hostility to Marlborough—Party Use of the Press—Swift, the great Party Writer—Property Qualification for Members of Parliament—Harley stabbed by Guiscard—Marlborough's last Campaign—Parliament—Prospect of Peace—The Ministry defeated in the House of Lords—Marlborough dismissed from all his Offices—New Peers created—Negotiations at Utrecht—Note to Chapter XXIV.—Table of Treaties . . . . . 361—382

CHAPTER XXV.—A.D. 1712 to A.D. 1714.

Prince Eugene in London—Opening of the Campaign under Ormond and Eugene—Ormond's Secret Instructions—The Allied Army deserted by the British Forces—Subsequent Disasters of the Allies—The Lords' Protest published—Laws proposed against the Press—The first Stamp Duty on Periodical Works—Terms of Peace announced to Parliament—Bolingbroke's Embassy to Paris—Treaty of Utrecht completed—Treaty of Commerce with France rejected by Parliament—Dissolution of Parliament—Jacobite Intrigues—The new Parliament—Libels—Swift—Steele—Death of the Princess Sophia of Hanover—The Schism Act—Oxford dismissed from Office—Death of the Queen . . . . . 391—400

CHAPTER XXVI.—A.D. 1709 to A.D. 1742.

Literature and Manners of the earlier part of the Eighteenth Century—The Tatler—News-writers and Pamphleteers—Dunton's Athenian Gazette—Defoe's Review—The Spectator and the Guardian—Influence and Objects of the Essayists—Low State of Education—The Essayists Diffusers of Knowledge—Joint Labours of Steele and Addison—The Spectator's Club—Fiction—Reading for Females—Literary Piracy—Copyright Act—Literature as a Profession—The Poets—Alexander Pope . 401—415

CHAPTER XXVII.—A.D. 1709 to A.D. 1742.

Female Politicians—Female Employments—Dress—The Hoop Petticoat—Literary Estimate of the Female Character—The Stage Estimate—Congreve—Swift's Polite Conversation—Pope—The Rape of the Lock—Prude and Coquette—Puppet Plays—The Opera—The Masquerade—Young—Fashionable Vices—Drinking—Extravagant Dinners—Duelling—The Club Life of London—Gaming—The Bear-garden—Popular Superstitions—Witchcraft—Ignorance of the Lower Classes—Sports—National Taste for Music gone out—The Small-Coal Man . . . . 417—431

CHAPTER XXVIII.—A.D. 1709 to A.D. 1742.

Intellectual activity in every department of knowledge—A Reading Public—Poetical Translations of Classical Authors—Pope's Homer—The Popular Element shown in the attacks of the Wits upon some pursuits of learning—Battle of the Books—Pope's Ridicule of Dennis—Martinus Scriblerus—Small Poets—The Dunciad—Commentators—Public Schools—Universities—Travelling—Entomologists and Florists—The abuses of Knowledge only deserving the Poet's ridicule—The Popular Element in the Mental Philosophy of the Age—Locke—Character of Swift's Genius—Tale of a Tub—Gulliver's Travels—Robinson Crusoe—Defoe . . . . . 433—445

CHAPTER XXIX.—A.D. 1709 to A.D. 1742.

PAGE

View of the state of the Arts from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of the House of Brunswick—Wren—Rebuilding of London—St. Paul's—Wren's Parish Churches—Wren's miscellaneous Buildings—Vanbrugh—Character of, as an Architect—Hawksmoor and Gibbs—Burlington—Sculpture—Gibbons—Cibber—Roubiliac—Painting—Portrait-painting in England—Kneller—Jervas—Verrio and Laguerre—Thornhill—Other Painters—Hogarth . . . . . 446—463

CHAPTER XXX.—A.D. 1709 to A.D. 1742.

Hogarth as the Historian of Manners in the transition-time between Anne and George III.—His art essentially dramatic—Society, in Hogarth's pictures, appears a sort of chaos—The Life of the Streets—The anarchy out-doors a type of the disorder in houses of public resort—Genteel debauchery—Low Profligacy and Crime—The Cockpit—The Gaming-House—The Prison—Bedlam—The Rake's Levee—The Lady's Public Toilette—Marriage à-la-mode—The Election Prints—The Sleeping Congregation—Fanaticism . . . . . 465—474

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

ANNE . . . . . *Frontispiece*

POPE—ADDISON—SWIFT . . . . . *to face page* 65

STEELE—PRIOR—CONGREVE . . . . . ,, ,, 130

BOLINGBROKE—OXFORD—ATTERBURY . . . . . ,, ,, 193

WALPOLE—WOLFE—CHATHAM . . . . . ,, ,, 257

GEORGE I.—GEORGE II. . . . . ,, ,, 329

DEFOE—BURNET—BERKELEY . . . . . ,, ,, 391

CHARLES STUART, SON OF JAMES II.—THE YOUNG CHEVALIER . . ,, ,, 446

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

	PAGE
Crown of William and Mary .	1
Cotton's Fishing-House on the Dove	9
Eddystone Lighthouse, erected 1696. (From a Print by Kip.)	11
Entrance to the Mine of Odin, an ancient Lead Mine in Derbyshire	16
Cloth Market, Leeds. . .	27
East India House, 1726 . .	35
House of the Hudson's Bay Company, Fenchurch St. .	40
Craven House, Drury Lane .	44
The Farmer's Kitchen of the beginning of the Last Century	48
Sydenham	51
Husbandry Implements. (From Gervase Markham's "Farewell to Husbandry," 1620.)	52
Costume of Commonalty . .	53
The Folly Coffee House . .	58
Costume of the higher Classes in the Time of William and Mary	61
Royal Observatory, Greenwich	62
Great Seal	65
Arms of William III. . .	69
Convocation or Chapter House, St. Paul's	72
Signature of William . .	78
Palace of St. Germain . .	79
Medal of Louis XIV. . .	81
Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne	95
William crossing the Boyne. (From West's Picture.) .	109
Medal struck to commemorate the Conduct of the Queen, after the Defeat of the English and Dutch Fleets in the Channel, in June, 1690	111
Limerick	113
Glencoe	130
William III. (From a Print dated 169⅞.)	144
Namur	145
The King and Court at Versailles	161
Shilling of William and Mary	173
Costume of Queen Mary. (From two Prints of the Time.)	175
Great Seal of William III. .	176
Sir Isaac Newton's House near Leicester Square . .	184
Shilling of King William III.	192
Hampton Court Palace. (From a Print of the Time.) . .	193
Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral .	201
Aurungzebe. (From an Indian Drawing.)	203
Parliament House and Square, Edinburgh	212
Halfpenny of William III. .	225
Earl of Albemarle . . .	236
William III.	239
Great Seal of Queen Anne .	257
Marlborough and Eugene.—Medal	273
Battle of Blenheim.—Medal .	284
Plan of Landau . . .	288
Palace of Blenheim . . .	288
Gibraltar	290
Medal to commemorate the Battle of Ramillies . . .	301
Sir John Vanbrugh . .	305

	PAGE
The Crown of Scotland	311
Sword of Scotland	312
Sceptres of Scotland	312
Great Seal after the Union	317
Great Seal—Reverse	321
Collar of the Order of the Thistle	327
Crown Piece, 1707	329
Medal.—The Victory of Oudenarde	338
Medal.—The Surrender of Lille	341
Tournay	344
Medal	345
Medal of Sacheverel—For the Tories	347
Medal of Sacheverel—For the Whigs	359
Utrecht	361
State Coaches used in 1713 in the Procession to St. Paul's	391
Entrance to Pope's Grotto	401
Sir Roger de Coverley and the Spectator	410
Ancient Manor House, Vauxhall	411
The Petticoat in the Time of George II.	417
Thomas Britton	432
Fleet Ditch	433
Rowe	434
Warburton	438
Gulliver in Lilliput	445
Tomb of Wren	446
Original Plan of St. Paul's	451
St. Stephen's, Walbrook	453
Old College of Physicians	455
St. Martin's Church	457
Statue of Sir Isaac Newton	460
The Rake's Levee	465
The Drayman	467
The Enraged Musician	467
The Cockpit	469
The Highwayman	470
Marriage à-la-mode	471
Election Scene	472

Crown of William and Mary.

POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

View of the National Industry from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of the House of Brunswick — Population — the South-Western Counties—The Woollen Manufacture—Clothing trade of the West—Domestic Character of the Manufacture—Foreign Trade—Bristol—Watering-places of the Coast—Travelling for pleasure—Inland Watering-places—Bath—Arsenal of Plymouth — Iron Manufactures — Forest of Dean—South Wales—Tin Mines of Cornwall—Copper Mines—Welsh Coal Field—Varieties of Employment in the West of England.

We are entering upon that period of our national progress in which England is very slowly developing itself into a manufacturing and commercial country. The great features of that progress, and its accompanying changes in the character of the population, must ever be borne in mind when we attempt to trace the political history of the eighteenth century. This gradual development of her resources is not a mere accident in England's career. It constitutes the most important feature of her advancing political condition. It requires to be thoroughly understood, if we would rightly understand the circumstances which have given us our present place amongst the nations. We propose to offer a picture, derived indeed from scattered and imperfect materials, but with some approximation to exactness, of the industry, and the consequent condition and character of the people, during the period from the Revolution of 1688 to the accession of the house of Brunswick. Some of our authorities extend through the reign of George I.* But there were few changes of invention or discovery to mark a new epoch of industry as immediately following the close of the reign of Anne. It was the period before steam-engines and navigable canals—the period before the cotton trade—the period before scientific husbandry in its humblest form.

* Such as Defoe's "Tour," which was commenced in 1722.

It was the period when the infant industry of England was thought to be only secure under the system of Protection, carried to the utmost amount of actual prohibition of foreign manufactures, or of repression by high duties. It was a period of nearly stationary population. It was a period of old staple production that was thought all sufficing for national prosperity, and of timid experiment in new fields of enterprise that were regarded as dangerous and delusive. Such notions went before the coming era of marvellous extension of productive power; and they long contended against the political philosophy and the scientific knowledge that determined that extension. Let us endeavour to trace what England was under its accustomed industrial habits,—patient, persevering, slow England—during the quarter of a century that succeeded the Revolution. To our minds this is a period of extreme interest. It is the period of transition from the plough to the loom; from the spinning-wheel to the factory; from the age of tools to the age of machinery. Employments are intermingled. The shuttle is plied in the valleys where the fleece is sheared; the iron is smelted on the hills where the timber is felled for charcoal. Ships of small burden carry the products of one locality to another, up the estuaries and tributary rivers; and when navigation is impeded by sands and rocks, packhorses bear the cargo into the interior. The people of one district know very little of another district. Each district has something to exchange with its neighbour could they be brought into communication; but impracticable roads and unnavigable streams keep them separate. Every county has its peculiar dialect, the traces of which philologists eagerly hunt after. The sports of the West are not the same as those of the South—the superstitions of the North have a different character from those of the East. Yet, with all these material causes of isolation, England has one heart. She is made compact by her Protestantism, by her general laws, by her system of local government, by historical memory. Her people, in their island home, intensely feel their nationality. But on this island home, which has a greater sea-board than any other European country, there is a constant incentive to an adventurous race to go forth to the most distant shores—to trade, to colonise, to make all the choice productions of the world their own by exchange—to be the sea-kings, as were their Saxon forefathers. To comprehend what England has done in a century and a half, we must carefully look back upon the point from which she started in this wondrous race.

One of the earliest proceedings of the first Parliament of William and Mary, was to grant an extraordinary Aid of £68,820 per month, for six months, payable in certain proportions by the several counties.* Shortly following this grant was an enactment "for the taking away the revenue arising from Hearth-money." This tax is described as "not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure."† But this tax of Hearth-money was in one respect a national advantage. It formed the basis of all reasonable calculations of the amount of the population of England and Wales, towards the close of the seventeenth century, and for many years afterwards. Gregory King took the number of houses returned by the hearth-money collectors as determining his estimate that the

* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 3.

† 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 10

population was about five millions and a half; a calculation very nearly borne out by statistical researches in our own days. Other accounts take the population of this period at a higher rate. From a table printed in 1693 it appeared that there were 1,175,951 houses.* Upon the authority of this table, allowing six persons to each house, the population was subsequently calculated at 7,055,706.† In the "Magna Britannia," which commenced to be published in 1720, the number of houses in each county is given; and, in many cases, the equivalent number of the population is also given, though upon a varying scale. ‡ The result is not very materially different from the estimates of Gregory King; and if the houses, in number about 1,200,000, were averaged to give five persons for each house, they would show a population of six millions, at the period to which our present inquiry extends. The use we propose to make of these returns of houses, and of the assessment for Aid, § is to endeavour to form some estimate of the comparative population, industry, and wealth of each of the great divisions of the country; with occasional glances at the striking contrasts in our own times presented by some large industrial districts.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the West of England was the seat of the greatest commercial and manufacturing industry of the kingdom. The five South-Western Counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, then contained the largest number of houses, and consequently the largest population, as compared with any other of our present eleven Registration Divisions. This district was also assessed in 1689 at a higher rate than any other. It was to pay £10,850 per month in aid, whilst the North-Western District of Cheshire and Lancashire was only to pay £1753. It contained 175,403 houses, whilst Cheshire and Lancashire only contained 64,256. The population of the South-Western Counties was (at the rate of 5 persons for a house) 877,015, whilst the North-Western District was 321,280. At the census of 1801, the South-Western District contained a population only increased by about one fourth during a hundred years; whilst the North-Western was three times as numerous as at the beginning of the century. The contrast will be more striking if we look at the fact that, in 1851, the population of Cheshire and Lancashire nearly doubled that of the five South-Western Counties, which counties, a century and a half earlier, contained three times as many inhabitants as the North-Western. If we add Gloucestershire to the other five counties, we shall find that these six chief counties of the West at the beginning of the eighteenth century contained 202,167 houses, and therefore above a million ten thousand inhabitants. At the same period, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland only contained 209,132 houses, and therefore these great Northern counties only exceeded the West in population by about thirty-five thousand souls. In 1851 these five Northern Counties contained five millions of inhabitants, being an excess above the six Western Counties of two million seven hundred thousand.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. Appendix No. 10.

† Chamberlayne's Present State, 1748.

‡ The principle of assigning five persons to a house is sometimes observed; sometimes, six persons; and sometimes a medium between the two.

§ The Assessment was doubled in 1693, but the proportions were the same.

In the first year of the new dynasty an Act was passed "for the better preventing the exportation of Wool, and encouraging the Woollen Manufacture of this kingdom." * The great object of commercial legislation for two centuries was to encourage the Woollen Manufacture. The one mode of accomplishing this was to prevent the exportation of Wool, and to prohibit the importation of textile articles from every other country, not excepting Scotland and Ireland. Wool was justly held to be "eminently the foundation of England's riches." † To let wool go away unwrought, or even in the shape of yarn, was to lessen or destroy this source of wealth. But the richer Dutch, especially, could give a better price for the wool than the English clothiers; and, said the first political economist of that time, "they that can give the best price for a commodity shall never fail to have it, by one means or other, notwithstanding the opposition of any laws by sea or land; of such force, subtilty, and violence is the general course of trade." ‡ Under the Statute of the first year of William and Mary, Commissioners were appointed to prevent by forcible means the exportation of Wool. They employed a sloop and boats for the search of vessels. They had an army of riding-officers and superiors in the wool-growing counties and adjacent ports. The contests between these riding-officers and the carriers of wool were frequent and sometimes deadly; and the aggregate number of packs rescued from the officers was greater than the number seized. The service was most inefficient and dangerous in the North. § The landed interest and the manufacturing interest were for years at issue upon the question of the exportation of wool. The manufacturers desired a monopoly. The landlords and cultivators advocated a perfectly open trade, and proclaimed the most liberal principles of commercial freedom. Such is the varying course of opinion which follows the varying interests of industrial operations. The economical writers of the end of the seventeenth century, who estimated the whole annual income of England at forty-three millions, and the rental at ten millions, reckoned the annual value of wool at two millions, and the annual value of the woollen manufacture at eight millions. That manufacture was chiefly in the Western Counties, as it had been from the time of Edward VI. In that reign, though Coventry and Worcester produced "White Cloths" and "Coloured Cloths;" though the "Coloured Long Cloths" of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex were worthy of mention, as well as "Northern Cloths" and "Welsh Friezes;" Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, were especially famous for their "Whites" and "Reds," their "Azures" and "Blues." "Devonshire Kerseys," and "Broadcloths called Tauntons and Bridgewaters," were the objects of minute regulation. "Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire Cottons" — (a fabric so called in which cotton is held to have had no place)—and "Manchester Rugs and Friezes" form a small object of that legislative vigilance which was to insure "the true making of cloth within this realm," and to prevent the "many subtil sleights and untruths" which were imputed to greedy clothiers. ‖ A hundred and fifty years later the West was still the great Cloth-making district; and to

* 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 32. † Sir Josiah Child. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Returns given in Smith's "Memoirs of Wool," vol. ii. p. 166.
‖ 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 6.

this cause may be chiefly attributed its comparative superiority in wealth and population.

In the days before steam-power, and the application of chemical science to manufactures, natural advantages wholly determined the localisation of trades. The same principle must always prevail to a great extent in the most advanced stage of manufacturing industry. The clothing trade of the West was created by the adaptation of the district to sheep pasturage. On the grassy downs and wide plains of Wiltshire, innumerable flocks of sheep had yielded the fleece before the time when Stonehenge and Abury were mysterious ruins. The fleeces of the long-woolled sheep of the Cotswold Hills were famous in the fifteenth century; and Camden describes the substantial cotes with which this hill-district was covered, to shelter the flocks from the winter storm or the keen winds of the lambing season. The Mendip Hills supported a short-woolled breed, whose wool was as fine as that of Spain, which entered so largely into our woollen manufacture. The supply of wool was thus at hand for the clothiers who dwelt in the valley of the Lower Avon. The waters of that river, with its many branches, were especially fitted for fulling and dressing and dyeing cloth. The finest cloths were here fabricated. Frome, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes, with many adjacent towns then of great importance, were the seats of this "prodigy of a trade."* Frome had added ten thousand to its population in thirty years, and was considered to have more inhabitants than Bath or Salisbury.† The clothing towns were surrounded with their tributary villages and hamlets, in which the work of spinning was performed by women and children. To the cottages where the hum of the wheel was ceaselessly heard, the clothiers of the towns sent their pack-horses laden with wool, and brought back the spun yarn, ready for the weaver's loom. The operative weaver was also in many cases a domestic worker. In the fulling and dyeing processes was combined labour alone necessary. The forgotten poem of John Dyer, "The Fleece"—which Johnson disdained on account of "the meanness naturally adhering and the irreverence habitually annexed to trade and manufactures"—gives us many accurate as well as pleasing pictures of the weaving labours of the valleys of the Avon, the Air, and the Stroud. The young man, entering upon his career of industry, sets up his own loom; he stores his soft yarn; he strains the warp along his garden walk, or by the highway side; he drives the thready shuttle from morn to eve; he takes the web to the fulling-mill near some clear-sliding river, where tumbling waters turn enormous wheels and hammers; the wet web is often steeped, and often dragged by sinewy arms to the river's grassy bank; it is hung on rugged tenters to brighten in the fervid sun; the clothier's shears and the burler's thistle skim the surface; and lastly, the snowy web is steeped in boiling vats, where woad or fustic, logwood or cochineal, give their hues to the purple of the prince, the scarlet of the warrior, and the black of the priest.‡ There can be no greater contrast than that of the Woollen trade of the West, a century and a half ago, with a Cloth factory of the North in our own times; where, with the gigantic aid of steam, wool from every quarter of the

* Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 35, ed. 1738.

† *Ibid.* p. 34.

‡ See Dyer's "Fleece," book iii.

habitable globe is carded, spun, woven by the power-loom, fulled, sheared, and dyed, in buildings one of which would turn out more cloth than a dozen old clothing-towns, with their tributary villages. The contrast between the semi-pastoral state of the great staple of England, and its factory perfection, is equally remarkable as regards the moral condition of the people. The old loom is passing away: and so is the weaver of Kidderminster, who had his book before him as he threw the shuttle, and had "time enough to read or talk of holy things."*

The Gloucestershire clothiers of Stroud and the neighbourhood were especially famous for their fine cloths of scarlet and other gaudy hues, to which the purity of their streams was held as much to contribute as the skill of the dyer. It was the fineness and brilliancy of the English broad-cloths which gave them a value beyond their own silks and brocades to the Persian and the Turk, "even for their habits of ceremony." It was their intrinsic goodness—to preserve which so many statutory regulations had been prescribed for centuries—which recommended them to Spaniards and Portuguese, to Venetians and Italians, to the Greeks of the Levant and even to the Moors of Africa.† But this foreign trade was greatly straitened by circumstances and opinions. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the trade with France was gone. In 1674 a jealousy of that trade was the paramount idea of the commercial legislator; for England sent France only about eighty thousand pounds' worth of woollen manufactures, and imported ten times that value of linen and silk manufactures, besides wine, brandy, paper, and many toys and luxuries. The difference, in the economical language of that day, was called the "Balance gained by the French from us yearly." ‡ When, after the accession of William and Mary, the nation was at war with Louis XIV., all trade and commerce with France was prohibited; and it was declared that it had been found by long experience that the importation of the commodities of France "hath much exhausted the treasure of this nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, and greatly impoverished the English artificers and handicrafts." § The same proposition was repeated in the same terms in 1704. ‖ To compensate for the loss of the French trade, the North American colonies and the West Indies had become important customers for our woollen manufactures. The ports of Bristol and of North Devon thus continued to prosper; Liverpool was growing into importance; but many of the smaller ports of the Channel were ruined. The towns of Weymouth and Lyme, that drove a flourishing trade with France before the Revolution of 1688, fell into decay. Lyme once sent large cargoes of woollen goods to Brittany,¶ and its "Cobb" was busy with little vessels laden with imports of French wines and linens. In 1709, the cobb-dues were under fourteen pounds, and the houses were fast falling into decay. Ships were employed in foreign trade of a larger tonnage than was fitted for small ports. Great towns alone became the seats of external commerce.**

Such a port was Bristol at the commencement of the eighteenth

* See *ante*, vol. iv. p. 170. † "Atlas Maritimus," 1727.
‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. Appendix, No. xi. § 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 33.
‖ 3 & 4 Anne, c. 12. ¶ "British Merchant," 1713.
** Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 540.

century—the famous port of the West—the only port that could pretend to enter into competition with London, and to trade with an entire independence of the capital.* The Bristol shopkeepers were also merchants—"wholesale men"—and they conducted an inland trade through all the Western counties by means of carriers, and extended their traffic through the midland districts, even to the Trent. Roger North had observed that at Bristol all the dealers were engaged in adventures by sea;—"a poor shopkeeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings, or a piece of stuff, for Nevis or Virginia." † There was too much truth in his notice of one portion of the Bristol commerce—"rather than fail, they trade in men." The planters with whom the Bristol traders corresponded wanted labour, and in exchange for rum, and sugar, and tobacco, men were sent—wretched outcasts who had been kidnapped, or "small rogues" who were threatened by the justices with the extreme penalties of the law, and were instructed to pray for transportation "before any indictment was found against them." ‡ Bristol had this dishonour in the days of Charles II., as it was the last to cling to the dishonour of the slave trade in the days of George III. The Bristol traders, moreover, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had to bear a reproach, which even the noble charities of one of their great merchants, and their old reputation for hospitality, which earned them the title of "the courteous Bristolians," § could not outweigh. Defoe, in general no illiberal judge, complained of the inconveniences of Bristol—its narrow streets, its narrow river, and "also another narrow—that is, the minds of the generality of its people." He recommends them to travel to London—"from the second great trading town to the first; and they will see examples worth their imitating, as well for princely spirit as for upright and generous dealings." ‖ At that period Bristol was cursed with a very exclusive prosperity; and its uneducated freemen, amongst whom strangers were jealously forbidden to settle, indulged, when their adventures were prosperous, in that vulgar display which is the general accompaniment of sudden riches.¶ It was also cursed with an exclusive municipal government. From this great port of the Severn, Sebastian Cabot, "a Bristol man born," went forth in 1497 to set his foot upon Newfoundland. Two centuries later Bristol was the great emporium for American produce, and Dampier, with other bold buccaneers, sailed from the Avon to come back rich with Spanish prizes. A century and a half later, the "Great Western" steamed down between the narrow rocks of St. Vincent, on her first voyage to New York, caring little for tides and adverse winds, for she had a self-contained power which took away the uncertainty of maritime communication, and made time and space of small amount in commercial calculations. The difference between the Bristol of Cabot and the Bristol of Dampier, is not greater than the difference between the Bristol of William III., whose statue was worthily raised in Queen Square by her citizens, and the Bristol of Queen Victoria. The Avon is now far too narrow for the mighty vessels, crowded amongst the diminutive, that steam to her quays from South Wales and Ireland, from Africa and America. But the old

* Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 249. † "Life of Lord Guilford," vol. i. p. 250.
‡ *Ibid.* and vol. ii. p. 24. § Fuller's "Worthies." ‖ "Tour," vol. ii. p. 250.
¶ Defoe perhaps wrote under the influence of some personal slight. He sought a refuge in Bristol when under pecuniary difficulties; and was there pointed at as "the Sunday gentleman."

commerce of wool and woollen manufactures, of which Bristol was the seat, is gone. The North has carried away the woollen manufacture from the West, to a very considerable extent. South Wales has far more productive industry than the making of flannels. The hearth-money returns of Bristol show little above five thousand houses, which would give a population not much exceeding twenty-five thousand. Defoe says, "Bristol is supposed to have a hundred thousand inhabitants within the city, and within three miles of its circumference." This is a material increase in less than forty years. A later writer observes that "Bristol, the second city in England, next to London has made the largest improvements since the Revolution, of any one place in the kingdom, unless Manchester shall be thought an exception to this." *

The great woollen manufacture extended itself in the eighteenth century still further west. At Taunton, Defoe found eleven hundred looms at work for the weaving of common stuffs; and he was told that there was not a child in the town of above five years old who could not earn its own bread. At Honiton he first saw the serge manufacture of Devonshire, which occupied the whole county. At Exeter, a city then full of trade and manufacture, he looked with admiration upon the serge market, where the people assured him that serges to the value of a hundred thousand pounds were sometimes sold in one week. The port of Topsham was then one of the most considerable amongst the smaller ports of England; and the woollen manufactures of Devonshire were thence largely exported to Holland, to Portugal and Spain, to Italy. The commerce of the Exe is now comparatively small. Devonshire has still its scattered woollen manufactures, which give employ to fifteen hundred males and two thousand five hundred females; and five hundred males, and eight thousand five hundred females, are now connected with the production of gloves and lace. But new populations have been created by circumstances of which the Devonians of a century and a half ago had no conception. It was for modern times to behold all the bays of the south-western coast, where the myrtle is unharmed by the winter gales, transformed into flourishing towns, where a few fishermen once earned a precarious livelihood. The rush to the coast for sea-bathing and sea-air was a fashion unknown in the middle of the last century. Still less was it the fashion to locate the invalid under the shelter of hills and promontories, where the south-west breeze might give its soft but invigorating freshness to those who were held to have been perishing in the crowded city. Torquay was then a name for a few huts. Even more rare was the fashion of travelling for pleasure through scenes which we now call beautiful, but which our forefathers held to be horrible wastes. In the days of almost impassable roads, and when wheel conveyances were not common, the hills of Devonshire and Derbyshire, the mountains of Wales and Westmorland, were left to their primitive occupants, unsought by the tourist, and hated by the business traveller. No one sailed down the Wye and the Dart for pleasure; the Dove and the Wharf were known in their inaccessible beauties only to the solitary angler. When the companion of Charles Cotton rides with him near Ashbourn, the Essex man exclaims, "Bless me, what mountains are here!" and when told that the hills bred

* Smith's "Memoirs of Wool," 1747. Vol. i. p. 263.

and fed good beef and mutton, ejaculates, "They had need of all those commodities to make amends for the ill landscape." * To the eyes of Defoe, Westmorland was a country eminent only for being the wildest, most barren, and frightful of any that he had passed over in England, or even in Wales itself. He talks of the terrible aspect of the hills, and laments that all the pleasant part of England was at an end.† Gray was the first who looked at Windermere and Borrowdale, at Skiddaw and Saddleback, with the eye of the poet. Whateley was the first who described the Wye; and Gray, who followed him, is in raptures with its "succession of nameless wonders."‡ Such a change in the tastes of the present and the past century may be accounted for without imputing to our predecessors an indifference to the beauties of nature. Travelling was to them weary work. The most populous districts, with the least execrable roads, were to them the most attractive. The only inns were in the great thoroughfares. The chance hospitality of a cottage on a mountain side was not to their tastes. Long after the middle of the eighteenth century good roads were the exception. Turnpikes had done something to amend the evil. But up to 1770, when Arthur Young wrote, the roads of the North, and especially of Lancashire, were mostly execrable; so that

Cotton's Fishing-house on the Dove.

speaking of the turnpike road from Preston to Wigan, this shrewd observer says, "Let me most seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it, as they would the devil."§ The love of the picturesque was not sufficient to bear the ordinary tourist through such difficulties.

In the West was the most celebrated watering-place of England. From the earliest times the hot springs of Bath had been the resort of the invalid.

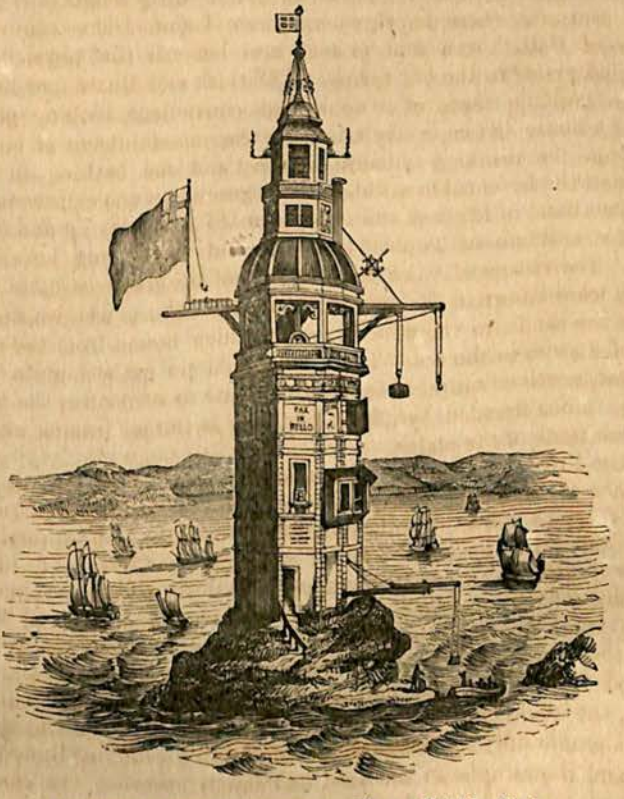
* "Complete Angler," Part ii. † "Tour," vol. iii. p. 18.
‡ "Works," vol. iv. 1836.
§ "Six Months' Tour in the North of England," vol. iv. p. 580.

The city at the beginning of the eighteenth century was a small cluster of narrow streets, where the houses, although built of stone, were mean and ill-furnished. Yet it had long been the resort of the rich health-seekers and the rich pleasure-seekers. It was proverbial also for its beggars. Fuller, noticing the proverb, says that many repair to Bath from all parts of the land, "the poor for alms, the pained for ease." The beggars came, like fowl to the barn-door, where there was "the general confluence of gentry." Wood, the architect, changed Bath from a crowded nest of dirty lodgings into a city of palaces. But after these improvements were begun, Defoe compared "the close city of Bath" to a foul prison; and laments that physicians, by not giving equal praise to the hot springs of Matlock and Buxton, had not encouraged the building there of "noble and convenient bathing places, and, instead of a house or two, a city raised for the entertainment of company." * The passion for drinking mineral waters, and for bathing in medicinal springs, sent the fashionable world, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to a similar round of idleness and dissipation, of card-playing and dancing, at the crowded cottages of Tunbridge Wells, and the fishing hovels of Scarborough. The virtues of "the Spa-waters" of the great sea-bathing place of the North were known in the days of Elizabeth. Those who walked from the town over the sands, to the mineral spring which issued from the cliff, never thought of a swim in the sea. There was then no gathering on the coast, east or west, north or south, to inhale the breeze or to float in the brine. The sea was as much dreaded by inland dwellers, as the mountains were hateful to the inhabitants of the plains.

When the Prince of Orange landed at Brixham, the probability was that the governor of Plymouth would have opposed the descent of a Dutch army upon the Western coast. The island of St. Nicholas had been fortified in the time of Elizabeth. The citadel had been built by Charles II. But at the end of the seventeenth century Plymouth was not a great naval station. No fleets of men-of-war anchored in the Hamoaze; no docks and victualling yards gave employment to two thousand five hundred workmen. William III. imparted the first impulse to the creation of the great arsenal which was to rival Portsmouth, by building two docks, which were begun in 1691. But Plymouth, the noble estuary of the Tamar and the Plym, had long been the most considerable port for merchandise of South Devon, as Bideford on the Torridge, and Barnstaple on the Taw, had chiefly absorbed the commerce of North Devon. The Plymouth of the end of the seventeenth century, and the Plymouth of the middle of the nineteenth century, are as essentially different as the war ships of each period. The perils of the Eddystone rock, "whereon many a good ship hath been split," † were not averted by the warning light which has securely burnt there since the days of Smeaton. A light-house was commenced to be built on the Eddystone in 1696. In three years it was finished, and the dangers of the approach to the Sound were greatly lessened. The mighty storm of 1703, almost unequalled in its destructive violence, swept the first lighthouse away. There had been signals for help from the doomed fabric when the tempest began on the 24th of November. On the morning of the 26th, the people of Plymouth looked out upon the stormy

* "Tour," vol. iii. p. 43. † Teonge's "Diary," p. 25.

sea with their perspective glasses, and behold, the lighthouse was gone. Its engineer, Winstanley, perished with it. Another lighthouse, formed like the first, of wood upon a stone foundation, was commenced in 1706. It was destroyed by fire in 1755. The force of the South Western gales always made the anchorage of Plymouth harbour somewhat unsafe, till Telford's breakwater, one of the triumphs of modern engineering, rendered the port as eminent for its safety as it is unequalled for picturesque beauty.



Eddystone Lighthouse, erected 1696. (From a Print by Kip.)

The ship-building of Plymouth Dock, of Portsmouth, and of the other naval stations, leads us to look at one of the most extraordinary contrasts between the end of the seventeenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. What mighty efforts of invention and energy between England depending upon foreign countries for iron, and England supplying the whole world with iron: England without iron to hold together its "wooden walls," and England building iron ships; using iron as the great material of the grandest as well as of the humblest purposes of constructive art; covering the whole island with iron roads for vehicles drawn by iron engines; connecting opposite hills by iron viaducts, and carrying iron bridges over the narrowest river and the broadest estuary—the England of every tool and every machine

produced from iron, and the England with scarcely iron enough to make its ploughshares. In such considerations of the grandeur of Art there is the poetical element, as deep if not so vivid, as in the contemplation of the grandeur of Nature. To connect poetry with manufacture, according to Dr. Johnson, "is to couple the serpent with the fowl." Whateley, in a celebrated passage, described the smoky cloud of an iron forge on the Wye as adding to the grandeur of the scene at the New Weir. This was simply the picturesque of poetry. But what images of the past, the present, and the future are connected with an incident of the iron manufacture on the same river. The first mass was performed in "the Cistertian house of the blessed Mary of Tintern," in 1287. Now, five hundred and seventy years afterwards, the majestic ruins of the conventual church are the admiration of every visitor. To our minds the impressiveness of this noble monument of the piety of the days of Edward I. is enhanced by the solemn thought of the vast social changes of six centuries—changes never more strikingly manifested than in the fact that, within a few hundred yards of the Abbey, the best wire was manufactured for the Atlantic Telegraph.

In the seventeenth century the forest of Dean was the principal seat of the iron manufacture. It had been an iron-making district from the time of the Romans. The cinders from the old Roman furnaces still lie like pebbles on the sea-shore on the left bank of the Wye, and deep cavities from which the iron-stone has been dug attest the labours of the industrious race whose coins are found in the same pits.* The work of smelting iron, which the Romans only half performed with imperfect mechanical aids, was carried through, though still imperfectly, by the miners of fourteen hundred years later. The woods of the forest of Dean were burnt for charcoal, in a country of pit-coal, and the best "sow-iron" was made from the half-smelted Roman cinders. This sow-iron was sent by the Severn into Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, and there made into bar-iron. The forges of Stourbridge, Dudley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, and Birmingham were chiefly kept at work by the fine iron from this Western country. "The forest of Dean," says Yaranton, "is, as to the iron, to be compared to the sheep's back, as to the woollen; nothing being of more advantage to England than these two are."† Nevertheless, there were a few iron works in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, in Worcestershire and Shropshire, where iron of an inferior quality, "a short soft iron, commonly called cold-shore iron," was produced: it was chiefly used in the nail manufacture.‡ An Act of 1668 recites, that the wood and timber of the Crown in the forest of Dean had become totally destroyed.§ The manufacture of iron was unpopular. Many said, "it were well if there were no iron works in England, and it was better when no iron was made in England: the iron works destroy all the woods, and foreign iron from Spain will do better and last longer."‖ Drayton makes the trees of the Weald of Sussex utter their lament for "these iron times." Iron works had been nearly driven from Kent and Surrey by statutes of Elizabeth and James I. The iron railings round St. Paul's Churchyard were almost the last produce of southern

* *Ante*, vol. i. p. 36. † "England's Improvement," p. 58. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ 19 & 20 Car. II. c. 8. ‖ "England's Improvement," p. 56.

iron-works. Plant woods to burn for charcoal, was the advice of those who believed that home-made iron was a necessity. A man wiser than others in his generation, Edward lord Dudley, obtained in 1619 a patent for smelting iron-ore by pit coal. He would probably have bestowed immense riches upon his country had not his iron-works been destroyed in an outbreak of that popular ignorance which has too often interrupted the course of scientific improvement. The notion of smelting the iron ore by coal was not fairly tried till after 1740, at which time the annual produce of iron in the whole country was only about seventeen thousand tons. What a contrast is the conveyance of iron from the mouth of the Wye in those days, and from the mouth of the Taff in our day. The furnaces of South Wales produce as much pig-iron in one week, as all the furnaces of England produced in the whole year of 1740. The seventeen thousand tons, smelted by charcoal in that year, are only the hundred and fortieth part of all the iron produced in the United Kingdom in 1851, and only the two-hundreth part of the produce of 1857. The iron of 1851, compared with the population, was estimated at a hundred and sixty-eight pounds (1½ cwt.) per head. The iron of 1740 gave less than seven pounds per head. The iron-workers of Merthyr-Tydvil are greater now in number than the whole population of Glamorganshire at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The western extremity of England was the most ancient seat of her mining riches. The Romans worked the tin-mines of Cornwall, as they worked the lead-mines of Derbyshire. The sea-coast is full of the traces of the earliest mining industry. At a comparatively modern period, the reign of John, the Jews were the chief workers of the tin-mines. In the middle of the eighteenth century the produce of these mines was about sixteen hundred tons; and no great increase was observable for another half century. That quantity is about a seventh of the present annual produce. The tin that was used to make the pewter dishes of the rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is now chiefly employed to produce the tinned iron plates that form the cooking utensils of the mansion and the cottage, and the tea-pots of Britannia-metal and queen's-metal that are the luxuries of the mechanic's household. The first tin-plate manufactory was established in Monmouthshire in 1730. We now export tin-plates to the value, annually, of a million and a half sterling. The mines of Cornwall created the Stannary towns, of which Truro was the chief, for the stamping of tin, and the assessment of its "coinage," as the revenue of the dukes of Cornwall. But the county, in the time of William III., was full of decayed boroughs, which successive governments have reckoned amongst the best foundations of public security. Of the five hundred and thirteen representatives of England and Wales, Cornwall, with a population of a hundred and twenty-six thousand, sent forty-four members to parliament. It contained about a fiftieth part of the whole population, and it had a voice in the legislature as potent as if it contained a twelfth of all the inhabitants of the kingdom. This inequality did not contribute to the prosperity of the district. It was poor, and it was venal. The adventurers from Bristol who, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought that copper ore might be found in Cornwall; and Newcomen, the engineer, who, in 1713, employed the first steam-engine to drain a tin-mine near Helstone; conferred more sub-

stantial benefits upon Cornwall than all the privileges that kings and ministers had ever bestowed upon the Duchy. The Bristol traders set up mills in their city for the production of brass-ware, and to this use was the first copper ore applied. Sixty years afterwards, the copper produced from the ore of Cornwall was only about three thousand tons. In another century it had quadrupled in amount and value. The copper mines have brought about a commercial marriage between Cornwall and South Wales. The ore of the country which has no coal is conveyed across the Bristol Channel to the country which has coal in abundance. The works for smelting copper upon the Neath and the Tawe are as remarkable as the iron-works of the Taff. They are the more remarkable from the fact that the copper-ore of the Cornish mines now forms only a portion of the quantity smelted. The ship that has borne the copper of Australia ten thousand miles, now enters the port of Swansea in company with the small vessel that has only dared the roll of the Atlantic, as she sailed beneath the bold cliffs from the Land's End to Hartland Point.

One great element of the mineral wealth of South Wales, whose existence is assumed in this brief notice of her iron-works and her copper-works, is to be found in her coal-fields. The other coal districts of the West, those of Bristol and the Mendip hills, are small in comparison with the vast range that extends from the mouth of the Severn through the whole coast of Wales bordering on the Bristol Channel. The South Welsh coal-field covers a workable area of six hundred thousand acres. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this vast mineral wealth was scarcely worked. There was an export trade of coal from Swansea to Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Ireland; and there was the same trade from Neath.* But no adequate machinery was employed in the mines, and the works were carried on very little below the surface, in pits which could be easily drained by hand-labour. The demands of London for the "sea-coal fire" very early made the Newcastle trade of importance. But Wales had no share of this large supply; and the peculiar value of its coal was not felt till the age of steam-engines had arrived.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the industry of the West of England probably exhibited a greater variety of employments than any other district. The people were miners, fishers, cultivators, orchardists, shepherds, weavers, sailors. The Cornish tinners had been engaged in the same unvarying occupation, from times that make other branches of the manufacturing industry of England look as the mere growth of modern necessities. Their peculiar language has died out; but there is the remnant of an old system of co-operative industry in the "tributer" system of their mining labour, which assigns each man a reward different from the ordinary system of wages.† Such arrangements especially belong to an early age of society, before capital had organised industry by its all-controlling power. The Cornish fisheries are conducted upon the same principle, which has probably prevailed from very remote times, when the shoals of pilchards came into the Western bays, and have never ceased to come, although Fuller thought they were "varying more westward, to Ireland." ‡ The same system of co-operation prevailed

* Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 283.
† See Babbage's "Economy of Machinery" &c. p. 177.
‡ "Worthies" vol. i. p. 206.

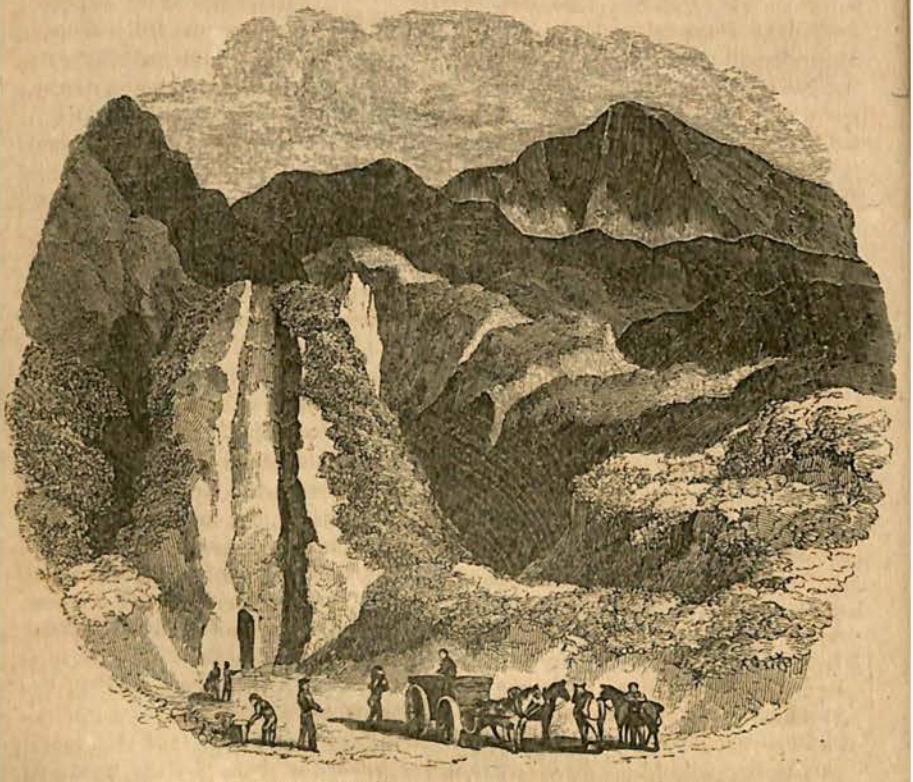
in one of the industries of Somersetshire—the cheese-making of Cheddar—for which Fuller has the characteristic name of "Join-dairies." In this village under the ridge of the Mendip, the whole population were cow-keepers. They all united in manuring the common upon which their cows fed. Every cow-keeper brought his milk daily to a common-room, where the quantity was measured and recorded. The making of a great cheese went duly forward; and when the milk of a poor man who kept but one cow was sufficient for one cheese, he received his cheese. The rich owner of many cows had his return earlier, but the poor man was sure of his just share.* In the rural economy of the West there was nothing peculiar but the apple-growth. It was especially the "Cider-land."† The Christmas festivities were not complete, unless the old sacrifices to Pomona were kept up in sprinkling cider upon the apple-trees.‡ The superstition is gone; but the apple-orchards of the West have increased in fruitfulness as they have increased in number. The payment by the farmer of a portion of his labourers' wages in cider is perhaps also a relic of an ancient system, which appears in our day to have become an evil.§ Other distinguishing characteristics of this district have passed away. "The Western English"—the dialect of which the genuine characteristics are to be found in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle ‖—has left no very marked traces. The Somersetshire school-boy would no longer translate, as Defoe heard, the words of the Canticles, "I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on?" into "Chow a doff'd my coot; how shall I donn't?" ¶ The old tourist found the "jouring" dialect prevail when he had come "that length from London." Rapid and easy communication have nearly swept away all such peculiarities, and have made the Southern English absorb the Western, the Mercian, the Anglian, and the Northumbrian.

* Defoe's "Tour" vol. ii. p. 30. † J. Philips's "Cider," book ii.

‡ "For more or less fruits they will bring
As you do give them wassailing."—Herrick, "Hesperides."

§ "Journal of the Bath and West of England Society," vol. vi. p. 136.

‖ "Quarterly Review," vol. lv. p. 386. ¶ "Tour," vol. i. p. 319.



Entrance to the Mine of Odin, an ancient Lead-mine in Derbyshire.

CHAPTER II.

The West-Midland and North-Midland Counties—Birmingham—Hardware—The Potteries—Glass—Nottingham—Stockings—Lace—Derby—Silk—Lead Mines—Lincolnshire—Salt—Soda—Soap—Lancashire before the Cotton era—Manchester—Liverpool—Linen Trade—Yorkshire—The Clothing Villages—Leeds—Sheffield—Hull—The Greenland Trade—Newcastle—Cumberland and Westmorland—Scotland—Agricultural Counties—Norwich—South-Eastern Coasts—Cinque Ports—Brighton—Dover—Portsmouth—Southampton.

THE progress of Manufactures in districts favourable to their pursuit is decidedly marked by the rapid increase of population. The extension and improvement of Cultivation are not ordinarily followed by any such proportionate increase of the numbers of the people. Thus, of the West Midland Counties, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, did not add more than one fourth to their population throughout the eighteenth century. Warwick-

shire and Staffordshire, which before the end of that period had become great seats of the iron and hardware trade, and of the trade in earthenware, had doubled their population. In the same manner, though not in the same degree, of the North Midland Counties, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, which had grown up into large hosiery districts, added half to their numbers during that century. Of Lincolnshire, in the same period, the population was nearly stationary.

Bishop Berkeley, in 1737, by way of example to the Irish of the rapid turning of money, asks "Whether the small town of Birmingham alone doth not, upon an average, circulate every week, one way or other, to the value of fifty-thousand pounds?" * The iron-ware of Birmingham was in repute long before the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the time of Henry VIII. Leland wrote that "a great part of the town is maintained by smiths, who have their iron and sea-coal owt of Staffordshire." The people of Birmingham were then makers of knives, of bridle-bits, of nails. In the reign of Charles II. they still manufactured scarcely anything more than iron tools and husbandry implements. Their forges were open to the public streets, by the side of the rough shop where the spade and the bag of nails were exposed for sale. Under the encouragement given by William III., Birmingham began in his reign to make fire-arms. But how insufficient at that period was the home production of iron articles we may judge from the table of duties on imports,† in which we have iron pots, backs for chimneys, frying-pans, anvils. The vast surface of the great coal and iron field around Birmingham was then scarcely penetrated. The blaze of the furnaces that now lights up the country for miles, was then a very feeble illumination from the few works where iron was smelted by wood. The anvils of Wolverhampton, Dudley, Walsall, Bilston, Wednesbury, were then employed in the humblest work of iron manufacture. Birmingham before the middle of the eighteenth century, had attempted no manufactures in brass; and the greater part of that wonderful variety of industry which has given Berkeley's "small town" a population of a quarter of a million of souls was quite unattempted. The great prosperity of Birmingham belongs even to a much later period than that in which Burke called it "the toy-shop of Europe." It was always employed at work more important than toy-making. It supplied England and its Settlements with many articles of convenience and utility, before it became famous through the world for those manifold products of ingenuity and taste which no nation can rival. Every house that was newly built in England during the eighteenth century gave a stimulus to the activity of Birmingham to provide its locks and bolts. Every acre of ground that was cleared for building in the American Plantations made a similar demand upon the labour of the iron-working district. The Sheffield axe hewed down the woods. The Birmingham spade trenched the ground, and the thorns crackled under the Birmingham cauldron. Slowly but certainly did the exports increase of those articles which we imported at the beginning of this eighteenth century, until, in 1856, the exports of hardware alone amounted to three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

* "The Querist"—Works, vol. ii. p. 273, ed. 1843.
† 2 Gul. & Mar. Sess. 2, c. 4.

In that district of North Staffordshire, now known as The Potteries—a district of many towns, extending, with few intervals, for eight miles—there was a manufacture of common cooking ware at one of these towns, Burslem, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It had been discovered that the Brown-ware could be glazed with salt, instead of with pulverised lead-ore; and thus Burslem, in 1700, had twenty-two glazing ovens. This district abounded in clays fit for earthenware; but the art of producing the finer sorts was wholly neglected. These clays were prepared and dried in the sun; and from these "sun-kiln potteries" was turned out a coarse porous ware, which was called "butter-ware"—from its property of keeping butter cool. Burslem was marked in maps as the "Butter Pottery." About the time of the Revolution, superior clays were introduced; and an improved ware was manufactured in small quantities. Nevertheless, the coarse white ware of Holland, known as Delft, was a luxury for the rich. The wooden trencher was the plate of the cottager and the small tradesman. Any approach to a home manufacture of porcelain was far distant. The East India Company imported ornamented ware known as China, for which the introduction of Tea created a demand. The middle of the eighteenth century was passed, before Josiah Wedgewood brought his science and taste to the manufacture of earthenware; and finally produced specimens as admirable for their beauty of design as for their general utility. It is impossible to overrate the blessing to the great body of the people of cheap and good crockery. This is indeed a higher national advantage, even, than the amount of industry, and of high artistical skill, called into activity by our present manufacture of earthenware; which employs thirty-six thousand persons, and of which the exports amount to nearly a million and a half sterling.

The manufacture of Glass was one of those industries to which William III. was solicited to give encouragement. The government, in the unwise spirit that has not altogether died out with reference to other manufactures, had thought fit to subject glass to an excise. The duties were partially repealed, and they were wholly removed before the end of the seventeenth century. By a Statute of 1698, they are declared to be very vexatious and troublesome, and of small advantage to the Crown; would lessen the duties on Coals much more than the duty on Glass would yield; and would endanger the loss of the manufacture to the kingdom." * In 1746 duties on glass were re-imposed; and for another century the profitable employment of capital and labour in this admirable manufacture was repressed. A wise statesman abolished the duties, and we look upon the results with wonder and admiration. The manufacture, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and during its first half, was principally confined to green glass and the commonest window-glass. Defoe says, "there were, when I was there, no less than fifteen glass houses in Bristol, which is more than are in the city of London." † The glass-houses of London had nothing of the character of factories about them. They were scattered in obscure districts amidst a wretched population. Colonel Jack, the hero of one of those fictions of Defoe which have all the truth of real life, says, "As for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watchhouses, and on bulk-heads and shop-doors,

* 10 Gul. III. c. 24. † "Tour, vol. ii. p. 251.

where we were known; and in winter we got into the ash-holes and nealing-arches, in the glass-house called Dallow's Glass-house, in Rosemary Lane, or at another glass-house, in Ratcliff-Highway."

Leicestershire had the reputation of producing the largest sheep and horses in England. The graziers, in some places, were so rich that they had become gentlemen. * But Leicestershire was also a manufacturing county. The long wool of the Leicester sheep gave rise to the worsted stocking-trade. In the town of Leicester, and in other neighbouring towns, the weaving of stockings by frames had become the general employment. "One would scarce think it possible," says the tourist of the early part of the eighteenth century, "that so small an article of trade could employ such multitudes of people as it does." † The wonder, no doubt, proceeded from the fact that the great body of the people did not wear stockings; and hence stocking-weaving was "so small an article of trade." At Nottingham and Derby Defoe saw the same industry affording general employment for labour in combination with machinery. The stocking-loom of William Lea was invented in 1589. In 1670 there were only six hundred and sixty looms in the kingdom, and these were chiefly employed upon silk stockings. At the close of the reign of queen Anne there were nine thousand looms. In the early part of the reign of queen Victoria, the stocking-looms of Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire were computed at forty-three thousand. In the northern counties, stockings long continued to be made by hand. At Richmond there was "a market for woollen and yarn stockings, which they make very coarse and ordinary, and sell accordingly. Here you see great and small a-knitting.‡" It was the same in Westmorland. Machinery more effective than the stocking-frame is now extensively employed in the production of hosiery.

Nottingham is at present the great seat of the Lace-trade—of the Lace produced by that wonder of mechanical ingenuity, the Bobbin-net-frame, invented in 1809. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Western and Southern counties were the great seats of the bone-lace manufacture—of that lace which "the free maids who weave their thread with bones" had been fabricating in the days of Elizabeth and James I. In the reign of William III. the importation of foreign bone-lace was prohibited. The Flemings, who had been accustomed to send us their rich point-lace, refused in consequence to take our woollen cloth; and then the prohibition was removed, "by being the occasion that our woollen manufactures are prohibited to be imported into Flanders." Bone-lace making was not exclusively a feminine industry. There is a charming passage in Berkeley's "Word to the Wise," in which he exhibits the domestic industry of England, as a reproof to the Irish labourers, "who close the day with a game on greasy cards, or lying stretched before the fire." "In England, when the labour of the field is over, it is usual for men to betake themselves to some other labour of a different kind. In the northern parts of that industrious land, the inhabitants meet, a jolly crew, at one another's houses, where they merrily and frugally pass the long and dark winter evenings; several families, by the same light and the same fire, working at their different manufactures of wool,

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. ii. p. 332. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 115.

flax, or hemp; company meanwhile mutually cheering and provoking to labour. In certain other parts you may see, on a summer's evening, the common labourers sitting along the streets of a town or village, each at his own door, with a cushion before him, making bone-lace, and earning more in an evening's pastime than an Irish family would in a whole day."* Alas, for the bone-lace makers. Their industry was almost extinguished by the inexorable machine of 1809. But a change of fashion is bringing their labour again into repute. The endowment in 1626 of a free-school at Great Marlow, to teach twenty-four girls to knit, spin, and make bone-lace, had become a provision for the continuance of obsolete arts and unprofitable labour. The revival of the prettiest of these arts is one of the many proofs that whilst machinery does its proper work for the great bulk of comforts and luxuries, there are elegancies and niceties of hand-labour which machines cannot wholly supersede.

Lombe's famous silk-mill at Derby, completed in 1717, was not the first attempt to supersede the foreign thrown, or spun, silk, by the conversion of the raw silk into what was called organzine. The silk-mill at Derby, "afterwards much improved by sir Thomas Lombe, was first erected by one Soracole, a man expert in making mill-work, especially for raising water to supply towns for family use."† The almost exclusive use of woollen cloth had been trenched upon before the end of the reign of Charles II., by the silks of France.‡ In 1699, it was bitterly complained of, that "the unreasonable and indiscreet preference of India manufactures, especially that of India silks and stuffs, hath almost wholly overthrown, and unhinged, this profitable and necessary trade of silk throwing and weaving."§ The clamour was so great against Indian silks and printed cottons, that after the 29th of September, 1701, the wearing all wrought silks, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, or stained therein, was absolutely prohibited.‖ If we may believe the advocates of prohibition, this Statute had the effect of repeopling Spitalfields, "that looked before like a deserted place."¶ The weavers went blithely to work; and an ingenious experiment was tried to furnish them with silk spun by machinery. Yet the wearers of silk would not be satisfied with the home manufacture. The mercer tried to palm off the wares of Spitalfields as French goods illicitly imported.** Bishop Berkeley, with the large view of a philosopher, saw the reason of this preference; and, when the clandestine importation went on, to a great extent, in spite of all custom-house vigilance, asks "whether France and Flanders could have drawn so much money from England, for figured silks, lace, and tapestry, if they had not had Academies for Design?" We should have remained till this day inferior in design, and in every other quality of the silk manufacture, had not a great statesman, who was denounced as "a hard-hearted political economist," made a partial beginning of that system of free trade which has raised this particular manufacture, as it has raised so many others, to an eminence which utterly disregards every danger of foreign competition. The country

* Works, vol. ii. p. 227.
† Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 33.
‡ Smith on Wool, vol. i. p. 259.
§ Smith on Wool, vol. ii. p. 44.
‖ 11 & 12 Gul. III. c. 10.
¶ Smith, vol. ii. p. 191.
** "English Tradesman," vol. ii. p. 199.

which, in 1825, was to be ruined by the importation of foreign silks, now exports silk of native manufacture, to an extent little short of two millions value in one year.

The Lead mines of the High Peak, in Derbyshire, were worked in the period of which we write, without much mechanical aid. The miner descended into the pit by a narrow square opening called a groove, in the angles of which groove pieces of wood were inserted. He ascended with his load of ore in the same rude fashion. "We saw," says Defoe, "the poor wretch working and heaving himself up gradually, as we thought with difficulty. * * * He was clothed all in leather; had a cap of the same without brims; and some tools in a little basket which he drew up with him. * * * Besides his basket of tools, he brought up with him about three-quarters of a hundred weight of ore." This poor man, who could not express himself intelligibly, signified through an interpreter that he was at work sixty fathoms deep; but that there were five other men of his party, two of whom were eleven fathoms deeper, and the other three fifteen fathoms deeper. These had an easier labour, for they had a way out at the side of a hill. Such was mining, in days before the steam engine. The lead mines have always been worked with the expectation of obtaining silver, for the extraction of which modern chemistry has afforded facilities. In 1699 one impediment to such experiments was removed. By a Statute of Henry IV., the "multiplying" gold and silver was made felony. This law, directed against the alchemists, made the attempt to extract gold and silver, by refining metals, a high penal offence; and men of "study, industry, and learning," who in metallurgy had "arrived to great skill and perfection, dare not exercise their said skill." The Act of Henry IV. was therefore repealed.* Such are the mistakes of legislation, when it fancies that matters wholly belonging to its own time will have a perpetual endurance. Our Statute book is full of such examples of blind lawgiving; and the remedy seldom comes till the evil has become insupportable.

Lincolnshire is now universally acknowledged to be the most fertile county in England. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it numbered 40,590 houses, and a consequent population of about two hundred and three thousand. In 1801 it contained a population only of about two hundred and eight thousand. In 1851 its numbers reached four hundred and seven thousand. This is the most remarkable example of the increase of a purely agricultural population, by the application, upon the largest scale, of the resources of mechanical and chemical science. Defoe looked upon the fen-country—the "often-drowned country," whose very ditches were navigable, and whose inhabitants went from town to town in boats. Here he heard the hoarse voice of the bittern. Here he saw the Decoys for wild-fowl, which were taken in incredible quantities for the London market. The bittern no longer shakes "the sounding marsh;" the Decoys are swept away to yield a better supply of beef and mutton. The drainage of the Fens was in progress when Defoe wrote; and there were large outlays of capital upon this great undertaking. But, "notwithstanding all that hands could do, or art contrive, yet sometimes the waters do still prevail, the banks break, and whole levels are overflowed together." † The work which the Romans began; which the

* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 30.

† "Tour," vol. ii. pp. 341—344.

skilful monks of the middle age continued; which spirited adventurers undertook in the time of Charles I., but were interrupted by the rapacity of his unwise government, and the subsequent troubled times; which was set on foot again in 1668; and which was an especial subject of legislation in 1697,—has steadily gone forward. The time may arrive when the Great Level of the Fens may become as wholly firm land, as the remains of ancient roads and trees below the surface show it once to have been. The contrast between the great corn-bearing and grazing country of our own times, and of the period of the Revolution, is sufficiently impressive, although some land has yet to be reclaimed from the dominion of the waters.

The brine springs of Cheshire and of Worcestershire had been producing Salt from time immemorial. On all parts of the coast sea-water had been evaporated for salt, from days probably coeval with the earliest labour of the fisherman. In 1670, the first bed of rock salt was discovered at Nantwich, in Cheshire. Defoe mentions that after this discovery of rock-salt, the salt of the brine springs was not so much in request. At the beginning of the eighteenth century England was known to possess an unlimited supply of the material of salt; yet the manufacture was so imperfect, that the only salt fit for the tables of the opulent was imported. There was no gabelle, as in France, to prevent the free consumption of salt; but the nauseous taste, and the deleterious effects, of our common salt, necessarily limited its use. Then came the long era of injudicious taxation. A duty was imposed upon salt in the reign of William III.; and in a century it was increased to twelve times the value of the article taxed. But this was not enough for the grasp of self-defeating fiscal rapacity. The duty was raised at last to fifteen shillings a bushel, or forty times the value of the article taxed. In 1823 the salt duties were wholly abolished. Then this necessary of life was to be used without stint; and salt was also to become one of the most important materials of chemical manufacture. It is curious to trace the changes in industry produced by the magic of relief from taxation. The abolition of the duty on salt produced the manufacture of soda. The cheapness of soda, and its certain and unlimited supply, wholly altered the manufacture of soap. The alkali which was obtained on every shore of England and Scotland, by burning the sea-weed to produce kelp, now comes from the chemical works of Newcastle and Glasgow, at a price which renders the labour of the meanest peasant who earned the scantiest pittance by collecting the weed, far too costly for the purposes of commerce. Every farmer, in the middle of the last century, endeavoured to prevent any clause being inserted in his lease to regulate his cutting of underwood. He wanted not the underwood for his own hearth. He wanted to burn the wood to make ashes for the soap-boiler. In Suffolk, the soap-boiler's men were always travelling the round of the hamlets. They visited every house with light quartering carts, to collect the wood-ashes. There were scarcely any roads impracticable to these vehicles.* The misery of a country with bad salt and dear soap—both evils chiefly produced by misdirected taxation—can scarcely be over-estimated. The contrast of these matters of the present and the past is astounding. The annual consumption of salt by every individual of the

* Cullum's Hawsted, p. 250.

population of Great Britain was estimated at twenty-two pounds in 1839.* Upon a population of twenty-one millions, this would give a consumption of four hundred and sixty-two million pounds, or eight million two hundred and fifty thousand bushels. In addition, we now export thirty million bushels of salt. Soap duties are now also abolished. The first excise of a penny per pound was imposed in the reign of Anne. The duties on soap went on increasing, till they were utterly repealed in the reign of Victoria. The consumption of soap in 1851 was four times as great as that of 1801.

If the fire-nymphs, and water-nymphs, and earth-nymphs of Darwin had been endued with the spirit of prophecy—if his "nymph Gossypia," † especially, had looked back upon the past, and predicted of the future—the population of Lancashire, when Darwin wrote in 1790, would have incredulously listened to facts such as these, whether told in sonorous verse or simple prose: You numbered two hundred thousand souls at the beginning of the eighteenth century; you will number two million souls in the middle of the nineteenth century. The vegetable fibre of which you scarcely knew the use when the first ship entered the first dock of Liverpool, in the year 1700, and when Liverpool and Manchester had no water communication, shall be brought from North America, from Brazil, from Egypt, and from India, in quantities that will annually reach a thousand millions of pounds. This cotton-wool shall be worked by machines which in their elaborate contrivances shall make the "spinning jenny" of Arkwright appear a feeble substitute for fingers. Enormous factories for converting the wool into yarn, and for weaving the yarn into cloth by mechanical power, shall rise up in barren districts, where the human foot now scarcely treads; and villages, each with a few hundred souls scattered around its parish church, shall become enormous towns, with their thousands of inhabitants. The products of this industry shall furnish twenty millions of our own nation with fabrics of wondrous cheapness, and of beauty far surpassing the painted calicoes of the East, which were so jealously prohibited about a century ago. Foreign nations shall purchase these cotton manufactures to the annual amount in money value of nearly forty million pounds. This manufacture shall give direct employ to half-a-million of people in the factories, and to a hundred thousand engineers and machinists in connexion with these mills. All these wonderful results shall be accomplished by almost incredible skill and perseverance, during a period not longer than the ordinary term of human life. But the most marvellous expansion of this industry, and of all other industries, shall take place in the generation succeeding you; and at the termination of the first half of the nineteenth century, three persons shall subsist on this soil of Lancashire where one subsisted at its commencement; and ten shall subsist where one subsisted a hundred years earlier.

To look at the condition of Lancashire before the cotton era is to look at the Hercules in his cradle. But we must endeavour to continue the sketch which we have attempted of other districts about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

* M'Culloch. "Statistics of British Empire," vol. i. p. 592.

† A name derived from Gossypium, the cotton plant.

Manchester, in the early part of the reign of Charles II., was reckoned to contain six thousand people.* Fifty years later its population was estimated at fifty thousand; but this estimate included "the suburb, or village, on the other side of the bridge." † There were no very precise data for this estimate, beyond the manifest increase of buildings and of trade; the increase of inhabitants having demanded a new church, that of St. Anne. "If this calculation be just, as I believe it really is," writes Defoe, "you have here an open village, which is greater and more populous than most cities in England: neither York, Lincoln, Chester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, no, nor Norwich itself, can come up to it." ‡ The social condition of Manchester, at the end of the seventeenth century, was very primitive. Its manufactures of fustian, girth web, ticking, tapes, were carried on by small masters, who had apprentices residing in their houses. These lads were employed in the servile offices of turning the warping-mills, and carrying packages from place to place. The master and his young men breakfasted together upon "water-pottage, boiled thick," and a bowl of milk stood upon the table, into which all dipped their spoons. § In 1702 there was the portentous entry in a tradesman's household-book, of a sum expended for tea and sugar. In the reign of George I. it was held that "the luxury of the age will be the ruin of the nation;" and one of the proofs of this degeneracy was that "the wholesome breakfast of water-gruel and milk-pottage is changed for coffee and tea." ‖ The present mill-owners of Manchester, each with his enormous transactions, represented by hundreds of thousands of pounds in a year, furnish a remarkable contrast to "those travelling tradesmen whom we call Manchester-men." To every town the fustians and "small things called Manchester-ware" were borne by horse-packs; "the Manchester men being, saving their wealth, a kind of pedlars who carry their goods themselves to the country-shopkeepers everywhere." ¶ The perils of their land journeys were not trifling: "The horse is driven away by some sudden flood, or falls down in the water and spoils the goods." ** Manchester had few rival neighbours in its trade of fustians and dimities, in which a little hand-spun cotton was used. Towns such as Bolton, to which "the cotton manufacture had reached," did not presume to compete with Manchester's warping-mills, and Manchester's looms, "which work twenty-four laces at a time," as is recorded with wondering commendation. At Bury, the cotton manufacture was ended, and the woollen manufacture of coarse sorts begun. At Preston, the tourist had "come beyond the trading part of the country." This gay town, known as Proud Preston, was full of attornies, proctors, and notaries. †† Between the trading towns there was very imperfect communication; and until the Mersey, the Irwell, and the Weaver were made navigable, land-carriage to and from Liverpool was an important addition to the cost of exported and imported goods.

The traveller entering Lancashire from the Western point of the county, would be ferried over the Mersey to Liverpool. Instead of steamers and magnificent landing-places adjusting themselves to the rise or fall of the tide,

* Macaulay; History, vol. i.
† Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 174.
‡ "Tour," vol. iii. p. 174.
§ Aikin.
‖ "Augusta Triumphans."
¶ "Complete Tradesman," vol. i.
** *Ibid.* vol. ii.
†† "Tour," vol. iii. p. 180—83.

the traveller in the reign of Anne, having reached the flat shore in the ferry, was carried "on the shoulders of some Lancashire clown, who comes knee-deep to the boat's side to truss you up." * Liverpool, at the date of the Revolution, had no proper harbour and no quay. The trading-ships lay in the offing, and their cargoes were borne to them or from them in boats. In 1700 Liverpool had built a Dock—now known as the Old Dock. "The like of this Dock was not to be seen in any place of England, London excepted." † From the beginning of the eighteenth century the rapid progress of Liverpool may be dated. In 1709 it had eighty-four ships, and nine hundred sailors. Its Customs soon became next in amount to those of Bristol, which was only exceeded by London. Its warehouses were filled with tobacco and sugar from the Plantations. Thus Liverpool went on increasing, for a century and a half, until in 1851 it numbered three hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants; and the British and Foreign vessels entering the port exceeded four thousand in one year. When the detestable Slave Trade was abolished, the ruin of Liverpool was predicted. It had been engaged in that traffic from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it strove to rival Bristol in the extent of the iniquity. Yet we must not forget that in this matter the heart of trading England was long hardened. The merchants of Lyme, in 1700, petitioned Parliament against the apprehended monopoly of the African Company; and prayed "to be allowed to trade to the plantations, and kidnap on the coast of Africa." ‡

Warrington, whilst Manchester was making its dimities, was the seat of a considerable Linen trade. The table-linen, called Huckaback, was extensively made in the neighbourhood of this place. But every discouragement was given to the English linen manufacture. It was maintained that Divine Providence had appointed the especial employment of manufacturing England, and that the first acceptable sacrifice to His omnipotency was that of the flock. Ireland might grow flax and make linen, as some compensation for the injustice that had been committed towards her in absolutely prohibiting the importation of her cattle. § But let England attempt no other manufacture than the woollen manufacture, which had been for ages the support of the nation. ‖ The same dread of permitting any wear for the living or the dead but that of woollen, made the flock-masters and clothiers frantic, when printed cottons, of English production, had become not only fashionable but common in 1719. Drapers' wives, and even maid-servants and children, it is alleged, wore calicoes or printed linen, attracted by their lightness, cheapness, and gaiety of colour. The example of the gentry had corrupted the common people; and so the manufacture of light woollen stuffs would be ruined. ¶ The result of this clamour was an Act of 1721, to preserve and encourage the Woollen and Silk Manufactures, by prohibiting the use and wear of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed Calicoes, in apparel, household stuff, or furniture. ** Of course such legislation was nugatory; but here is the evidence, amongst many other proofs, of the supreme ignorance and folly of

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 164.
† *Ibid.*, p. 168.
‡ Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 467.
§ 18 Car. II. c. 2.
‖ Tract of 1671.—Smith on Wool, vol. i p. 384.
¶ *Ibid*, vol. ii. p. 195.
** 7 Geo. I. c. 7.

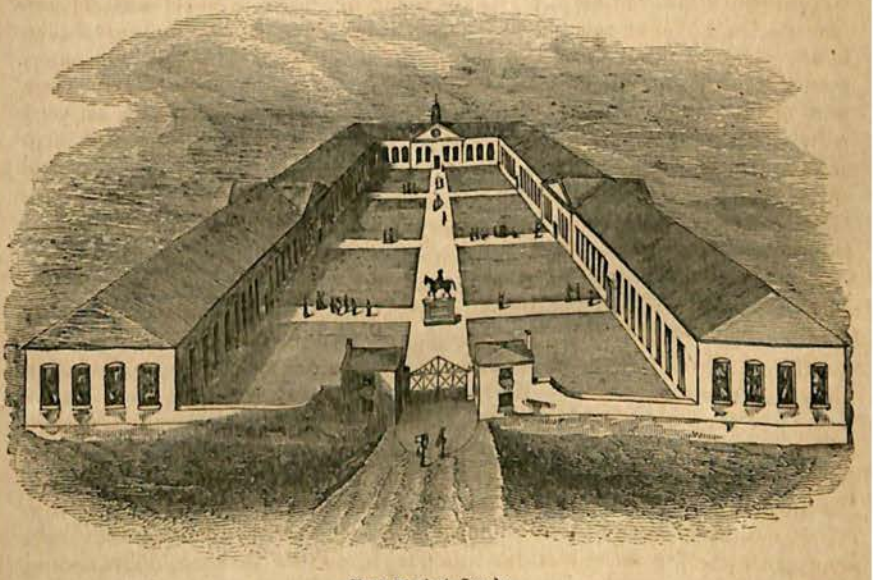
law-makers, who, from the earliest days of the loom and the plough in England, have struggled to "regiment" all industry—to encourage or to prohibit—to determine what wages labourers should be paid, and what should be the profit of capitalists—to crush rising industries by taxation—to compel the people to eat dear food for the supposed benefit of the landowner—and, finally, to find out that the nation was never so universally prosperous as when its industry was wholly left to the care of itself, under the guidance of God's natural laws.

Yorkshire had a population at the beginning of the eighteenth century of five hundred and thirty thousand. The great woollen manufacture, chiefly of the stuffs known as Yorkshire Kerseys, had raised five centres of this manufacture, which were known as Clothing-towns—Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, Leeds. The inhabitants of these five towns are now equal to a fifth of the whole population of Yorkshire. They were, a hundred and fifty years ago, small places, but full of busy and enterprising dealers. It is noted as a remarkable proof of the importance of the commerce of this district, that a cross-post had been established to connect the West of England with the North, which post began at Plymouth and ended at Hull.* Defoe followed the course of this post-road from Liverpool to Bury, and thence to Halifax. There are few things in the books of the modern tourist that can compare with his life-like picture of this country, then in some parts almost inaccessible, but now covered with a web of railways, more complicated than in any other portion of the island. It was the end of August. The snow, even then lying on the hills, appeared alarming. At Rochdale the travellers were offered a guide; but they apprehended no danger, and went on, satisfied with a description of the land-marks. They ascended Blackstone Edge amidst a snow-storm, but the way down was a very frightful one. In the valley they had to cross a brook knee-deep. Again they had to mount a hill, and again to cross a stream; and in a journey of eight miles they repeated this labour eight times, much to their discontent. The tourist records not the picturesque beauties of these Yorkshire valleys; but he has given us a charming sketch of their industry. As he approached nearer to Halifax the houses were closer together, in every bottom and on every hill-side. After the third hill was passed, the country became one continued village, though every way mountainous; and as the day cleared up, he could see at every house a tenter, and on almost every tenter a piece of white cloth, sparkling in the sun. Every house on the hill-side had its little rill, conveyed in gutters from the springs above; and on the heights there was coal, so that the great necessaries of the manufacture were close at hand. In every house the women were carding and spinning. The men were some at the loom, some at the dyeing-vat. Not an idle person was to be seen. The corn of this region, and of other parts of the great clothing district, was supplied from the East Riding, and from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. In the autumn the markets for black cattle were prodigiously thronged, for the clothiers then bought as many oxen as would serve their families for the whole year, salted, and hung up in the smoke to dry. One product of Yorkshire was abundant amongst them—"the store of good ale which flows

* Defoe. "Tour," vol. iii. p. 72.

plentifully in the most mountainous part of this country." The domestic system of the cloth-making villages of Yorkshire has not been wholly driven out by the factory system; but it is very different from the time when the clothier kept "his one horse to fetch home his wool and his provisions from the market, to carry his yarn to the spinners, his manufacture to the fulling-mill, and, when finished, to the market to be sold." *

If the inhabitants of the clothing villages are now essentially different in their mode of life, how much more striking is the difference between the Leeds of queen Anne and the Leeds that assembled a quarter of a million of people to greet queen Victoria in 1858. The great cloth-market of Leeds was, in the seventeenth century, kept upon the bridge over the Aire. As the market increased it was removed to the High-street. From the Bridge to the Market-house tressels were placed in the street, and a temporary counter was formed. The clothiers came in from the country, few bringing more than one piece of cloth; and, after the refreshment of a pot of ale, a bowl of porridge, and a trencher of beef, regularly provided for twopence by the public-house keepers, they were at their tressels by six o'clock in summer and by seven in winter. Each clothier placed his cloth lengthwise upon the counter;—"a mercantile regiment drawn up in line."



Cloth Market, Leeds.

The factors come; examine the cloth; and conclude a bargain in a whisper. In a short time the clothiers begin to move, each bearing his piece of cloth to the buyer's house. In an hour the business is over, and the market is left to the shoemakers, hardware-men, and other retailers. Such was the

* Defoe, "Tour," pp. 73—84.

Cloth-market also at Halifax and Bradford, before the days of the Cloth Hall of Leeds, which was built in 1711.* The Linen manufacture of Yorkshire did not then exist. There was no flax-factory to give employment to a thousand spinners under one roof, attending upon the movements of innumerable steam-driven wheels and spindles. Yet in the small industry of the West Riding in the eighteenth century, we see the germ of its gigantic operations in the nineteenth; and we are by no means sure that in the twentieth century the mighty industry of our own day may not be looked upon as an imperfect development of the resources of English wealth and energy.

Sheffield had been famous for its Cutlery from the time of Edward III. At the end of the seventeenth century it had machinery which had lent no aid to the fabrication of the whittle which Chaucer's Miller of Trumpington wore in his hose. Sheffield had one mill for turning grindstones. The "grinders" of Sheffield are now of themselves a large population. It was boasted that around Sheffield were six iron-furnaces, supplied by its neighbouring woods. How many wood-furnaces would now be required for the production of its steel, and for the almost innumerable products of this great metropolis of steel, giving employment to a population of a hundred and fifty thousand?

Hull was an exceedingly prosperous port at the beginning of the eighteenth century; although it had no dock till 1788. Its commerce on the Northern shore of the Humber included shipments to London, to Holland, and to the Baltic, of the woollens of the West Riding, the hardwares of Sheffield, and the lead of Derbyshire. Its imports were of iron, copper, flax, and linen. But the exports of corn from Hull exceeded those of any other port. One trade, however, was lost to Hull at this period. An Act of 1692 recites that "the trade to Greenland and the Greenland seas, in the fishing for Whales there, hath been heretofore a very beneficial trade to this kingdom;" and the preamble concludes by saying that "the said trade is now quite decayed and lost." The Company then established had little success; and the Whale Fishery was not resumed till 1750. England had little need of oil during the first half of the eighteenth century; for London and all other towns were lighted chiefly by lanterns and link-boys. When light could no longer be dispensed with, the parliament granted a heavy bounty to all ships engaged in the Whale Fishery; and many ships were sent out "as much certainly in the view of catching the bounty as of catching the whales."† The whales, however, shifted their course; and the Greenland fishery came nearly to an end, in spite of the Act "for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade."‡

The tourist whom we have followed in his observant course, says that from Durham to Newcastle the mountains of Coal, lying at the mouth of numerous pits, gave a view of the unexhausted store which supplies not only London but all the South part of England. The people of London, he remarks, when they see the prodigious fleets of ships which come constantly in with coal for that increasing city, wonder whence they come, and "that they do not bring the whole country away." The quantity of sea-borne coal brought to London

* Thoresby's "Leeds" and Defoe's "Tour.

† M'Culloch, "Statistics" vol. i. p. 609 (ed. 1839).

‡ 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 17.

in 1856 was above three million tons, or ten times the amount required about the end of the seventeenth century. But the foreign export of coal from the northern pits is now enormous; and large quantities are borne by railway and canal. It has been calculated that if three million five hundred thousand tons of coals were raised annually, it would require a period of seventeen hundred years to exhaust the coal-pits of Durham and Northumberland. The colliers of the Thames will not speedily "bring the whole country away." The wondrous coal-trade, and the other industries of the towns of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Gateshead, South Shields, and Sunderland, have raised up a population of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand, being considerably in excess of the entire population of Northumberland and Durham in the early part of the eighteenth century. But we must not forget that the vast expansion of mining and manufacturing industry which we have recorded in this our general view, may be dated, in great part, from a Private Bill of the tenth year of the reign of William III., entitled "An Act for the encouragement of a new Invention of Thomas Savery, for raising Water, and occasioning Motion in all sorts of Mill-Work, by the impellant force of Fire." Nor must we overlook the fact, that in the time of Charles II., Roger North describes the admiration of his brother at the ingenuity of the coal-workers of Newcastle, whose "manner of carriage was, by laying rails of timber, from the colliery down to the river, exactly straight and parallel; and bulky carts are made with four rowlets fitting these rails; whereby the carriage is so easy that one horse will draw four or five chaldron of coals, and is an immense benefit to the coal-merchant." *

The population of Cumberland and of Westmorland was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, by far the smallest of any English county. The two counties did not contain more than twenty-one thousand houses, and a hundred and six thousand inhabitants. They had increased by one-half in 1801; which number was again increased by another half in 1851. They did not contribute much more than Rutland to the Aid of 1689. The Fells of Westmorland were held to be almost impassable. Kirkby-Lonsdale and Kirkby-Stephen, Appleby and Kendal, were considered pleasant manufacturing towns; but all the rest of the district was proclaimed to be wild, barren, and horrible. Penrith was said to be a handsome market-town, and of good trade. The people made woollen cloth, as they had made from the old times when the outlaws of Sherwood were clothed in Kendal Green. Packhorses travelled about the villages with cloth; and the pedlar continued to be the principal merchant, as he was up to the days of "The Excursion." Whitehaven was a port for shipping coals, chiefly to Ireland. The copper-mines of the Derwent Fells, which had been wrought in search of gold, in the time of queen Elizabeth, had been abandoned. The Black Lead mine of Borrowdale had also been worked at that period: it continued to be worked in the days when pencils were in small demand; and it still yields its rare and valuable produce, but in quantities unequal to the demand of our own times. After the Union, the castles and great houses of the Border went most of them to ruin. Carlisle had its Cathedral, its Castle, and its Walls; but it was a small city of old buildings; and its population of twenty-six thousand had to

* "Life of Lord Guilford."

be created after a century was past. There was one remarkable industry of this remote district. The salmon taken in the Derwent were carried fresh to London, by horses which travelled day and night without intermission. They travelled faster than the post, and the extraordinary price of the luxury —from half-a-crown to four shillings a pound—repaid the cost of carriage.* Railways serve London with salmon at a cheaper rate.

The industry of Scotland before the Union, in 1707, was so limited in its character, that this is scarcely the period to attempt any comparison between its productive and commercial power previous to that fortunate consummation, and its present condition of agricultural and manufacturing excellence. The two countries, when under separate legislatures, offered a wretched example of mutual prohibitions, under which the smaller country was by far the greater sufferer. Scotland would not admit the English woollen-cloth. England would not permit a Scotch trade with her Colonies. These miserable rivalries came to an end. A Glasgow vessel of sixty tons first crossed the Atlantic in 1718; and from that period Scotland steadily went forward in a noble career of generous emulation with her sister kingdom. Her progress was for many years slow. Capital was not rapidly accumulated after generations of clan hostility. The hordes of beggars, that Fletcher of Saltoun would have sold to slavery in 1698, could not be wholly removed by the absorption of profitable labour in a few years. The violent religious and political hostilities of six reigns could not wholly subside when George I. came to the throne. But the parochial school establishment of Scotland, which dates its efficiency from 1696, was to gradually produce the certain effects of general education upon a keen and energetic race. The mode of living amongst the peasantry of Scotland might be mean, as compared with the diet of the peasantry of England; but the agency was at work which would raise the condition of every labourer in Scotland to a level with his compeers beyond the Border. A humble lot in life was not incompatible with mental cultivation. Allan Ramsay, in the reign of Anne, was a worker in the lead-mines of the earl of Hopeton. Robert Burns, even in 1781, subsisted upon oatmeal when a flax-dresser. But if Johnson, with his usual prejudices, chose to describe oats as a grain eaten by horses in England and by men in Scotland, the time was fast approaching when the national food would cease to be associated with national poverty; when agriculture, improved beyond all example, should fill the land with unprecedented fertility; when the mineral wealth of Scotland should be worked with the same diligence as the cultivation of the soil; when the commerce of the Clyde should approach that of the Thames and the Mersey, and its iron steam-ships sh ould go forth to every sea; when cotton-factories, and print-works should emulate the gigantic mills of Lancashire; when, in a word, there should be no distinctions of enterprise or wealth, and national jealousies should only put on the form of harmless local opinions, that belong to the past of romance, rather than to the past of history.

In the purely Agricultural Counties of England the changes, even of a whole century, are not so remarkable as to demand from us any attempt to

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 192.

point out such extraordinary contrasts as we have heretofore dwelt upon. The great seats of tillage were the South Eastern, the South Midland, and the Eastern districts. The slow increase of population is the index of their progressive condition. Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, had an aggregate population at the beginning of the eighteenth century of about seven hundred thousand; at the end of that century they were a little above ten hundred and fifty thousand. Herts, Bucks, Oxon, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Cambridge, had, at the beginning of the same period, about five hundred and eighty-two thousand inhabitants; at its termination they had only about six hundred and forty thousand. The Eastern Counties had, during the same hundred years, only increased from five hundred and eighty-two thousand people to seven hundred and fifteen thousand. But it must be remarked that the aggregate population of these fifteen counties had increased from about two millions and a half, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to about four millions and a half at its end. The whole of the eighteenth century had been a period of very tardy improvement in cultivation. The first fifty years of the nineteenth had been a period of extraordinary development of agricultural resources.

In the reign of Anne the quantity of land under cultivation in England and Wales was very little more than in the reign of James I. One solitary inclosure Act was passed in the reign of Charles II. There were two inclosure Acts passed in the reign of Anne. Field-turnips were cultivated in King William's time; but their cultivation was not encouraged till the time of George II. The cultivation of clover was advocated by Andrew Yaranton before the Revolution; but the peculiar value of green crops was little understood. The alternate system of husbandry—the growth of turnips or clover after a corn crop—was recommended in the middle of the seventeenth century. But the old system of fallows, by which half of the cultivated land always lay idle, was steadily adhered to. The horse-hoeing husbandry of Jethro Tull was considered only as a costly experiment which had ruined its originator. The value of manure was little understood by the improvident farmer; and even the system of folding sheep upon ploughed lands is mentioned as "a new method of husbandry." * Improvement in the breeds of cattle was not attempted till the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1710 Davenant estimated the average nett weight of the cattle sold at Smithfield at 370 lbs. Their average nett weight in 1800 was 800 lbs. The sheep of 1710 weighed 28 lbs. The sheep of 1800 weighed 80 lbs. Without the alternate husbandry neither the ox nor the sheep could be supported through the winter, or adequately fattened at any time, except in low meadows and marshes.

The comparatively large population of London and Westminster, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had a marked influence upon the agricultural industry of the South Eastern, South Midland, and Eastern Districts. A large quantity of corn was necessary for the consumption of the populous city, and much corn was grown within the districts most convenient for carriage. In 1696, it was estimated by Gregory King that the annual growth of wheat, oats, barley, rye, and beans in the whole kingdom,

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. i. p. 283.

amounted to ten million quarters, of which growth wheat was only one-fifth. The greater portion of the wheat went to the large towns. The rural population lived upon rye-bread, and barley-bread, and oat-cake. The Eastern counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and the counties of Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex, had ready water-communication with London by the Thames, below-bridge. Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, had the same facilities by the Thames above-bridge. We may trace the incessant industry necessary to keep up the land and water communication with the capital, displaying itself in districts somewhat remote from the sea-ports and main-roads. With every natural advantage the communication was laborious and costly; and its cost added very considerably to the price of grain and meat to the consumer. Some of the corn-trade of the port of London gradually resolved itself into the meal-trade. Farnham was the greatest provincial corn-market in England, particularly for wheat, until the farmers of Sussex and Chichester ground their wheat, and sent the meal to London by sea.* This trade was increased when the Wey was made navigable from Guildford, and thence to the Thames. By this navigation of the Wey, timber was brought by land carriage, for a distance of thirty miles, from the woody districts of Sussex and Hampshire.† The demand for timber to meet the increase of London was more profitable than its use in the iron-works of Sussex, which were still smelting iron-ore, and casting cauldrons and chimney-backs, cannon and cannon-balls, in the reign of George II.‡ In Essex, we see the influence of the wants of London. There was little to be noticed at Chelmsford, but that it was a large thorough-fare town, full of inns, maintained by the multitude of carriers and passengers on their way to London with droves of cattle, and with provisions and manufactures.§ Not the least remarkable of these supplies for the capital by the eastern parts, were the droves of turkeys, crowding the roads from Ipswich, and making their way over the heaths and commons, in almost incredible quantities to the great devourer. From the farthest parts of Norfolk, and from the fen countries, droves of geese, sometimes a thousand or two thousand in a drove, were slowly moving on to their fate, from the beginning of August, feeding on the stubbles after harvest; and "thus they hold on to the end of October, when the roads begin to be too stiff and deep for their broad feet and short legs to march in." ‖

The weaving industry of Norwich was more important at this period than the industry of any other city or town of England. The villages round Norwich were wholly employed in spinning yarn for what was known as the stuff-weaving trade, which had been there pursued for four centuries. Every inhabitant of Norwich was working at his loom, his combing-shop, or his twisting-mill. The rich marshes watered by the Yare fed hundreds of black cattle from the Scotch hills; so that the thickly populated districts of the eastern parts of Norfolk were plentifully supplied with animal food. The fishery of Yarmouth not only furnished an enormous export of cured herrings, but gave all the towns and villages another cheap article of food. The whole country was full of business activity, whether in manufactures or in sea-faring occupations; a curious evidence of that unremitting industry being, that pheasants were

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. i. p. 214. † *Ibid.* p. 217. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 230. § *Ibid.* p. 27. ‖ *Ibid.* p. 62.

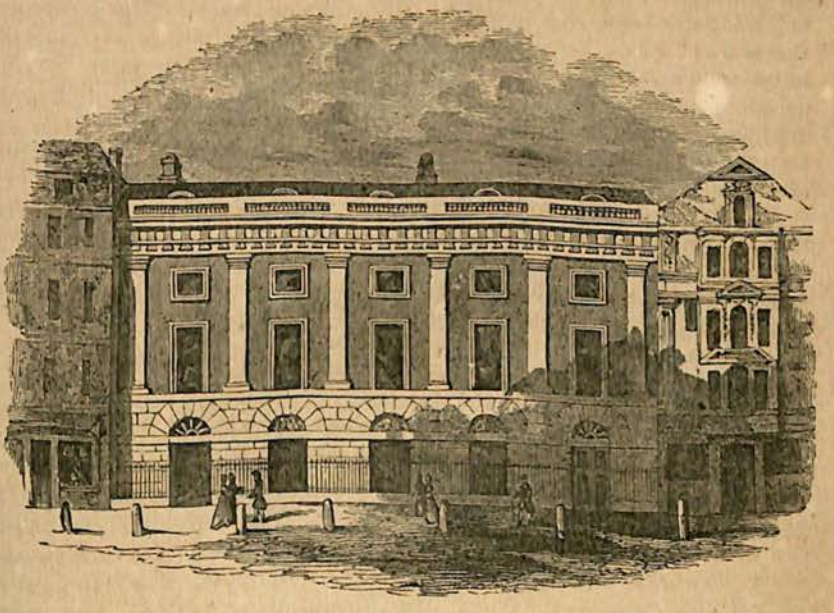
unmolested in the stubbles, which showed, says Defoe, "that the country had more tradesmen than gentlemen in it."

In the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge there were presented, in the autumn of every year, two remarkable spectacles, in striking contrast to each other. To Newmarket went William III. in 1695, with his staid court, as Charles II. had gone thither with his troops of dissipated followers. But Newmarket was still a scene of vice and folly, of frantic gaming and wild profaneness. The highest of the land were at Newmarket,—"so eager, so busy, upon their wagers and bets, that they seemed just like so many horse-coursers in Smithfield; descending from their high dignity and quality to picking one another's pockets." So writes the sturdy moralist, who speaks of vice in no courtly fashion.* The other scene near Cambridge was Stourbridge Fair—the greatest fair in England. Thither came to a row of booths called Cheapside, every sort of retailer from London. Here were prodigious wholesale transactions accomplished in wool and woollen goods, brought from Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Western Counties. But more extensive than any other traffic was that of hops. From this fair the whole country beyond Trent was supplied with hops, grown chiefly in Kent and Surrey, in addition to the supply of all the Midland counties. It is no small proof of the energy which overcame every natural difficulty of communication—bad roads—imperfect water-carriage—that a produce of considerable bulk should be brought from two distant counties to an inland common, thence to be distributed over the whole kingdom.

The two great ports of the Eastern coast, Ipswich and Harwich, were not in a very flourishing condition after the Revolution. Ipswich had lost its colliery trade, and its cloth trade. Much of its ancient splendour had g[illegible] .e. More than a century was to pass before it was to take the lead in carrying forward those great changes of agricultural economy, which were to mark the age of thrashing machines, of sowing machines, and of the almost countless implements of scientific husbandry. Harwich was the packet-station for Holland. When the army of Marlborough was fighting, year after year, on the great battle-field of Europe, Harwich was the busiest of ports. Coaches went twice a week to carry London passengers from and to this famous place of embarkation and of landing. But, when peace came, the Londoners set up passage-boats which went direct from the Thames; the coaches ran no more; and Harwich decayed. On the opposite South-eastern shore, Sheerness had been fortified; and the Medway bristled with lines of guns; so that the danger with which Chatham, the greatest naval arsenal, had been threatened in the time of Charles II., was held to be sufficiently guarded against. Margate was a small port, the inhabitants making no boast of its summer visits of shoals of shrimp-eating Londoners, but of the frequent landings there of William III. Ramsgate boasted only of the more antique honour which it claimed, that Julius Cæsar had there landed. The inhabitants of these little places long continued to be, as they were described by Camden, "amphibious creatures, and get their living both by sea and land. * * * The self-same hand that holds the plough steers the ship." The port of Sandwich had become choked with sand. Dover was prosperous as the principal packet-

* Defoe, "Tour," vol. i. p. 87.

station for France. Folkestone was a mere village. The harbours of Rye and Winchelsea had been ruined by the inexorable changes of the coast-line. The sea had receded, and had left them desolate. Hastings was in little better condition. Winchelsea had still a trade remaining to it, that of electioneering venality; and so had Shoreham, Bramber, and Steyning. Brighthelmstone was "a poor fishing town, old built, and on the very edge of the sea," which had at the beginning of the century swept away many houses; so that the inhabitants had obtained a brief to beg money throughout England, to raise embankments. These were estimated to cost eight thousand pounds; "which," says the tourist of those times, "if one were to look on the town would seem to be more than all the houses in it are worth." Portsmouth was in a prosperous condition through the French war; and was strongly fortified. Southampton was a port whose commerce had decayed; but it had a noble High-street and a spacious quay. As we advance to the Western Coast, we find Purbeck prosperous in fitting out ships to carry paving-stone to London; and the quarries of Portland profitably worked, in furnishing the free-stone with which the new cathedral of St. Paul's, and other public edifices of London, were being built.



East India House, 1726.

CHAPTER III.

Gregory King's Scheme of the Income of the several families in England—Degrees of Society—Town and Country Populations—London—Its Population—Commerce—Trading Companies—Banking—Unemployed Capital—Projects for New Companies—Lotteries—Tradesmen—Their character and habits—Extent of London—Progress of Fashion Westward—Street Economy, and Police—Robberies and Outrages.

In 1688, "A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England" was calculated by Gregory King. He gives the number of families in each degree, and the number of persons. Of course there can be no absolute dependence upon such a document; although other political arithmeticians gave it their approval. In 1851, the Census of that year included a minute return of the infinitely varied Occupations of the People. The Census of 1841 exhibits a general Classification, which is more available for some points of comparison with the "Scheme" of 1688. The changes in the component parts of Society in about a century and a half are very strikingly brought out by this comparison.

I. The "Scheme," in the first place, gives us, of persons of independent means, 160 temporal lords, 800 baronets, 600 knights, 3000 esquires, 12,000 gentlemen. The income of an esquire is taken at £450, and that of a gentleman at £280. There were, moreover, 40,000 "Freeholders of the better

sort," whose incomes are taken at £91 each. There were also 120,000 Freeholders of the lesser sort, each with an income of £55. These constituted the class of yeomen, and many, no doubt, farmed their own land. The Census of 1841 shows upwards of five hundred thousand persons returned as independent; but three fourths of these are females. The more minute return of 1851 shows a large number of annuitants, chiefly females. This class has been created by those facilities of investment in the Government Funds and other Stock, which scarcely existed in 1688.

II. We have next, in the "Scheme," 10,000 persons in the Civil Service of the country;—5000 being in the greater offices and places, and 5000 in the lesser. The class of placemen was very numerous at a period when places were openly sold, and were regarded as amongst the best of investments, for persons who desired the happy lot of sinecurists. The Civil offices of our time are filled by about 16,000 persons of whom the greater number are amongst the hardest workers of the community. The offices now connected with local administration, and the servants of the dock-yards, are not included in this comparison.

III. The mercantile class in 1688 was estimated at 2000 eminent merchants and traders by sea—each with the modest income of £400: and 8000 lesser merchants, each with an income of £200. The shopkeepers and tradesmen were taken at 50,000, each with an income of £45. The artisans and handicraftsmen at 60,000, each earning £38 by the year. The adult males engaged in Commerce, Trade, and Manufacture, in 1841, exceeded two millions. The miners and other labourers were more than half a million.

IV. In 1688, there were, as we have mentioned, 160,000 Freeholders. There were also 150,000 Farmers, each with an income of £42 10*s*. We may conclude that the greater number of the small owners, as well as the renters of land, were engaged in agricultural occupations. The Farmers and Graziers in 1841 were 309,000. Gregory King's estimate gives 364,000 labouring people and out-servants, and 400,000 cottagers and paupers. At a period when there was necessarily a great mixture of occupations, it is impossible to say that these heads of families, amounting to more than three-quarters of a million, were for the most part agriculturists. But we apprehend that a large portion were chiefly engaged in occupations of a rural character. In 1841, the number of agricultural labourers and gardeners, amounted to about twelve hundred thousand.

V. The naval officers of 1688 were estimated at 5000; the common seamen at 50,000. The navy of the queen's and merchant service in 1841 was returned as comprising 220,000 men and boys. The officers of the army in 1688 were reckoned as 4000; the common soldiers as 35,000. In 1841 the army comprised 131,000 officers and men. In 1851 the numbers were largely increased.

VI. The clergy were estimated in 1688 to consist of 2000 "eminent clergymen," each with an income of £72; and of 8000 "lesser clergymen," each with an income of £50. In 1851 there were 18,587 ministers of the established Church; 8521 Protestant dissenting ministers; and 1093 Roman Catholic priests. The "persons in liberal arts and sciences" in 1688 were reckoned as 15,000, each with an income of £60. In 1841 the legal profes-

sion comprised 17,454 persons; and the medical 22,187. Other educated persons following miscellaneous pursuits were 143,836, of whom 34,618 were females.

In looking at the amount of country and town population in Gregory King's estimate, we may take the number of persons to be as follows, in each of the preceding general divisions:—

COUNTRY POPULATION IN 1688.

Belonging to Families of Rank	153,520
Clergy (estimated portion of the whole)	40,000
Freeholders	940,000
Farmers	750,000
Labourers and out-servants (half of the whole)	637,500
Cottagers, &c.	1,300,000
Vagrants	30,000
	3,851,020

TOWN POPULATION IN 1688.

Belonging to Families of Persons in Office	70,000
Merchants	64,000
Clergy (remaining portion of the whole)	12,000
Law	70,000
Liberal Arts and Sciences	75,000
Shopkeepers and Tradesmen	255,000
Artisans	240,000
Army and Navy	256,000
Labourers and out-servants (half of the whole)	637,500
	1,679,500

As nearly as we can judge from these imperfect data, the country population in 1688 comprised five-sevenths of the entire number of the people; the town population comprised only two-sevenths. In 1851, the town population slightly exceeded the population of the country; that of the towns being 8,990,809; that of villages and detached dwellings in the country being 8,936,800.

Of the town populations, that of London probably comprised one-third of the aggregate number. Three years before the Revolution, the inhabitants of the metropolis were estimated by King at five hundred and thirty thousand. This was about one-tenth of the whole population of the kingdom. Sir William Petty estimated the inhabitants of London at a million of persons. This calculation was founded upon very loose data; and still looser were the assertions derived from the increase of houses, that in the reign of George I. the City, with Southwark and Westminster, contained a million and a half of people. Under the precise enumeration of the census of 1801 London contained less than a million inhabitants. The entire population of England and Wales was then under nine millions. Compared with other large towns at the end of the seventeenth century, London was considered able to bear an assessment in Aid that indicated her superiority in wealth as much as in population. In 1693 she was called upon to pay a monthly tax six times as great as the united assessments of Bristol, Norwich, Exeter, Worcester, Chester, and Gloucester. In 1702, there belonged to the port of London 560 vessels, averaging 151 tons each, giving an aggregate

of 84,560 tons. The number of merchant vessels of all the ports of England was 3281, with an average of nearly 80 tons, and an aggregate of 261,222 tons. London thus engrossed about one third of the entire trade of the kingdom.

The commerce of the port of London, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, inconsiderable as it was when compared with the gigantic operations of our own time, must have been sufficiently imposing to the foreigner, and even to those who habitually looked upon it. The magnificent docks of the Thames belong to the present century; one small dock belonged to the earlier period of which we write. But the Pool was crowded in the reigns of William III. and Anne with colliers and coal-barges, waiting to deliver their cargoes at numerous private wharfs. Billingsgate, in 1699, was made a free market for the sale of fish; and the fishermen of little vessels that now came with every tide laden with mackerel and soles, with lobsters and oysters, were no longer compelled to sell exclusively to the fishmongers, but were free to supply the street-hawkers. At three o'clock in summer, and at five in winter, this famous market was opened. The disputes of fishers and costermongers produced that variety of our language which was once termed "Billingsgate;" but which is known by more general names since the great fish market has become refined. But more speculative commercial operations were going forward in the port of London than those connected with the supply of grain, or coal, or fish. During the quarter of a century from the accession of William and Mary to the death of Anne, there had been only four years and a half of peace. To the ordinary sea risks, at a time when marine insurance was little resorted to, was added the risk of capture by a foreign enemy, in distant seas, and not unfrequently in the Channel. Nevertheless,—although during the eight years and a half of war in the reign of William, the tonnage of English shipping declined by more than a half its previous amount,—immediately after the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the commerce of the country took a sudden spring; and although the war was renewed in 1702, it went on increasing during the reign of Anne. Two East India Companies had been quarrelling for the twelve years succeeding the Revolution; but at length their differences were composed; they established a common stock; and the Old Company which was formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century was incorporated into the New Company at the beginning of the eighteenth The anxiety of the merchants of London to overthrow the monopoly of the India Trade, which was in the hands of a few individuals of enormous wealth, was at last successful. The silks and painted calicoes of India were prohibited; but the use of tea was spreading amongst the higher and middle ranks, and a new source of profitable commerce was opened by the change of habits in the people. Even whilst tea and coffee were taxed in their liquid state, and families sent to the coffee-house for a quart of the precious infusions, it was observed that excess in drinking, especially about London, was somewhat lessened through their use.* Immediately after the Revolution, tea and coffee were made subject to the Customs' duties. The shops of London then retailed the new luxuries, but at a price which must have forbidden their general use. In 1710, Bohea is advertised at twelve, sixteen, twenty,

* Chamberlayne's "Present State," 1687, p. 41.

and twenty-four shillings per lb.; the lowest green at twelve shillings.* Eighteen years afterwards, it is complained that "tea and wine are all we seem anxious for."† There was another change in the habits of the people produced by political causes operating upon the accustomed course of trade. The war with France was accompanied by a prohibition of French wines and brandy, of which the previous returns showed an annual consumption of twenty-two thousand tuns of wine, and eleven thousand tuns of brandy. The Methuen treaty of 1703, under which the wines of Portugal were put upon the most favoured footing, sent the wine consumers from Claret to Port, of which twenty-thousand pipes were imported into London in 1721. The loss of brandy was supplied by the consumption of home made spirits; and in a very few years "the distillers found out a way to hit the palate of the poor, by their new-fashioned compound water, called Geneva." ‡

Several of the old trading Companies of London were at this period carrying on their adventures with success. The Russia Company, established in 1553, had certain privileges; but each member of the Company traded on his own account. The Turkey Company was formed in 1579; and two hundred years later was denounced by Adam Smith as "a strict and oppressive monopoly." This was also what was called "a regulated Company," or a monopoly for individual traders. The African Company, which began its operations in 1530, was, on the contrary, a joint stock Company; its constitution being such as that which the East India Company set forth as their own great claim to support, in which "noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects may be traders, and employ their capital in a joint-stock." The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in 1670, for the purpose of opening a trade for furs and minerals. For nearly two centuries the trade in furs, conducted by this Company and the North West Company, who were once rival but were at last united, was held to be the sole use to which a region some forty times larger than England could be applied. The minerals which prince Rupert sent out a ship to search for, in the time of king Charles II., have been discovered in the time of queen Victoria. The reign of the Hudson's Bay Company has suddenly passed away, upon the discovery of gold. A new Colony has been added to the British Crown, in the same year which has also seen the transfer of the sovereignty of India from a joint-stock Company to the Imperial government. It is impossible to look upon such mighty changes without a conviction that events which may change the destinies of millions of Asiatics, and fill another American region of boundless swamps and forests with the greatest civilising race of the European family, are amongst the most wonderful of the Special Providences of the Almighty.

The system of Banking, which had been slowly growing up in London from the time of Charles II., when the goldsmiths kept the cash of the merchants, and large business transactions were arranged by the payment of bills, or what we now call cheques, was not followed at all, or at least very imperfectly, in the country districts. Remittances to London, even of the taxes collected for the government, were made in specie. In 1692 the

* Advertisement in "Tatler," No. 157, original edition.
† "Augusta Triumphans," by Defoe, p. 311. ‡ "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii. p. 220.

collectors of the tax-money of the North, carrying their precious burden on sixteen horses, were attacked in Hertfordshire, and the treasure being borne off, all the horses were killed by the robbers to prevent pursuit.* In the instructions of the "Complete Tradesman," at a much later period, we have

House of the Hudson's Bay Company, Fenchurch Street.

this form of entry in the "Account of Petty Cash":—"To the Exeter carriers, for carriage of money, 15s. 3d." In 1694 the Bank of England was incorporated, and carried on its first operations, with fifty-four cashiers and clerks, in the hall of the Grocers' Company. This great Corporation commenced its functions under the most auspicious circumstances. Its subscribers anticipated the payment of a million two hundred thousand pounds of taxes voted by Parliament, and the Company was allowed eight per cent. upon the money advanced, besides an annual sum of four thousand pounds for management. The system which was recommended by the East India Company, under which the unemployed capital of noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, and orphans, could be made profitable, was coming to be understood. But the facilities for the development of the system were extremely few. Capital was raising its inarticulate voice for employment; and there were projectors at hand to hold out the most tempting prospects of increase, without labour and without risk, to the persons of every degree, whose money was unprofitably locked up in the strong-box. The age

* Evelyn, "Diary, 20th November.

of Companies came very soon after the Revolution. No scheme of fraud, no delusion of folly, was transparent enough to make its victims stay their headlong pursuit of imaginary wealth. The mania never stopped. Several years after the ruin which was produced by the infatuation of the South Sea scheme—of which we shall make mention in due course—the management of Companies was thus spoken of: "We are so fond of Companies, it is a wonder we have not our shoes blacked by one, and a set of directors made rich at the expense of our very blackguards." * The fluctuations, soon after the Revolution, in the price of shares—not only of "new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold," but of the established trading Companies—were so excessive, that the business of the Royal Exchange, in its stock-jobbing department, might be compared to the operations of a great gambling-house. Indeed, the spirit of gaming had taken possession of the people in the humblest as well as the highest transactions. In a Statute of 1698, it is recited that many evil-disposed persons, for divers years last past, had set up mischievous and unlawful games called Lotteries, in London and Westminster, and in other parts, and had fraudulently obtained great sums of money from unwary persons. The Lotteries were therefore declared to be public nuisances. But the newspapers of 1710 are full of the most curious advertisements of Lotteries, called Sales. Some tickets were as high as two guineas: many as low as sixpence.† Mrs. Lowe, the milliner, next door to the Crown in Red Lion Street, has a sixpenny sale. Six houses in Limehouse, and £2499 in new fashionable plate, are to be disposed of by tickets, and the numbers are to be drawn by two parish boys, out of two wheels, at the Three Tun Tavern in Wood-street.‡ There is even a twopenny sale, at the Pastry-cook's, at Porter's-block, near Smithfield.§ But there are signs of the cheats coming to an end. The sale of goods for £7500, to be drawn on Wednesday last, is postponed for weighty reasons; but it will certainly be drawn at Stationers' Hall, for eminent Counsel have given under their hands that this sale of goods is not within the Act for suppressing of Lotteries.‖ The Act was passed; and the "heavy plate" and "stitched petticoats" had to find an honester market. Utterly opposed in principle to the spirit of Lotteries was the principle of Insurance. There were two Insurance Offices against Fire established before 1687—the Royal Exchange, and the Friendly Society. The Amicable Society for insuring Lives was chartered in 1706. But these most valuable institutions were imitated in a gambling spirit. Insurances upon births and marriages were opened; and became such covers for fraud that they were suppressed by Statute in 1710.

The projectors of schemes for making all men suddenly rich,—the managers of fraudulent insurances—the sellers of plate, jewellery, and mercery by lottery—all these, and many others, who trafficked in human credulity, were exceptions to the general spirit of the English tradesman. In an age of somewhat loose morality amongst the higher classes, Burnet, writing in 1708, says, "As for the men of trade and business, they are, generally speaking, the best body in the nation; generous, sober, and charitable." He describes the inhabitants of cities as having "more know-

* "Augusta Triumphans." † Advertisements in "Tatler," No. 239.
‡ *Ibid.* No. 240. § *Ibid.* No. 245. ‖ *Ibid.*, No. 252.

ledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion" than "the people in the country." Berkeley, who took a broader view of human affairs than the historian of his own time, points to "country gentlemen and farmers, and the better sort of tradesmen," as believers in the efficacy of virtue to make a nation happy, rather than as confiding in the power of wealth.* Burnet rather qualifies his praise of "the best body in the nation," by admitting that in the capital city "there may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior."† Of this vanity and pompous exterior there is various evidence. It was the natural result of a prosperous social condition, in which there were very few industrious men who were not bettering their circumstances. It may seem somewhat strange at a period not very far beyond a time when the income of an eminent merchant was taken at four hundred pounds a year, and that of a lesser merchant at not more than two hundred, that we find indications of a pompous exterior which would necessarily be very costly. We can understand how sir Josiah Child, who married his daughter to a duke's son, and gave her a portion of fifty thousand pounds, should have lived at a splendid mansion at Wanstead, and covered acres with his plantations. We do not wonder at the large expenditure of sir Robert Clayton, who changed the barren hills of Marden, in Surrey, into a scene that "represented some foreign country, which would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper." ‡ But we cannot avoid thinking that the average mercantile income was underrated, when we know that the suburbs of London were full of country houses, to which merchants and retailers always repaired in the summer. Carshalton is described as crowded with fine houses of the citizens, some of which were built at profuse expense.§ Other parts of Surrey presented the same show of wealth, in such retreats of the traders, "who in their abundance make these gay excursions, and live thus deliciously all the summer, retiring within themselves in the winter, the better to lay up for the next summer's expense." ‖ The frugality of the citizen's London dwelling, over his shop or over his warehouse, must not be too readily assumed. "It is with no small concern that I behold," says a correspondent of Mr. Bickerstaff, "in coffee-houses and public places, my brethren, the tradesmen of this city put off the smooth, even, and ancient decorum of thriving citizens, for a fantastical dress and figure improper for their persons and characters." ¶ The tradesmen and shopkeepers even aspired "to keep footmen as well as the gentlemen; witness the infinite number of blue liveries, which are so common now that they are called the tradesmen's liveries." Again: "Citizens and tradesmen's tables are now the emblems, not of plenty, but of luxury." ** Three or four maid-servants were said to be kept in a house, where two formerly were thought sufficient. Of course, there is the usual exaggeration in much of this complaint. One of the most certain indications of an improving state of the middle classes is the more luxurious nature of their diet; the wear of better clothing; the employ of more domestic servants; the furnishing their houses

* "Alciphron," Works, vol. i. p. 337.
† "Our Times," Conclusion, vol. vi. p. 203, Oxford ed.
‡ Evelyn, "Diary," July 13, 1700.
§ Defoe, "Tour," i. 232.
‖ Defoe, "Tour," i. p. 239.
¶ "Tatler," No. 270.
** "Complete Tradesman."

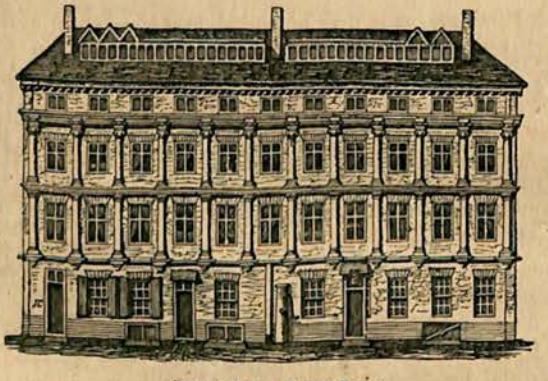
with articles of improved taste. It does not necessarily follow that convenience is more costly than discomfort, or refinement than coarseness. The satirist is not always to be relied upon who looks back to a past generation for his models of virtuous simplicity. What was denounced as vanity and extravagance in Anne's reign, might be held up as the most pattern frugality, to shame the universal love of display in our time.

The rebuilding of the City after the great Fire, was a work of marvellous energy, which offers an example, rarely paralleled, of public spirit. It was scarcely to be expected that there should have been no sacrifices to mere expediency; that a houseless population should have set about the work of reconstruction by raising up a city of wide streets instead of narrow alleys; and of regular architecture instead of the diversified adaptations to individual means and wants. Yet much was accomplished. Brick or stone houses replaced those of timber and plaster; and light and air were not excluded by the topmost story of every house almost touching its opposite neighbour. London was made more convenient, but infinitely less picturesque. In one respect the new city was not so airy as the old. Gardens behind many of the opulent traders' houses, and large side-yards, were built over. The nobility had migrated from the East to the West, and their old mansions in Bishopsgate, and Houndsditch, and Barbican, with vast courts and offices, were covered with new squares. The fire of London gave habitations to a more numerous population; and it was asserted that when the City had been rebuilt, four thousand additional houses stood upon the area that was desolated by the fire. If the new shops and warehouses and dwellings had no great architectural pretensions, many public edifices had risen, which gave London a feature characteristic of its age. The churches which were destroyed had been mostly erected during the period when the old religion was in the ascendant. They were adapted to the ceremonials of Catholicism, and not for the accommodation of congregations to whom the sermon was the all-important part of public worship. It was fortunate that a man of real genius existed at the time of the Fire, who had a higher notion of the functions of an Architect than to produce copies of buildings belonging to a past age. It was fortunate that Sir Christopher Wren did not set about re-producing a Gothic St. Paul's, but, after the labour of thirty-five years, gave London the noblest Protestant Temple of the world. It was fortunate that instead of repeating in his new Parish Churches the gabled roofs and lancet windows of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he left us, in his fifty-one Churches, built under every possible disadvantage, edifices of consummate beauty and variety in one great feature of their external appearance. He had to build these churches upon small areas, many behind the main streets. He made his very difficulties the main cause of his success. "Wren, with consummate judgment, put his strength into his steeples and campanili, which soar above the sordid and dingy mass of habitations, and, clustering like satellites round the majestic dome of the Cathedral, impart to the general aspect of the city a picturesque grandeur scarcely rivalled by Rome itself." * The accomplished artist from whom we quote truly characterises Wren as an inventor.

After the fire of London, as the nobility and the opulent gentry had gone

* Mr. A. Poynter, in "Pictorial History of England," vol. iv. p. 742.

Westward for their dwellings, the course of retail trade took the same direction. In the latter years of Charles II., the mercers occupied Paternoster Row; the street was built for them; it was thronged with coaches in two rows; the neighbouring streets were occupied by dependants upon the mercery trade, by the lacemen and fringe-sellers. Gradually the court came no longer to the city to buy its silks and velvets; and the mercers followed the court, and settled in Covent Garden.* Paternoster Row was deserted by the dealers in brocades, to be ultimately supplanted by the dealers in books, who, in like manner, deserted their old quarters in Little Britain. The "persons of quality" had begun to congregate a little north of Holborn. Great Ormond Street, with one side open to the fields, was a seat of fashion; and so was Bloomsbury Square. Spring Gardens, whose thickets were once the resort of gallants in laced ruffles and periwigs, and of ladies in masks, was now covered with gay houses. Covent



Craven House, Drury Lane.

Garden Square was the very centre of high life. Drury Lane had not quite lost the aristocratic perfume which belonged to Craven House and Clare House. The fashionable tenants of the side boxes of Drury Lane theatre, and of Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, were not far removed from these two famous resorts of "the Town," which was now corrupted by Farquhar and Congreve, in lessons of human conduct only made more dangerous by their wit. Soho Square and St. James's Square were built before the Revolution. Golden Square was in fashion a quarter of a century later. The land of gentility was gradually stretching away still westward, in the direction of Piccadilly. But in 1708 Bolton Street was the most westerly street of London. Albemarle Street, to erect which Clarendon's proud mansion had been cleared away, was in an unfinished district of what are called "carcases," at the end of the eighteenth century. Squares were growing up towards Tyburn Road, which did not acquire its genteel name of Oxford Road, till it became the seat of a new Bear Garden. The hangman's cart duly travelled to the ancient gallows long after this road of deep sloughs had

* "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii.

been formed into a street. Changes marking the changes of society were going on. May Fair, "held in Brookfield Market-place, at the east corner of Hyde Park," dwindled away; and the Brook which flowed from Tyburn was covered over by the houses of Brook Street. The May-pole in the Strand, which James duke of York employed his sailors to hoist up at the Restoration, to typify the downfall of Puritanism, was removed to Wanstead, to support "the largest telescope in the world." Puritanism lost its power of domination, and gradually slided into Dissent. At the Revolution there was a transient struggle, in which a little toleration was the only victory of the principle which had overthrown the monarchy. The New Church in the Strand took the place of the old May-pole. Addison's Tory Fox-hunter seeing this church of St. Mary le Strand half-built, thought that Dissent had triumphed, and that an old temple of the establishment was in process of demolition. He "was agreeably surprised to find that instead of pulling it down they were building it up, and that fifty more were raising in other parts of the town."*

The Street Economy, as it may be called, and the Police of the London of the beginning of the eighteenth century, have so often been described, that we can merely glance at these subjects, which are the peculiar province of the essayist. It was a city, cleaner probably, and with more public conveniences than any other capital of Europe; but in what we should now deem a condition most unfavourable to health, comfort, and security. There were no foot-pavements as distinguished from the carriage-road. There were lines of posts in the chief streets, within which it was only safe to walk. The carmen in the principal road were fighting with the hackney coach drivers. The chairmen drove the foot-passengers off the railed-in way; and the foot-passengers themselves struggled for the honour of the wall. Every square and open place was a deposit for rubbish and filth, gathering in heaps of abomination, to be very tardily removed by the dustman. The streets were resonant with the bawlings of higlers and wandering merchants of every denomination. The pick-pockets and ring-droppers had no preventive police to regulate the exercise of their profession. A crowd of vagabond boys were often pursuing their sports in the most crowded thoroughfares, of which sports foot-ball was the favourite. The apprentice in the merchant's counting-house enters in his petty cash-book—"For mending the back-shop sashes broken by the foot-ball, 2*s.* 6*d.*"† The Thames was the most convenient highway between the City and Westminster, with wherries employing four or five thousand watermen. The hackney-coaches, to the number of eight hundred, had not displaced them. But a more rugged set than the Thames watermen—more terrific to a timid squire from the country, or an ancient lady going down Blackfriars to take the air—it is impossible to conceive. Their shouts of "Next oars" and "Skullers," were appalling. No sooner was the boat on its way, up or down the stream, but every passenger in another boat was assailed with a volley of "water compliments," compared with which the "slang" of our politer day is soft as the oaths of Hotspur's wife.‡ It was at night that the real dangers of the street began.

* "Freeholder," No. 47, June 1, 1716. † "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii.
‡ *Vide* (but you had better not) "Tom Brown's Works," vol iii. p. 288, ed. 1730.

The Watch was in the most lamentable state of imbecility. The Court of Common Council, in 1716, decreed that the streets should be lighted—but the few glass lamps only made "darkness visible." Robberies were common in every great thoroughfare. The very link-boy was a thief. The resorts of bullies and cut-throats, Whitefriars and the Savoy, the Mint and the Clink, were put down by Act of Parliament in 1697, as places of refuge for fraudulent debtors; and the great haunts of villainy no longer bade defiance to the officers of the law. But the drunken outrages of the night-prowlers, "The Mohawks," who had "an outrageous ambition of doing all possible hurt to their fellow-creatures," were denounced by the "Spectator," on the 12th of March, 1712; though on the 8th of April he says, some "are apt to think that these Mohawks are a kind of bull-beggars, first invented by prudent married men and masters of families, in order to deter their wives and daughters from taking the air at unseasonable hours." * Swift was terrified about them; and a royal proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £100 for the detection of any person wounding or maiming one of her majesty's subjects. There was probably much exaggeration in these terrors. The historian of London deduces their origin from "fictitious stories artfully contrived to intimidate the people;" and adds, "It does not appear that ever any person was detected of any of the said crimes." He made all inquiry in places where they were said to have been chiefly committed, and could never learn of any one person having received the least hurt.† Nevertheless, the deportment of some of the rich, "flown with insolence and wine," was one of the reasonable terrors of a street guarded by decrepit old men, and during an administration of justice which might be often bribed by wealth and awed by rank.

* Nos. 324 and 347.

† "Maitland's London," i. 511.

Comparative Table of the Number of Houses and Estimated Population at the Revolution, and of the Populations of 1801 *and* 1851 ;
with the Assessment for Aid in 1689—*arranged in Registration Divisions.*

	Hearth-money. Return of Houses.	*Population at 5 to a House.*	*Population,* 1801.	*Population,* 1851.	*Aid,* 1689.
South-Western Counties.					
Wilts	27,093	135,465	183,820	254,221	£1966
Dorset	21,940	109,700	114,452	184,207	1344
Devon	56,310	281,550	340,308	567,098	3229
Cornwall	25,374	126,870	192,281	355,558	1540
Somerset	44,686	223,430	273,577	443,916	2771
	175,403	877,015	1104,438	1805,000	10,850
West Midland Counties.					
Gloucestershire	26,764	133,820	250,723	458,805	1808
Herefordshire	15,000	75,000	88,430	115,489	1131
Shropshire	23,284	116,420	169,248	229,341	1203
Worcestershire	20,634	103,170	146,441	276,926	1053
Warwickshire	21,973	109,865	206,798	475,013	1192
Staffordshire	23,747	118,735	242,693	608,716	852
	131,402	657,010	1,104,339	2,164,290	7,239
London Division.					
Middlesex and Westminster	60,139	500,680	958,000	2,362,000	3040
London	30,997				4291
South Eastern.					
Surrey	34,218	171,090	268,233	683,082	1597
Kent	39,242	196,210	308,667	615,766	3326
Sussex	21,537	107,685	159,471	336,844	1821
Hants	26,851	134,255	219,920	405,370	2159
Berks	16,906	84,530	110,480	170,065	1132
	138,754	693,770	1,066,771	2,211,127	10,065
North Western.					
Cheshire	24,054	120,270	192,305	455,725	747
Lancashire	40,202	201,010	673,486	2,031,236	1006
	64,256	321,280	865,791	2,486,961	1753
York	166,151	830,755	851,000	1,799,995	3469
South Midland.					
Herts	16,569	82,845	97,393	167,298	1345
Bucks	18,390	91,950	108,132	163,723	1315
Oxon	19,007	95,035	111,977	170,439	1135
Northampton	24,808	124,040	131,525	212,380	1413
Huntingdon	8,217	41,085	87,568	64,183	653
Bedford	12,170	60,850	63,393	124,478	896
Cambridge	17,847	86,735	89,346	185,405	1020
					349 Ely
	116,508	582,540	639,334	1,087,896	8,126
Eastern.					
Essex	34,819	174,095	227,682	369,318	3093
Suffolk	34,422	172,110	214,401	337,215	3298
Norfolk	47,180	235,900	273,479	442,714	3378
	116,421	582,105	715,562	1,149,247	9774
North Midland.					
Leicester	18,702	93,510	130,082	230,308	1084
Rutland	3,263	16,315	16,300	22,983	240
Lincoln	40,590	202,950	208,625	407,222	2575
Nottingham	17,554	87,770	140,350	270,427	873
Derbyshire	21,155	105,775	161,567	296,084	862
	101,264	506,320	656,924	1,227,024	5634
Northern.					
Durham	15,984	79,920	149,334	390,997	823
Northumberland	22,741	113,705	168,078	303,568	872
Cumberland	14,825	74,125	117,230	195,492	168
Westmorland	6,501	32,505	40,805	58,287	116
	60,051	300,255	475,497	948,344	979
Wales and Monmouth.	53,083	269,915	601,000	1,005,721	2939

The Farmer's Kitchen of the beginning of the last century.

CHAPTER IV.

Fixed position of the various Classes—Difficulty of passing from one position to another—The Rural Population—The Cottager—The Agricultural Labourer—Character of the Agricultural Labourer—The Farmers and Small Freeholders—The Gentlemen and Esquires——Character of the Country Gentleman—His Animosities—The Nobility—The Nobility and Esquires in London—The Clergy—Great Social Evils—Neglect—The Press—Liberal Arts and Sciences.

In considering the proportions of the various degrees of society, as presented by the approximating "Scheme" of 1688, and the exact Census of 1851, we must bear in mind that, a century and a half ago, the facilities possessed by the people of passing from one occupation to another occupation were very limited; and that the power of what we term rising in the world was equally restricted. In the locality in which a labourer was born he generally remained to the end of his life. The laws of Settlement were attempted to be relaxed in 1697; for it was felt and avowed that paupers were created by the restraints which prevented them seeking employ where

there was work to be done, and compelled them to starve upon the parochial pittance where there was no capital to support labour.* But the clumsy machinery for remedying the evil would not act; and this semi-slavery continued unmitigated till our own time. The barriers which prevented the artificer or the trader from passing out of his first condition into one more eligible were almost as onerous. The severe enforcement of the laws of Apprenticeship kept a man for ever in the particular pursuit for which he had served seven years of dreary education; and the devices of Guilds and Companies and City-freedoms created a practical monopoly, which it was very difficult to overthrow. Some few men of great ability certainly overcame the impediments of birth and education, and rose to opulence and honours; but the rise of the commonalty was always regarded with extreme jealousy by the born great. The servile literature of the days before the Revolution echoed this sentiment. It was sedulously inculcated, in the fashionable belief, that all the wealth of the community was derived from the expenditure of the higher classes; that the prodigality of the gentry was the sole cause "that cooks, vintners, innkeepers, and such mean fellows, enrich themselves; and that not only these, but tailors, dancing-masters, and such trifling fellows, arrive to that riches and pride, as to ride in their coaches, keep their summer houses, to be served in plate, &c., an insolence insupportable in other well-governed nations." † Philosophers arose to tell the prodigal great that they were in the right course, for that private vices were public benefits; and so, in very charity to the providers of luxuries, the country squire became a rake upon town, and his estates went to ruin, and all his poor dependents felt the curse of his licentiousness. It was this extreme dependence of many of the peasantry upon the landowners, that held them bound in more ignoble chains than those of the old feudality. They might receive a capricious patronage, but they could not demand a constant protection.

We may probably arrive at some view, however unsatisfactory, of the component parts and condition of the Rural Population, by a further analysis of Gregory King's scheme. We have assumed that the incomes of families of rank, independent of the incomes of those in "greater offices and places," are derived from their landed estates. This aggregate income is somewhat under six millions sterling. It is appropriated to sixteen thousand six hundred families, who altogether number about a hundred and fifty-four thousand persons, or between nine and ten in each family. This is an excess of five in each family above the usual rate of families, and it will show that eighty-three thousand servants and retainers are maintained in these great households. But there are also forty thousand "freeholders of the better sort," with an aggregate income of more than three millions and a half, who have each two in family beyond the average. This gives another eighty thousand dependents. The aggregate income of a hundred and twenty thousand "freeholders of the lesser sort" is about six millions and a half; and these maintain sixty thousand in their households beyond the usual proportion. There are thus two hundred and twenty thousand persons directly maintained by the expenditure of the independent classes—of the classes who are not dependent upon

* 8 & 9 Gul. iii., c. 3.

† Chamberlayne; "Present State of England," 1687, p. 43.

their industry for their support, or only partially so. These households, living upon a total revenue of sixteen millions and a half, comprise about eleven hundred thousand persons, or one-fifth of the whole population. The income from the land is very nearly equal to the total income of the other accumulating classes,—of the clergy, the lawyers, the physicians, the naval and military officers, the civil officers, the merchants, the men of science and arts, the traders, the artisans, and the farmers. These possess an aggregate revenue from their industry of eighteen millions, and maintain about sixteen hundred thousand persons. The independent classes, and their dependents, and the other accumulating classes, comprise one-half of the population, each person deriving twelve pounds for his annual support. The remaining population of very nearly three millions have an income of nine million pounds, or three pounds for the annual support of each person.

The labouring people and out-servants have been supposed by us to belong, half to the town population and half to the country population. They are estimated to receive fifteen pounds for each family. But the income of each family of the cottagers and paupers is put as low as six pounds ten shillings, or one-sixth of the income of the artisan. We would recommend this consideration to those who are in the habit of asserting that in such happy times as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the English cottager was abundantly fed and clothed; comfortably housed; was well cared for by his betters—a contented man, who enjoyed a golden age that will never return.

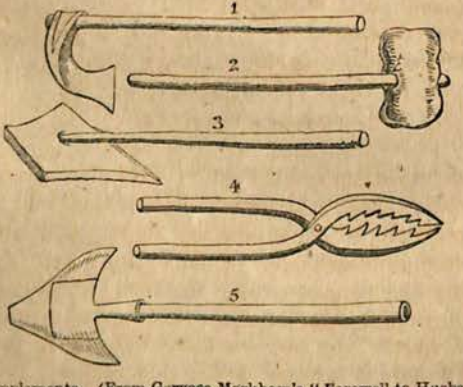
At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the enclosed land of England was estimated at half the area of the kingdom. Since that time there have been enclosed ten thousand square miles of land, which, a hundred and fifty years ago, was heath, morass, and forest. This vast tract of land, which was capable of yielding something to spade cultivation, was the region in which Gregory King's "cottagers" gained their scanty livelihood. They were the "squatters" upon the edges of commons; and the farmer regarded them with as much suspicion as he regarded the "vagrants." The squire would toss them a penny when they opened a gate, or told him which way the fox was gone. The parson cared very little for them, for they were too ragged to appear in church. Undoubtedly the out-door agricultural labourer was in a better condition than this wretched class who were so much below him. His wages varied in different localities, from four shillings to six shillings a week, without food. The average was probably five shillings. This rate agrees with King's calculation, that fifteen pounds was the annual income for a labouring man's family. The mode in which we are accustomed to regard the difference in the value of money might lead us to the conclusion, that the labourer had a better lot with five shillings a week, than with ten shillings in the present day. He indeed bought many things cheaper than the labourer of our time, but there were many articles of necessity or comfort much dearer than now, or wholly out of his reach. In 1706 wheat was forty shillings a quarter. The difference is not great between the price of 1858. But the labourer of the eighteenth century never ate wheaten bread. Woollen clothing of every sort was far dearer then. Linen was almost beyond the reach of his wife and children. There were no cheap calicoes for their shirts; no smart prints equally cheap for their frocks.

Tea and sugar, the comforts of the modern cottage, were wholly for the rich. Fresh meat was only eaten twice a week by half the working people; and never tasted at all by the other half. The salt to cure the flesh of his hog was very dear, and frightfully unwholesome. His hovel with "one chimney," was unglazed, and its thatched roof and battered walls offered the most miserable shelter. Furniture he had none, beyond a bench and a plank on tressels,—an iron-pot, and a brown basin or two. All the minor comforts of the poorest in our age were absolutely wanting. He was no partaker of the common advantages that have accrued during a century and a half, to the humblest as well as to the highest. No commodity was made cheap to him by modern facilities of communication, which in that age would have been considered miraculous. He had the ague, and his children died of the small-pox, without medical aid. The village practitioner, who might be called in at the last extremity, was an empiric, to whom the knowledge and sagacity of Sydenham were unknown, and who had no faith in the theories of Harvey. Less fortunate than the peasant of the nineteenth century, he had, in England, not the slightest chance of going out of his condition through education; or of making a humble lot more endurable by some small share of the scantily diffused stores of knowledge. His children were equally shut out from any broader view of life than that of their native hamlet; for charity schools, few and mean as they were, founded for the education of the poor, were only established in some favoured towns. Yet the peasant of the reigns of William and Anne was not an unhappy or degraded being. He had not been humiliated by a century of pauperism. He was emphatically a man—ignorant, in our sense of ignorance; believing in witches and omens; fond of rough sports, his wrestling and his cudgel-playing, and of some cruel sports, his cock-fighting, and his bull-baiting. He was not unfrequently a poacher, without any great sense of criminality. But he had a salutary respect for the constable and the justice, and was under a willing submission to the law, as were most other Englishmen. On rare occasions he freely took his glass of strong ale—at the fair or the wake, the sheep-shearing or the harvest home; had his honest merriment on the village-green, and sometimes was asleep on the bench over which the arms of the parish squire creaked in the wind. But he was not an habitual drunkard. He had a clean smock frock for the day when he heard the bells tolling for church; and he felt, when listening to the same words, and joining in the same ritual, as the lord of the manor heard or joined in, that he had some position in the human family. He was always a hard-worker; and he moreover knew that without industry he should fall to a condition below that in which God had placed him. "A neighbour of mine made it his remark," writes Berkeley, "in a journey from London to Bristol, that all the labourers of whom he inquired

Sydenham.

the road constantly answered without looking up, or interrupting their work, except one, who stood staring and leaning on his spade, and him he found to be an Irishman." *

The Farmers, and the smaller Freeholders, were, with the exception of their greater command over the necessaries and comforts of life, at no great elevation above the husbandman who worked for wages. They were almost equally shut out from any very extensive commerce with the general world. They attended markets and fairs, but there the price of grain and of stock was the principal object of their inquiries. The local rate was the sole guide of their dealings. They had no price-currents to enable them to sell, or to hold back, according to the averages of the kingdom; nor indeed had they the power, in their limited command of labour, and in their utter want of machinery more effective than labour, to take advantage of a sudden rise in the price of food. Their bargains were hurried and improvident. The laws against forestalling prevented speculation in corn, and interfered with the natural foresight against coming seasons of scarcity. After the harvest the grain was sold as speedily as possible, to provide capital for the labour of another season. The people consumed without stint for a time; and then came terrible scarcities, with miseries innumerable in their train. The cultivators, as we have indicated, were slow to receive any improvement; and in their pursuit, as in many commercial pursuits, it was held that labour-saving expedients were an injury to the poor. They worked with the same rough tools as their grandfathers had used; for the plough and the harrow were incompetent to prepare the soil for seed without being followed up by



Husbandry Implements. (From Gervase Markham's "Farewell to Husbandry," 1620.)

1. Hack for breaking Clods after Ploughing. 2. Clotting Beetle for breaking Clods after Harrowing. 3. Clotting Beetle for Wet Clods. 4. Weeding Nippers. 5. Paring Shovel, for Clearing Ground and Destroying Weeds.

much manual industry. There was a rough hospitality in their households. The great kitchen served for all domestic uses. Their home-servants took their meals at the same board with themselves; the children crowded about the floor; the dogs and the poultry gathered up the bones and the crumbs.

* "Works," vol. ii., p. 229.

They were a sturdy race, full of the independence which they had inherited from the times which made them free of the old lords of the soil; with many prejudices which had an intimate alliance with virtues—a very difficult race for courtiers and preachers of divine right to manage; such a race as rallied round

Costume of Commonalty.

Hampden when he stood up against ship-money; such a race as Cromwell chose for his Ironsides; men who preserved their traditions in their hatred of Popery, and of everything which approached Popery and arbitrary power.

The forty thousand "Freeholders of the better sort," whose incomes are reckoned at ninety-one pounds a year for each family, though entitled to some of the privileges of men of worship, were separated from the "Gentlemen" and the "Esquires" by barriers more difficult to pass than those of mere wealth. We have a precise description of the "yeoman of about a hundred pounds a year, an honest man." He may sport over his own lands without being informed against. "He is just within the Game Act, and qualified to kill a hare or a pheasant." He often earns his dinner with his gun. "In short, he is a very sensible man; shoots flying, and has been several times foreman of the petty jury."* But there was an insurmountable obstacle to any approach to equality between even the richest yeoman and the most impoverished esquire. The genealogy of the esquire was at once his strength and his weakness. His family pride kept him from meannesses

* "Spectator," No. 122.

unworthy of a gentleman; but it did not always preserve him from excesses that would appear more properly to belong to the humble origin of the coarsest peasant. Too often he fancied that his rank exempted him from the ordinary restraints of decent society. Yet, in the dissipation of the higher classes, which inevitably followed a quarter of a century of profligacy that had almost destroyed the old English character, there was, we are inclined to believe, some struggle against the fashionable temptations to which the great wholly abandoned themselves in the court of Charles II. The family ties were too often worn loosely; but the belief in those happy times "ere one to one was cursedly confined,"* was not a general creed. The barbarous hospitality that induced "gentlemen to think it is one of the honours of their houses that none must go out of them sober,"† was a little wearing away. One who looked at mankind from the philosophical as well as the religious point of view, attributes to idleness and ignorance the sensual excesses of "the uneducated fine gentleman." The Englishman is held to be "the most unsuccessful rake in the world. He is at variance with himself. He is neither brute enough to enjoy his appetites, nor man enough to govern them."‡ Burnet boldly says of the gentry of his time, "They are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing, of any of their rank I ever met with." They are ill-taught and ill-bred; haughty and insolent; they have no love for their country, or of public liberty; they desire to return to tyranny, provided they might be the under-tyrants. In their marriages they look only for fortune. This is an awful picture, though some of the shadows may be a little too dark. Burnet was a Whig. The majority of the country gentlemen, having set up a constitutional sovereign, were again howling for divine right, and manifesting their love for a Protestant Church by sighing for the old days of confiscation and imprisonment to sweep out non-conformity. The times are long past when a lover of his country's liberty had a right to be angry at this temper. We would rather look at it as a folly to be laughed at, as Addison looked at it. His Tory Fox-hunter is the true representative of that class of "country gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed." The Fox-hunter was of opinion that there had been no good weather since the Revolution; and that the weather was always fine in Charles II.'s reign. He loved his spaniel, because he had once worried a Dissenting teacher. He chose an inn for his quarters because the landlord was the best Church of England man upon the road. England, he maintained, would be the happiest country in the world, if we could live within ourselves, for trade would be the ruin of the nation.§ The Toryism of sir Roger de Coverley, whom all love, was never offensive. He maintained the landed interest as opposed to the moneyed. He would not bait at a Whig inn. When he saw the headless statue of an English king in Westminster Abbey, and was told that it had been stolen, "Some Whig, I warrant you," says sir Roger. Burnet may denounce the gentry of his time as ignorant and irreligious. A far greater historian may describe the squires who were in Charles II.'s commissions of peace and lieutenancy—and they could not have changed much, in less than the term of one generation—as differing

* Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel." † Burnet, "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 199.
‡ Berkeley, "Alciphron," Works, vol. i. p. 345. § "Freeholder," No. 22.

little "from a rustic miller or ale-house keeper of our time;" and paint their wives and daughters "in tastes and acquirements below a housekeeper or a still-room maid of the present day."* The country gentleman's "unrefined sensuality;" his "language and pronunciation such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns;" his "oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse;" his habitual intoxication "with strong beer;" his "bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop-merchants"—are given as characteristics of the country gentleman "of the time when the crown passed from Charles II. to his brother." But some sketches of the country gentleman, written in 1711—sketches which will endure as long as our language—may be set in merciful contrast to the highly coloured composition of our eloquent contemporary, "derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated." With the sir Roger de Coverley of Addison and Steele we live for a month at his house in the country, and see only sober and staid servants, and a chaplain, who was chosen for plain sense rather than learning, and as "a man that understood a little of backgammon." Will Wimble, an idle younger brother to a baronet, describes a "large cock-pheasant," and how he caught "the huge jack;" but we do not see him and the host laid under the table. The knight's knowledge is not extensive. He takes care to parade his acquaintance with Baker's Chronicle; and tells that there is fine reading in the casualties of Henry IV.'s reign. But he does not pretend to be what he is not, and he has a reverence for the intellectual qualities of his visitor from London. Nor is he ill-bred, haughty, and insolent, as Burnet describes the class. With true politeness he lets his guest rise or go to bed when he pleases; dine in his own chamber, or at the general table; sit still and say nothing without being called upon to be merry. He indeed is somewhat dictatorial and exclusive at church; and will suffer nobody to sleep in it besides himself; counts the congregation to see if any of his tenants are missing; and when John Mathews kicks his heels, calls out to him to mind what he is about, and not disturb the congregation. But he is compassionate even to the hare that he rescues from his hounds; and when he is doubting whether he ought not, as a justice of the peace, to commit the gipsy as a vagrant, he ends by crossing her hand with a piece of money. This, it may be said, is the fancy-picture of the most gentle of the great English humourists. But all the life-like traits of past manners must be derived from similar sources. Those who describe their own age with the greatest bitterness of satire are not always the most trustworthy. The exceptional cases of gross vice and degrading ignorance in the gentry may be as often mistaken as characteristics of a class, as the ruffians and outcasts of a great city may be mistaken for specimens of the hard-working and ill-paid tenants of its hovels and garrets.

The most repulsive feature in the character of the English Country Gentleman of the time of William and Anne is his political and religious bigotry. He does not only avoid the company of his neighbour for their difference of opinion, but he positively hates him. This is not a quiescent humour, whose chief evil is to destroy good fellowship. It takes the practical form of one continued struggle for political supremacy. The dominion of King without

* Macaulay, vol. i. chap. iii.

Parliament he knows has passed away; the most devoted Tory has no serious hopes that it can be brought back again. If the nation were to call over the son of James II., he fancies that, although the young Stuart is a papist, there will be no interference with the national religion; and although the exiled family have been taught from their cradles to venerate a heaven-appointed despotism, that they will not be despots. Whig and Tory accept parliamentary government as an accomplished fact, and they will each see what they can make of it for their own advantage. Both parties had their strongholds in the boroughs that had representatives without population. If they could manage the country districts that were populous, they might wholly control the troublesome cities and towns. The machinery of both sides was unlimited bribery. The degradation of the briber was as great as that of the bribed. "This corruption has become a national crime, having infected the lowest as well as the highest amongst us," writes Berkeley in 1721. The base politics of that age drew from the high-minded churchman the following noble denunciation: "God grant the time be not near, when men shall say, 'this island was once inhabited by a religious, brave, sincere people, of plain uncorrupt manners, respecting inbred worth rather than titles and appearances, assertors of liberty, lovers of their country, jealous of their own rights, and unwilling to infringe the rights of others; improvers of learning and useful arts, enemies to luxury, tender of other men's lives and prodigal of their own; inferior in nothing to the old Greeks or Romans, and superior to each of those people in the perfections of the other. Such were our ancestors during their rise and greatness; but they degenerated, grew servile flatterers of men in power, adopted epicurean notions, became venal, corrupt, injurious, which drew upon them the hatred of God and man, and occasioned their final ruin.'" *

The Nobility—the "temporal lords"—were, as they always had been, a most important portion of the rural aristocracy. Some resided for considerable periods of the year in their mansions upon their great estates. Their aggregate income was very nearly equal to one half of the income of the whole body of the esquires. They were the lords-lieutenant of counties, and, as such, had the control of the militia force of the kingdom. They were not attended to county meetings by hundreds of gentry wearing their liveries, as in the feudal days; they could not call out to the field their thousands of vassals. But they nevertheless mainly swayed the course of political action, under the system which we call "constitutional." As born legislators their direct power was far greater than in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth, they made far more overt attempts to determine the composition of the Lower House. Yet, perhaps, all things considered, they were then, as a body, the most incapable of taking a large view of the destinies of their country, and of nourishing a deep sympathy with the condition of the people. But nevertheless they could not segregate themselves from the people. They could not repose in safety upon exclusive pretensions; and thus they headed the Revolution, and imparted to it the somewhat aristocratic character which it has taken more than another century

* Berkeley, "Works," vol. ii. p. 197.

to repair. They made no attempt to proportion representation by the numbers of the represented, or by the amount they paid in taxation. They had no very clear insight into the changes which had been produced by the rise of the trading classes. They made no exertions to better the condition of the poorest. They did not train their children to discharge the high functions to which they were born. They had them taught dancing, fencing, and riding. It looks like a satire when Burnet recommends that the sons of the nobility should be instructed in geography and history. Nevertheless, he admits that in his time, four or five lords, by their knowledge, good judgment, and integrity, had raised the house of peers to a pitch of reputation that seemed beyond expectation. *

The desire of the nobility and other landowners to congregate in London was not an unnatural one, and was in some degree absolutely necessary when the Parliamentary system of government became the rule under which England was to live. The jealousy of commerce, and of the use of foreign commodities, made the patriot of the end of the seventeenth century mildly reprove the growing desire of the rich to gather round the seat of luxury and fashion; as the despot of the beginning of the century had attempted forcibly to restrain this desire. "Heretofore," writes the descendant of John Hampden, "the gentry and nobility of England lived altogether in the country, where they continually spent the product of the land. Now they all flock to London, where their way of living is quite different from that used heretofore; and they do not expend in proportion the third part of things of our product, to what they did when they lived among their neighbours." † We know, at the present day, that the chief evils of absenteeship are moral evils; that the landlord who is a mere receiver of rents, without taking thought for the general welfare of the humbler classes upon his estates, does not do his duty in that state of life to which he has been called. "The yeomen and gentlemen of smaller estates," adds Mr. Hampden, "are now, generally speaking, the only constant residents in the country." But even the gentlemen of smaller estates were frequently craving for "a Journey to London." The dramatists and essayists exhibit the figures which the boorish squire, and his wife and daughters, presented in the novel pleasures and temptations of the metropolis. The squire was too often in the tavern, where he was told the wits and the quality were ready to welcome the stranger. Here he drank punch, the favourite beverage, and found it stronger than his strongest October; or he played at hazard with sharpers, and went home penniless. His ladies resorted to the theatre, which was not a school of morality. They walked in the New Spring Gardens ‡ in their "hoop petticoats;" and thus "invested in whalebone" thought themselves "sufficiently secured against the approaches of an ill-bred fellow." § But the smart gentlemen who hovered about "this new-fashioned rotunda" could still whisper such words of compliment as ladies dare not now read in Wycherley and Congreve. "The Folly," a floating Coffee House, where ladies of very different degrees of respectability were entertained by the

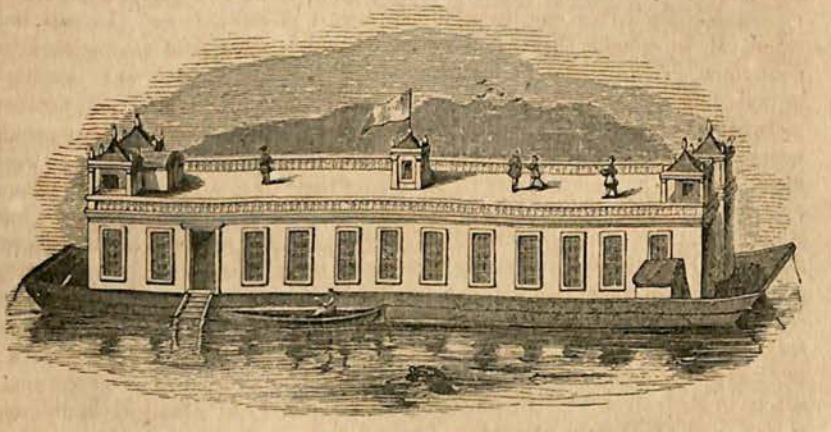
* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 207.

† Tract of 1692, in "State Tracts published during the reign of William III."

‡ Vauxhall.

§ "Spectator," No. 127, 1711.

beaux of the reign of Anne, was another place of genteel resort, which the lower popular literature has described with sympathising coarseness To the country visitors of London the fashionable amusement of the masquerade was the most dangerous of pleasures. It was in vain that the preacher and the moralist denounced this as a contagion of the



The Folly Coffee House.

worst kind. The duchess and the courtezan equally frequented such an assemblage—the peer of parliament and the mercer's apprentice from Covent Garden. The mask made the licentious even more free than in their ordinary talk; and though an English lady could bear many coarse jokes and sly allusions without blushing, from the masquerade she would take back to her wondering friends such specimens of "polite conversation" as would corrupt the most secluded districts for half a century. These excursions of the gentry to London, however rare, at any rate spread the worst follies of the town. The neglect of the indigent at home—the neglect not of mere almsgiving but of kindly intercourse—was certainly one of the evil consequences of the habitual residence, and even of the occasional sojourn, of the gentry in the metropolis.

The worldly estate of the great body of the Clergy may in some degree account for the low estimate of their condition and character which has been taken at this period. Their political action we shall have to describe, in their senseless dislike of the great man who had saved the English Church from ruin, and their puerile hankerings after the dynasty that they had united to eject. The revenue of each of the twenty-six "spiritual lords" has been reckoned at about three times as much as that of an esquire. The income of "eminent clergymen" is estimated for each at little more than one-fourth of that of a gentleman. The lesser clergyman ranks, in point of the annual means for the support of his family, as below the small freeholder; a little above the farmer; and not very much above the handicraftsman. These incomes being taken upon the average of ten thousand livings, would undoubtedly leave some of the clergy with a pittance not higher than that of the common

seaman, and even of the out-door labourer. Can we wonder, therefore, that servility and coarseness were considered the characteristics of the class? They went from the Grammar-school to the College upon an exhibition or a sizarship which had its own humiliations. If fortunate, they began their career as Chaplains in noble or other privileged households, where it was a blessed fate if they were treated with as much respect as was bestowed upon the butler. When they obtained a benefice they had to perform the most menial labours to extract from it the means of subsistence. In this last stage, can we wonder that some might be found, instead of taking rank as gentlemen, drinking ale and smoking with the village cowkeeper? Perhaps it was not the worst society for them. But in spite of these familiar pictures of the addiction of the country parson to low company, and of his necessary connection with mean labours, may we not consider that there were many who felt an honest pride in ploughing their own field, and feeding their own hogs; whose wives were spinning the wool of their own sheep, and whose daughters were scouring their bricked kitchen, without mental degradation? Burnet, who was a severe censurer of his brethren, admits that the greatest part of them live without scandal; but in the very next sentence he says, "I have observed the clergy, in all the places throughout which I have travelled—Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters: but of them all our clergy are much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." * In another place he speaks of the zeal of the Romish clergy, and of Dissenters; "but I must own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one asleep." † The right reverend friend of William III. had sustained many mortifications from the restlessness of the great body of the country clergy; from their intolerance; from their extravagant notions of Church supremacy; from their narrow views of political affairs. The eminent divines of that day were great scholars and great reasoners. The whole course of human thought was tending to the actual rather than to the ideal. The philosophy of Locke may be traced in many a powerful religious argument which could confound the sceptic, but could not rouse the indifferent. The divinity of that generation, and indeed of the next, was for the most part formal and unimpassioned. Methodism arose; and the most ignorant of the human race found nourishment and hope in words which came home to their bosoms and understandings. Tillotson reasoning to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, and Whitefield moving the colliers of Bristol to tears, are contrasts of which the lessons were not speedily learnt in the Church, but which when learnt could not be easily forgotten.

The historian of his own time, to do him justice, saw what was chiefly wanting to make the clergy efficient for good. He exhorted them "to labour more," instead of cherishing extravagant notions of the authority of the Church. If to an exemplary course of life in their own persons, "clergymen would add a little more labour,—not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life,—

* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 183. † *Ibid.* p. 179.

they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would show more esteem and regard for them." We who have now the happiness to feel that the Clergy are the great civilisers, also know how slowly this sage advice was taken by them as a class.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, and long after, we see no struggle against great social evils, on the part of the clergy or the laity. Every attempt at social reform was left to the Legislature, which was utterly indifferent to those manifestations of wretchedness and crime that ought to have been dealt with by the strong hand. Education, in any large sense, there was none. Disease committed its ravages, unchecked by any attempt to mitigate the evils of standing pools before the cottage door, and pestilent ditches in the towns. These were not peculiar evils of the last century; they continued long beyond that century, because they were the results of social ignorance. But there were evils so abhorrent to humanity, that their endurance without the slightest endeavour to mitigate or remove them was an opprobrium of that age. The horrible state of the prisons was well known. The nosegay laid on the desk of the judge at every assize proclaimed that starvation and filth were sweeping away far more than perished by the executioner, terrible as that number was. The judge's chaplain ate the sheriff's dinner; and all was well unless a few jurymen took the jail-fever. The justices never entered the jails. The vicar heeded not the Saviour's reproach, —"I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." London, and all other great towns, were swarming with destitute children, who slept in ash holes and at street doors. They were left to starve, or to become thieves and in due course be hanged. The Church, in 1701, established "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The worse than heathen at home were left to swell the festering mass of sin and sorrow, until the whole fabric of society was in peril from its outcasts, and no man's life or property was safe. The only evidence that was listened to of something wrong in the entire social economy was this: one-fifth of the whole population were paupers. Locke attributed the rapid increase of the poor-rates to "the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners." Those who by their rank or their office were especially called to guide the ignorant, and to discourage the licentious, were certainly to be charged with some neglect of their great duties, if such were the causes of pauperism.

The evils of society, at the opening of the eighteenth century, were not laid bare by publicity, the one first step towards their remedy. There was only one popular writer who approached social questions with any practical knowledge joined to sound benevolence. He was Daniel Defoe. He looked for remedies, not in drivelling schemes for setting the poor to work under parochial superintendence, but he told the capitalist and the labourer how to raise their condition under the natural laws of demand and supply. His "Review" was the first periodical work that sought readers amongst the people. Addison and Steele saw that a popular Literature was to be created; and from that time the lay preachers became effective. Newspapers multiplied. But even Addison could not see that they were capable of becoming great instruments of public good. It is remarkable that the man who did as much as any one to prove the efficiency of the Press, should have thus chosen to "hesitate dislike" against the humblest labourers in the same field. Per-

haps he had a foresight of the power that was to grow out of small beginnings. "Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the People of Great Britain, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal, as the late constant application of the Press to the publishing of State matters. We hear of several that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for this particular use. For, it seems the people of Exeter, Salisbury, and other large towns, are resolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of London and Westminster; and deal out such news of their own printing, as is best suited to the genius of the market-people, and the taste of the county. One cannot but be sorry, for the sake of these places, that such a pernicious machine is erected among them."*

Costume of the higher classes in time of William and Mary.

We have left for the conclusion of this general view of the chief aspects of England's social condition about the beginning of the last century, a very brief allusion to those "liberal Arts and Sciences," which were slowly, but very surely, to change the half-developed industry of the time of Anne to the marvellous proportions of the commercial era of the first sovereign lady who came after that queen. In the fifteen thousand engaged in these liberal pursuits in 1688, we must include the medical profession. The study of facts had succeeded to the theories and empirical remedies of the school before Harvey and Sydenham. Botany had been systematised by Ray; and the medical student had the opportunity of becoming familiar

* "Freeholder," No. 53, June 22, 1716.

with plants in the "Physic Garden." The Royal Society was incorporated by charter in 1662; and commenced the publication of its Transactions in 1665. This was a great step towards popularising science; and if many of the papers which were read at the Society's meetings appear now to be frivolous, they kept alive a spirit of investigation which in time produced results beyond the amusement of the small knot of virtuosi in the capital, and in some of the chief towns. But, many years before the end of the seventeenth century, that great genius had arisen whose discoveries made the astonished philosopher of France figure Newton as "entirely disengaged from matter," and the enthusiastic poet of England exclaim, "God said let Newton be, and there was light."* In noticing the wondrous powers of intellect which called forth such tributes from contemporaries, and which succeeding generations have gratefully echoed, we desire chiefly to point out that the discoverer of the law of universal Gravitation was equally fitted for the solution of a problem that might appear capable of being solved by minds of an inferior order. The great reform of the Currency, one of the

Royal Observatory, Greenwich.

most difficult operations of the ministers of William III., was carried through under the advice of Newton, working at the same question of practical utility with Locke. It is only just to the statesmen of the seventeenth century to

* It is a worthy occupation of a life which, in its closing years, is more elevated by science than excited by politics, for Lord Brougham to preside over the inauguration of a statue of Newton, at Grantham, on the 22nd September, 1855.

point out that, in several instances, they manifested their convictions of the direct value of philosophical research and discovery. From the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in 1676, may be dated the progress of scientific navigation. It would be impossible to calculate the amount of obligation which English Commerce alone owes to the labours of the great men who have followed in the track of Galileo and Kepler, from the Newton and Halley of the age which we have now imperfectly glanced at, to the Herschel and Airy of our own time.

Of the indirect power of Science to give its impulse to the commonest labours of man—to call forth new exercises of industry, to improve the processes already in existence, to furnish higher aims to manufactures and commerce, to bring remote regions within the range of maritime communication, to carry forward the heaven-ordained design of spreading the blessings of civilisation over the earth—no one who looks at what England was a century and a half ago, and what England is now, can have the smallest doubt. But it must not be forgotten that our country was a soil adapted for the reception of this seed; that abstract Science would have remained in a great degree unproductive for practical ends, except its powers had been developed amongst an energetic race living under a system of public liberty. Amidst such a race the spark of knowledge does not glimmer in mere speculative thought, but becomes a fire, diffusing its warmth over an improving country. Governments may be slow in seeing this indissoluble connexion between the discoveries of the philosopher and the province of the statesman. But if in a land of freedom they retard not the work which they can never more than feebly aid, and even if they attempt to retard it, mind will assert its own empire, and produce the results which constitute the essential differences between the age before the steam-engine and the age of the electric telegraph.

A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England, Calculated for the Year 1688.

Number of Families.	Ranks, Degrees, Titles, and Qualifications.	Heads per Family.	Number of Persons.	Yearly Income per Family.	Yearly Income in General.
				£ s.	£
160	Temporal Lords	40	6,400	3,200 0	512,000
26	Spiritual Lords	20	520	1,300 0	33,800
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880 0	704,000
600	Knights	13	7,800	650 0	390,000
3,000	Esquires	10	30,000	450 0	1,200,000
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280 0	2,880,000
5,000	Persons in greater offices and places	8	40,000	240 0	1,200,000
5,000	Persons in lesser offices and places	6	30,000	120 0	600,000
2,000	Eminent merchants and traders by sea	8	16,000	400 0	800,000
8,000	Lesser merchants and traders by sea	6	48,000	200 0	1,600,000
10,000	Persons in the law	7	70,000	154 0	1,540,000
2,000	Eminent clergymen	6	12,000	72 0	144,000
8,000	Lesser clergymen	5	40,000	50 0	400,000
40,000	Freeholders of the better sort	7	280,000	91 0	3,640,000
120,000	Freeholders of the lesser sort	5½	660,000	55 0	6,600,000
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	42 10	6,375,000
15,000	Persons in liberal arts and sciences	5	75,000	60 0	900,000
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen	4½	225,000	45 0	2,250,000
60,000	Artisans and handicraftsmen	4	240,000	38 0	2,280,000
5 000	Naval officers	4	20,000	80 0	400,000
4,000	Military officers	4	16,000	60 0	240,000
500,586		5⅓	2,675,520	68 18	34,488,800
50,000	Common seamen	3	150,000	20 0	1,000,000
364,000	Labouring people and out-servants	3½	1,275,000	15 0	5,460,000
400,000	Cottagers and paupers	3¼	1,300,000	6 10	2,000,000
35,000	Common soldiers	2	70,000	14 0	490,000
	Vagrants, as gipsies, thieves, beggars, &c.		30,000	10 10	60,000
1,349,586	Neat totals	4 1/18	5,500,520	32 5	43,498,800

Note.—Mr. Gregory King, the author of this Scheme, considers that the 21 classes, whose families amount to 500,586, are accumulators, spending less than their income; and that the other classes require some support beyond their earnings—that they decrease the National Capital.

There are some few discrepancies between the items and the totals in the above Table, but they do not affect the conclusions to be derived from this "Scheme."

POPE
ADDISON
SWIFT

Great Seal.

CHAPTER V.

Resolution and conduct of the Prince of Orange set forth in the Proclamation of William and Mary—Character of William—Aspirants for office—The king's ministers—The judges—Jealousy of William's Dutch friends—The Convention declared to be a Parliament—Oath of Allegiance—Refused by some spiritual and lay peers—Nonjurors—A Supply voted—The principle of Appropriation established—Comprehension Bill—Reform of the Liturgy—The Test Act—The Toleration Act—High and Low Church—Mutiny at Ipswich—The first Mutiny Act—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Bill of Indemnity postponed—The Coronation Oath—The Coronation—War with France.

"WHEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchsafe us a merciful deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power; and that our preservation is due, next under God, to the resolution and conduct of his highness the prince of Orange." Such were the opening words of the proclamation, which, on the 13th of February, 1689, announced to the people of England that William and Mary were king and queen of these realms. The same "resolution and conduct" which had delivered England from the most imminent dangers, had to support the man who was acknowledged as her deliverer, amidst perils and difficulties of which not the least were the treachery, the self-seeking, the ingratitude of the greater number of those who had called him to rule over them. For thirteen years this Dutch William almost stood alone as the representative of what was heroic in England. He is not a hero to look upon, according to the vulgar notion of the hero. "He had a thin and weak body. . . . He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant

deep cough." * This prince had no power of subduing men to his will by rhetorical arts. He was a master of seven languages, speaking "Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well," as Burnet records. But his possession of this necessary accomplishment of a prince did not lead him to the ambition of employing words to conceal his thoughts. "He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness," † says Burnet. "He speaks well, and to the point," says one of the French negotiators of the peace of Ryswick. He came amongst courtiers who recollected the charm of the manners of Charles the Second—that fascinating gossip which always evaded "the point"—and in a few weeks they talked of "the morose temper of the prince of Orange." ‡ Under this frigid demeanour superficial observers could comprehend nothing of the marvellous energy of this man of action; and they descanted upon "the slothful, sickly temper of the new king." § Though "he had a memory that amazed all about him," his great abilities were not generally recognised, for he had few of the showy qualities which pass for genius. Men of that time had not studied the science of Lavater and Spurzheim, yet they had a notion that "foreheads villainous low" were symbols of imbecility; and when they looked upon the "large front" of this cautious undemonstrative stranger, they might perchance have thought that there was something in him, and that there was meaning in the silent eloquence of his "bright and sparkling eyes." There was no vivacity in the man—"solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few," says Burnet. Yet he managed to use his talents, such as they were, not for display but for service. In war he carried the hearts of all along with him by his fire and his daring. In negotiation he accomplished the most difficult objects by his perseverance, and, above all, by his truthfulness. Tallard, the ambassador from Louis XIV., writes to his master: "He is honourable in all he does; his conduct is sincere. . . . If he once enters into a treaty with your majesty, he will scrupulously adhere to it." ‖ The same impartial observer bears testimony to his sagacity: "He is very quick-sighted, and has a correct judgment, and will soon perceive that we are trifling with him if we protract matters too much."¶. "Few men had stronger passions," according to Burnet; but "few men had the art of concealing and governing passion more than he had." He disarmed the hostility of factions by his seeming imperturbability. "The wishes of the king are checked," writes Tallard, "and it is only by his extreme patience, and by incessantly applying remedies to everything, that he succeeds in a part of what he desires." ** And yet from the depths of this seemingly impassive nature breaks out the secret agony of his real sensitiveness, told only to his friend Heinsius: "Matters in Parliament here are taking a turn which drives me mad." †† Such was the man who was called to rule over England, in times when a statesman not to be treacherous, unpatriotic, corrupt, was a rare distinction. "He is generally hated by all the great men, and the whole of the nobility," says the French ambassador, after William had been ten years on the throne. ‡‡ But Tallard adds: "It is not the same with the people, who are very favourably

* Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 547. † *Ibid.*
‡ Evelyn, "Diary," January 29. § *Ibid.* March 29.
‖ Grimblot—"Letters of William and Louis," vol. ii. p. 48 and 56. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 54.
** *Ibid* vol. ii. p. 233. †† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 355. ‡‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 466.

inclined towards him, yet less so than at the beginning." What this prince had done for England, from the beginning to the end, to raise her in the scale of nations, to save her from foreign domination, to keep her safe from domestic tyranny, to uphold that liberty of conscience which is the basis of true Protestantism, to make constitutional government a reality in spite of the low ambition of ignorant factions,—this, the people of that generation could not wholly appreciate, however they might feel that it was good for them to be under a ruler who knew that he had a work to do in the world, and who did it.

"Innumerable were the crowds who solicited for and expected offices," says a bystander in 1689, who saw the progress of the game.* "The pasture was not large enough for the flock," writes an anonymous historian of the next generation.† In those days statesmen were justly open to the reproach of seeking high place out of the lust of gain, rather than for the gratification of an honourable ambition. The official salaries were extravagantly large. It was no part of the policy of the aristocratic movers in the settlement of 1689 to disturb the lavish bounties of the Stuarts to their obsequious servants. But the people felt these burdens. In 1690, Sir Charles Sedley, in a debate on the Supply, said of William, "He is a brave and generous prince, but he is a young king, encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old courtiers. To say no more, some have places of 3000*l.*, some of 6000*l.*, and others of 8600*l.* per annum."‡ In the lower offices of the household and of the revenue, the pay was disproportionately large, and the perquisites still larger. The coach and six horses of the Comptroller of the Customs was a deep offence to the country gentlemen.§ We may readily imagine that in such a total change as that of 1689, there was a scramble for office, in which the real principles of public men were severely tested. The king—called to the succour of England by the united voice of men of all parties, and placed upon the throne with the partial approbation of many who were opposed to the principles of his most ardent supporters,—ventured upon an experiment in government, which to us would be perfectly unintelligible if we were to judge of it by the practice of modern times. He desired to govern by a balance of parties; he sought to carry that desire into effect by choosing his ministers from parties whose principles were diametrically opposed, each to the other To comprehend why it was thought possible to twist such a rope of sand into a state-cable, we must bear in mind that, under the system which had passed away, of governing as much as possible without parliaments, an administration was merely composed of men who were thought qualified to serve the king in their respective offices, without any common agreement upon particular measures. An active king, such as Charles I. and James II., was in many respects his own administrator. William III. was willing to give the same personal superintendence to the conduct of that great policy, whose advancement had chiefly moved him to contend for the English throne. He would himself conduct the foreign relations of the country, for which duty, indeed, he was more fitted than any man. But his confidential advisers in domestic politics should be office-s

* Evelyn, "Diary," February 21. † Ralph, "History," vol. ii. p. 57—1746.
‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 562. § *Ibid.* col. 670.

who had influence with the two great parties in the State, and with the subdivisions of the Whig and Tory factions. There was Halifax, who was known as the Trimmer,—one who was selected to tender the crown to William and Mary, but who had taken no part in the first steps which deprived James of the crown. There was Danby, who had been impeached under Charles II. for his arbitrary and corrupt practices, and who had only given a modified support to the present change of government. There was Nottingham, whose nomination to office was a propitiation to the High Church party. There was Shrewsbury, who had borne a distinguished part in the battle which had resulted in the great victory of the Whigs. But the Revolution was the triumph of Whig principles; and thus it was natural, in the hour of triumph, after some concessions to open adversaries or doubtful friends, that the Whigs should have the larger share of the spoils. The Great Seal was put in Commission. The great office of Lord High Treasurer was not filled up, but Commissioners of the Treasury were appointed. In the same way the duties of Lord High Admiral were entrusted to a Board. These arrangements for Commissions were considered as politic devices "to gratify the more." * One signal benefit of the great change was manifested to the nation—there would be no attempt to suppress public opinion by the agency of corruption on the judgment seat: "Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming of the judges. The king ordered every privy counsellor to bring a list of twelve; and out of these, twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen." † Somers, to whose eloquence and sagacity the success of the Revolution was so much indebted, was named Solicitor-General.

In the spirit of that mean dislike of foreigners which characterises the vulgar Englishman, a writer of our own day thus records one of the complaints against the arrangements of 1689: "Three of the king's Dutch followers, Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zuylistein, were placed by him about his person,—with a disdain, not of the prejudices, but of the feelings of the nation, which might have recalled to mind his Norman predecessor." ‡ There were others about William's person, who were amongst the most true-hearted of Englishmen. The duke of Devonshire was Lord Steward; the earl of Dorset was Lord Chamberlain; Sidney, the brother of the republican Algernon, was a gentleman of the bed-chamber. Yet William is held to have outraged the national feeling because he gave one place, not of political importance, but of necessary companionship, to Bentinck, the friend of his youth—the man who had nursed him in sickness, who had stood by him in battle; because he gave another to Auverquerque, who had saved his life by personal intrepidity in the field of St. Dennis, in 1678; and another to Zuylistein, whose father had earned a debt of gratitude from the saviour of Holland, by perishing in his cause, when Luxemburg stormed his quarters in 1672. We doubt if the people—not the mere place-hunters—were so unreasonable as to expect that their deliverer, as they called him, should be isolated amongst strangers; should have wholly to make new friends; should cast aside all memories of old affections; should forget all the associations of that life of toil and danger which he had endured from his twenty-second

* Evelyn, "Diary," March 8. † Burnet, vol. iv. p. 7.
‡ Continuation of Mackintosh's "History," by William Wallace, vol. viii. p. 300.

year to this his thirty-ninth. They could not surely forget that William was Stadtholder of Holland, as well as King of England; that the interests of both countries were the same; that the first magistrate of each of the two free states of Europe was embarked in a contest against the absolute monarch who aimed at universal dominion; that for the proper conduct of this great enterprise, it were well that he should have some few faithful friends, to whom he could pour out his heart without dread of fickleness and faithlessness. Yet against such popular prejudices it is hard to contend. William must have felt that the mere circumstance of his being a foreigner was a serious impediment to his power of doing his duty efficiently; and thus, amidst undeserved suspicions, and causeless jealousies, he pined for that happier state from which he had been called; he felt the want of that admiration which surrounded him at the Hague; he intensely longed for the return of the tranquillity that he had thrown away when he quitted his quiet home at Loo.

Arms of William III.

King William opened the Parliament on the 18th of February. He addressed the two Houses in a very brief speech, composed of the plainest words: "I have lately told you how sensible I am of your kindness, and how much I value the confidence you have reposed in me. And I am come hither to assure you, that I shall never do anything that may justly lessen your good opinion of me." The chief point of the speech was a recommendation "to consider of the most effectual ways of preventing the inconveniences which may arise by delays; and to judge what forms may be most proper, to bring those things to pass for the good of the nation, which I am confident are in all your minds, and which I, on my part, shall be always ready to promote." The possible delays to which the king alluded grew out of the agitation of the question, whether the Convention which had altered the Succession could continue to sit as a Parliament. The Lords immediately passed a Bill "for removing and preventing all questions and disputes touching the assembly and sitting of this present Parliament," in which it was declared that the Convention which assembled on the 22nd of January are the two Houses of Parliament, "as if they had been summoned according to the usual form." But in the Commons the question was debated with great violence, upon what were maintained as constitutional principles. There had been two months of excitement since James had quitted the kingdom; and the inevitable re-action of opinion made many eager to unsettle the Settlement. Old Serjeant Maynard maintained that this was not a time to stand upon forms. "There is a great danger in sending out writs at this time, if you consider what a ferment the nation is in. I think the Clergy are out of their wits." The outrages that James had attempted upon the national religion were by many forgotten. The dread of Popery was extinguished in the dread of Dissent. This was the first move of a powerful faction when they agitated the question whether the Convention were a Parliament; thus to postpone the formal adhesion of the Church and the Laity to the new sovereign, and to delay the grant of supplies, at a time of impending danger on every side. The state of the parliamentary

constituencies—a state that remained unaltered for nearly a century and a-half—presented a wide field for intrigue and corruption. The real opinion of the people upon such a vital question as that of uncompromising fealty to a new dynasty could not be fairly arrived at, when Cornwall, with its twenty-five thousand householders, returned one-third more members than Yorkshire with its hundred thousand; and when Sussex, another great seat of decayed boroughs, returned nearly four times as many members as Middlesex and London. In this question of the legality of the Parliament, the constituencies were not however called upon to decide. The Bill was passed; and it was accompanied with a clause that no person should sit and vote in either House of Parliament without taking the prescribed oath to be faithful and bear true allegiance to king William and queen Mary, according to the form prescribed in the Declaration of Rights.* The 1st of March was the day after which no seat could be taken in Parliament unless allegiance had thus been previously sworn. The archbishop of Canterbury and seven other spiritual peers absented themselves, as well as various lay peers. In the Commons the absentees were not so proportionately numerous. The Jacobite party sustained a defeat; but the example of the prelates operated upon many of the inferior Clergy, when the time arrived in which they also were to declare in the most solemn manner their adherence to the new government. An oath, in place of the old oath of allegiance and supremacy, was to be taken by all lay persons holding offices, and by all in possession of any benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment. Those churchmen who did not take this oath on or before the 1st of August were to be suspended; and if at the end of six months they continued to refuse, were to be deprived.† About four hundred refused the oath, and, losing their benefices, were, during three reigns, a constant source of irritation and alarm, under the name, familiarised to us by our lighter as well as graver literature, of Nonjurors. Whatever opinions may be entertained of the wisdom of this resistance, we must, in this case, as in the previous cases of the Episcopalians ejected by the Long Parliament, and of the Puritans ejected after the Restoration, respect the self-denial of those who suffered for conscience sake. Their devotion to the principle of hereditary right might be a weakness, but it was not a crime. The policy of their deprivation was very questionable. Those who took the oaths, and satisfied their principles by intriguing and preaching against the government *de facto*, were really more dangerous than the eminent divines, such as Ken, and Sherlock, and Leslie, who openly refused to support it by their declared allegiance. Violent and factious men might bring contempt on the name of Nonjurors; but many of the less distinguished among them set about getting their bread by the honest exercise of their talents and learning. If some became fawning domestic chaplains to plotting Jacobite lords, others kept themselves above want by literary labours, however humble. John Blackbourn, the ejected incumbent of two livings, earned his bread as corrector of the press for William Bowyer.‡

In this first Session of the first Parliament of the Revolution, amidst signal manifestations of a narrow and a factious spirit, we have abundant evidence

* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 1. † 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 8.
‡ Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii. p. 252.

of statesmanlike sagacity. The king looked upon many unsettled questions with a wider range of view than his own Council, or the Grand Council of the Nation. He was confident in the justice and necessity of the objects for which he desired to have his hands strengthened. The Parliament refused its confidence. The king desired to carry out the fullest principles of religious liberty that were consistent with the public safety. The Parliament thought that there was a very strict limit even for toleration. And yet, out of these differences, resulted much practical good. The king wished to have ample means for maintaining the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, for the pacification of Scotland, for giving efficiency to the confederacy against the ambition of the French. The Commons manifested a greater jealousy of entrusting the supplies to their deliverer than they had manifested towards their oppressor. There were immediate evil consequences. The Roman Catholic adherents of James devastated the Protestant settlements in Ireland; the standard of resistance was successfully reared in Scotland; Louis threatened England with invasion, and was marching a great army upon Holland. But the benefits of the jealousy of the Commons are felt by us to this day. Those Whigs who carried their confidence in the intentions of William to an extreme, were of opinion that the Revenue which had been settled upon king James for life should revert to the sovereign who had taken his place. Some Tories, who were adverse to the government, but were eager to secure power by a simulated confidence in the king, agreed in this view. The majority in Parliament successfully resisted it. William had proposed to his Council that the Hearth-money, or Chimney-tax, should be abolished. Sir Robert Howard told the house that the king said, "It was much in his thoughts." Sir Robert added, "I could wish the house had heard his discourse in all this business; and in all his discourse from Exeter hither, he expressed his inclination to do good to the people." * To abolish the Hearth-money, an especial tax upon the poor, was a duty to which William was called by the earnest solicitations of the crowds who followed his march from Torbay to London. But he frankly said to Parliament, "as in this his majesty doth consider the ease of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the crown." The official biographer of James II. sneers at William's self-denial; "He wheedled them [the Commons] with a remission of chimney-money, when he was well assured he should be no loser by his generosity, and that it would be only like throwing water into a dry pump to make it suck better below, and cast it out with more abundance above." † This was not exactly the best mode of wheedling the rich country gentlemen, by removing a tax from the cottage to put it in some shape upon the mansion. Yet the Commons respected the motive of the king, and substituted less oppressive taxes. But they declined to grant the temporary revenue for the lives of the king and queen. The hereditary revenue they did not touch. Moreover they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates. This principle, partially adhered to in the time of Charles II., but wholly disregarded by the parliament of his successor, has from the time of the Revolution been the great security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the

* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 153. † "Life of James II." vol. ii., p. 310.

Crown. Parliament may make lavish votes; but there must be a distinct vote in every case for the service of a particular department. It is this which renders the legislative power so really supreme in England; it is this which renders it impossible that an executive can subsist except in concord with the representatives of the people. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to the Parliament of the Revolution that they clung to a principle and established a practice which have never since been departed from. A temporary vote of credit is sometimes asked under extraordinary circumstances; but the constitutional right of appropriation, always secured in the express words of the grant of supply, is the general rule which no minister would dare to ask the representatives of the people to forego.

But if the Parliament of William and Mary is to be commended for their jealousy of the king in the matter of Revenue, we may doubt if they were equally wise in halting far short of his known wishes in the great questions of religious liberty, and religious union. If the king's abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men could have been carried out, we might have been saved from a century and a quarter of bitter animosities; and the Church of England might have been more secure and more influential, than

Convocation or Chapter House, St. Paul's.

during the long period when the Test Act remained in force against Protestants, and Roman Catholics were not only ineligible to civil offices, but had to undergo what we now justly regard as persecution. But in this, as in all other cases, no reform can be permanent which is premature. William

desired such an alteration in the ritual and discipline of the Church, as had been vainly attempted from the time of James I., so as to satisfy the scruples of non-conformists who were honestly averse to separation. He advanced so far as to have what was called a Comprehension Bill introduced into the House of Lords, by a zealous churchman, the earl of Nottingham. It passed the Peers in a mutilated shape; was coldly received by the Commons; and dropt through upon a reference to Convocation. That ecclesiastical parliament had transacted no real business since 1665, when they gave up the right of taxing themselves. They had now been summoned, as had been usual; but, contrary to use, important measures were to be submitted to them at a time of violent divisions amongst the Clergy. A considerable number of eminent divines were disposed to such changes in the Services of the Church as would conciliate the moderate Presbyterians and others who conscientiously objected to certain portions of the ritual. A Commission was appointed to consider what changes were desirable. A Report was drawn up by the moderate Churchmen, such as Tillotson, and submitted to the Convocation. The "rigid" or high-church party had there prevailed; and their prolocutor, Dr. Jane, when presented to the bishop of London, proclaimed the resolve of the majority, in the words of the barons of Henry III.,—"Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari." The Comprehension Bill, and the Reform of the Liturgy, went to the ground together.

Another ruling desire of the king was that all Protestants should be eligible to employments. On the occasion of giving his assent to two Bills, on the 16th of March, he said, "I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in offices and places of trust by this Revolution. I know you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend to your care to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve." William proposed this at the time when the question was under debate, whether the Clergy should be required to take the oaths. He proposed it without consulting his Council, in the hope that the two violent parties would agree to a compromise—that the Whigs would not press the oath of allegiance upon the Clergy; that the Tories would not press the Sacramental Test upon the Dissenters. He was deceived in his expectations. The Test Act remained in force against non-conformists. The Bill which deprived the nonjuring Clergy of their benefices was carried.

The last and the least objectionable wish of the king was agreed to, after long debate—that Dissenters should not be molested in the celebration of their worship. The Toleration Act—"An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws"—was a signal relief from a heavy burden, long borne by indignant sufferers. Judged by the opinions of our own day the Toleration Act was a very imperfect boon, requiring from dissenting ministers and teachers subscription to certain articles of faith, as contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, with the exception of the 34th, 35th, and 36th Articles, and of those words of the 20th Article which declared that the Church had power to decree rights or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of

faith. The Protestants who "scruple the baptising of infants," were further exempted from subscribing part of the 27th Article. The Quakers were exempted, upon a declaration of fidelity, and a simple profession of their Christian belief. The Act of Toleration only relaxed the severe enactments of the two former reigns, under this and other conditions, without providing for their repeal. Yet, eventually, this famous Statute was a measure of real relief, for its cumbrous and impracticable conditions gradually fell into disuse. We may judge of the satisfaction it gave to Dissenters, by the enthusiastic plaudits of Defoe, in calling upon his dissenting brethren, "annually to commemorate, by a standing law among themselves, that great day of their deliverance, when it pleased God to tread down persecution, oppression, church-tyranny, and state-tyranny, under the feet of the law, and to establish the liberty of their consciences, which they had so long prayed for, in a public and legal toleration."* The ministers of dissenting meeting-houses had thus no longer reason to dread informations under the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Acts. Their followers were discharged from all apprehension of penalties for attending Conventicles, or for neglecting the worship of the Establishment, provided they took the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the declaration against Popery prescribed by the Statute of Charles II. The Protestant Dissenters were relieved by Act of Parliament from those restraints which James II. attempted to remove by the dispensing power. The Papists were specifically excluded from this relief; and thus the statutory indulgence was welcomed by Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, as much for what it denied to others as for what it gave to themselves. But inasmuch as it narrowed the area of state intolerance, it rendered a large proportion of the Clergy more than ever intolerant towards those legally tolerated. The king was brought up as a Calvinist; and thus his tendencies towards religious freedom were always suspected as having for their end something adverse to the Anglican church. Swift, writing in 1711, in the spirit of triumphant Toryism, says, "the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be the relieving us from the encroachments of Dissenters as well as those of Papists." The hope was happily disappointed. The Dissenters were no longer to be hunted by the constable, and imprisoned by the justice of peace. "They," says Swift, "had just made a shift to save a tide and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their protector king James; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in Church and State, under the name of Whigs and Low-churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued." † In a subsequent paper, Swift affirms that the distinction of High and Low Church, "which came in some time after the Revolution," was raised by the Dissenters, "in order to break the church party by dividing the members into high and low; and the opinions raised that the high joined with the Papists, inclined the low to fall in with the Dissenters." ‡ The unchristian hatreds of the Revolution gave their colour to the politics of two reigns. Since the accession of the house of Brunswick, these polemics have been gradually diluted, so

* "Review," quoted in Wilson's "Defoe," vol. i. p. 181.
† "Examiner," No. 37. ‡ *Ibid.* No. 44.

as to impart at last the faintest tinge to the real course of public policy. Very slowly has the hold of intolerance of all kinds been relaxed. But as past years have diminished the length and breadth of that debateable land, where deadly controversialists once fought *à l'outrance*, may we not hope that succeeding years will completely reduce the old battle-field to the dimensions of a pleasant tilting-ground, where blunt lances and daggers of lath shall leave no scars after a gentle and joyous passage-at-arms.

One of the most important securities for the liberties of England was accomplished at the Revolution. In the Declaration of Rights it was maintained "That the raising or keeping a Standing Army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law." An accidental occurrence gave a legislative shape to this doctrine, which from 1689 has been invariably adhered to. The English regiments which had served under James II. were not in a complacent humour towards his foreign successor. They looked with jealousy upon the Dutch guards that had attended William to Whitehall; and they took various occasions of manifesting their dislike to the new government. They prevented the people lighting bonfires at Cirencester when the king and queen were proclaimed. At Newbury and Abingdon they would not allow the town crier to say, "God bless king William and queen Mary." "The old army is rather grown worse than mended," said a violent Whig. "I believe the black coats and the red coats to be the grievances of the nation." * This discontent took an alarming form. Under the treaty of Nimeguen, England promised succours to the States-General, in the event of France being at war with them. France had declared war. Troops in the service of England were ordered to embark for the continent. On the 15th of March, it was announced in the House of Commons that lord Dumbarton's regiment—composed chiefly of Scotchmen—had mustered at Ipswich; had seized the artillery; and had made proclamation of king James. The Commons immediately voted an address to the king, "to desire him to take effectual care to suppress the soldiers that are now in rebellion." The king quietly replied "that he had already appointed three regiments of dragoons, with orders to stop them, and bring them to their duty." One of the most distinguished of the Dutch officers headed these troops. He came up with them near Sleaford, where, after a feeble show of resistance, they surrendered. They were marched up to London. They had been guilty of high treason, in levying war against the king; and a few were brought to trial at the county assizes for Suffolk. But no life was forfeited. The government acted with a judicious mercy; and this regiment, now the first of the line, served William faithfully in his hard campaigns. This occurrence produced the first Mutiny Bill. The preamble of the Act sufficiently explains its necessity, and the caution with which the principle of a Standing Army, governed by martial law, was adopted: "Whereas the raising or keeping a Standing Army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against Law. And whereas it is judged necessary by their Majesties and this present Parliament, that during this time of danger several of the forces which are now on foot should be continued and others raised for the safety of the kingdom,

* Howe. "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 137.

for the common defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the reducing of Ireland. And whereas no man may be forejudged of life or limb or subjected to any kind of punishment by martial law, or in any other manner than by the judgment of his peers and according to the known and established laws of this realm. Yet nevertheless it being requisite for retaining such forces as are or shall be raised during this exigence of affairs in their duty, an exact discipline be observed. And that soldiers who shall mutiny or stir up sedition, or shall desert their majesties' service be brought to a more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of Law will allow." * The Mutiny Act was limited to a duration of six months. It was necessarily renewed, again and again, during the reign of William. A standing army became an integral part of the government of this country, whether during peace or during war. But Parliament always held its effectual control over the executive, so as to prevent any abuse of military power, by never passing a Mutiny Bill for a longer term than a year. For one hundred and sixty-nine years the statute-book has continued to have its "Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion;" and in the Act of the 21st of Victoria, as in the Act of the 1st of William and Mary, it is still recited that the raising or keeping a Standing Army, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law; that a body of forces is necessary for the safety of the kingdom; that no man can be punished except by the laws of the realm; yet nevertheless &c. &c. This Act, now swollen to a hundred and seven Clauses, is to continue in force for one year, at dates commencing and ending according to the distribution of the forces, whether in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the numerous stations in every region of the globe where the British flag now floats. Under the two constitutional principles, therefore, of an appropriation of the supply, and the passing of an annual Mutiny Bill, the power of the Crown cannot be maintained without the co-ordinate power of Parliament. The sovereign cannot raise an army, or pay an army, without the consent of Parliament. The annual assembly of Parliament is therefore absolutely essential to the conduct of the government; and if evil times should ever by possibility arise in which the Crown and the Parliament should be at issue, the maintenance of an army would be an act of pure despotism on the part of the executive power, only to be met by an equally unconstitutional assumption of executive power on the part of the legislature.

The position of the new government was necessarily a dangerous one. Triumphant as had been the first days of the Revolution, it was inevitable, especially whilst there was a civil war in Ireland, and whilst Scotland was distracted by party-strife, that plots should be formed in England for bringing back king James. William had notified to Parliament that he had caused several persons to be apprehended, on credible information that they were conspiring against the government; and he asked for advice under the difficulty of his unwillingness to act against law on the one hand, or to suffer dangerous men to avail themselves of the privileges of the Habeas Corpus Act on the other hand. The Lords, in an excess of loyal devotion, recommended the king to take extraordinary care of the public safety, by securing all disaffected persons. The Commons, much more wisely, passed a Bill for

* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 5.

the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the 17th of April. This Act was twice renewed during the Session.* If William thus thought it necessary to strengthen his hands against existing dangers, he desired, as all high-minded possessors of power in troublous times should desire, that in a great degree there should be oblivion for past political offences. The cruel chancellor Jeffries; the corrupt chief-justice Wright; other unjust judges and agents of despotism, were in confinement. Many who had been manifest enemies of public liberty dreaded that the day of retribution was at hand. "The hottest of the Whigs," according to Burnet, would not forward this honest design of the king. "They thought it best to keep many under the lash; they intended severe revenge for the blood that had been shed, and for the many unjust things that had been done in the end of king Charles's reign." They carried their opposition to the king by indirect means, rather than by sweeping exceptions to a general amnesty. "They proceeded so slowly in that matter, that the Bill could not be brought to ripeness during this Session." The people admired the mildness of the king's temper. The factious politicians got up an imputation against him, that he desired "to make use of a set of prerogative men, as soon as he legally could." †

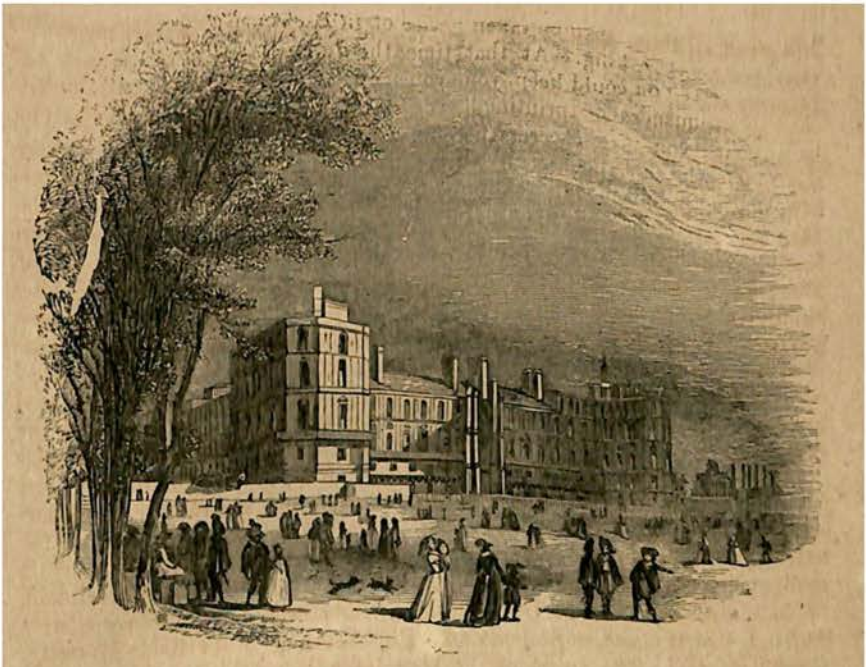
The terms of the Coronation Oath, which for many years in the memory of some living was a fatal stumbling-block in the great healing measure of Roman Catholic relief, were debated in the first Parliament of William and Mary, as if the difficulty was foreseen that did arise under a very different condition of society. The ancient oath was declared to be "framed in doubtful words and expressions with relation to ancient laws and constitutions at this time unknown." ‡ This part of the preamble of the Act had especially reference to ecclesiastical laws. Those words of the new oath which were the subject of debate run thus: The archbishop or bishop is to ask the sovereign, "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the free profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law?" And the sovereign promises so to do. It was moved "that the king, in the oath, swear to maintain the Protestant religion, as it is, or shall be, established by law." Those who contended for the introduction of the words "shall be," amongst whom was Somers, were in a minority. They desired that no such construction should be put upon the words "is established by law," as should lead a conscientious ruler to imagine that he was to sanction no legislative change that might affect the existing condition of the Church. The historian of this period says: "Every person who has read these debates must be fully convinced that the statesmen who framed the Coronation Oath did not mean to bind the king in his legislative capacity." § It is indeed true that the apprehension that the words "established by law" would make the laws unalterable, was felt as an absurdity by the soundest heads in that Parliament. "Not able to alter laws as occasion requires!" indignantly exclaimed sir Robert Cotton. They looked only to such alterations as might widen the limits of the Church by a liberal comprehension of Protestant Dissenters. Sir George Treby seems, if we rightly understand his words, to have looked further. "When we are dead

* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 2, c. 7, and c. 77.
† Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 26.
‡ 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 6.
§ Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 117.

and gone, all these debates will be in the air, and a greater scruple remain." * One greater scruple was that which harassed the mind of George III. Happily the question is set at rest by the common sense of our own times.

The Coronation of king William and queen Mary took place on the 11th of April, according to the ancient ceremonials. The archbishop of Canterbury was absent. The bishop of London supplied his place. Burnet, now bishop of Salisbury, preached, "with great applause," says Evelyn. The Members of the Lower House had especial places of honour; they were feasted in the Exchequer-chamber, and had each a gold coronation medal. The honest citizens rang their bells and made their bonfires. The Jacobites circulated their doggrel against "the dainty fine king;" and the Dutch guards who kept the ground were abused as foreign mercenaries. The House of Commons, two days after the Coronation, went up with a congratulatory address to the king and queen. But, eleven days later, the House presented an address of far greater import—declaring that they would support the crown in a war against the French king. The seconder of the address maintained "that it is of absolute necessity to declare war against the most Christian Turk, who ravages all Christendom, and makes war more barbarously than the Turks themselves." To Louis was attributed, in the address, "the present invasion of the kingdom of Ireland, and supporting your majesty's rebellious subjects there." William, in his answer, said, "I look upon the war to be so much already declared by France against England, that it is not so properly an act of choice, as an inevitable necessity, in our defence." The spirit of the king leapt up at this hearty support of the Commons in the great contest for which he had been long preparing. He is reported to have exclaimed to one of his intimates—"This is the first day of my reign!"

* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 210.



Palace of St. Germain.

CHAPTER VI.

King James lands at Kinsale—Schemes of Tyrconnel—Condition of the Protestants in Ireland—James enters Dublin—Siege of Londonderry—The Siege raised—The Revolution in Scotland—The Highlanders—Dundee—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death of Dundee.

"WONDERFUL uncertainty where king James was, whether in France or Ireland," writes Evelyn on the 29th of March. James had landed at the port of Kinsale on the 12th of March. There was no uncertainty when, on the 22d, the House of Commons had voted a Supply for six months "towards the reducing of Ireland," and a member of the government had said, "the French king has carried king James into Ireland." What then passed in Parliament was very imperfectly known to the public. The debates, in the state in which thay have come down to us, were merely the brief notes of members for their private use. Even the Votes were unpublished. There was a great debate on a motion for printing the Votes, on the 9th of March. From this debate it appeared that members were in the habit of communicating the results of their proceedings to the constituencies. "It will only save the gentlemen the trouble of writing to their corporations," said Sir Thomas Lee. "You are told," says Sir Henry Capel, "of the Roll of the 9th of Henry

IV.—that nothing is to be taken notice of in Parliament but what you communicate to the king. At that time there were no coffee-houses and no printing. If you could keep your votes out of coffee-houses, and suppress the licentiousness of printing," you might oppose printing your votes, "otherwise you make secrets here of what all the world knows." There were men who had the sagacity to see that concealment only produced the propagation of falsehood. "I would not have L'Estrange and Nevil Payne," says Mr. Arnold, "write false news beyond sea. I desire the truth to be known, and am for printing the votes."* The House decided against the printing. The majority thought that the Clerks of the House, who were suspected of sending the Votes to coffee-houses, should be prevented from thus committing "a great crime;" and that it was for the honour of the House not to print them. We can thus understand Mr. Evelyn's uncertainty in a world of contradictory rumours. In the midst of the popular ignorance of facts there was one consolation. They could freely abuse their rulers. "The new king being much blamed for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruined by the lord Tyrconnel and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants," writes Evelyn, in the hour of his uncertainty. The new king was betrayed, as he was doomed to be on many future occasions. The prince of Orange, under the advice of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, had during the interregnum opened a negotiation with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, the brother of that wit of the court of Charles II., who wrote the most profligate Memoirs in the purest French, had come from Ireland to fight for king James against the prince of Orange, but was chosen to return to Ireland to arrange with Tyrconnel to preserve Ireland for king William. The son of sir William Temple gave a pledge that Hamilton would be faithful. Hamilton went to Tyrconnel and plotted with him how the Protestants could be best crushed, and James seated in Ireland as its Papist king. The too sensitive young Temple, when he found that his friend had abused his confidence, drowned himself. "He was so deeply oppressed with grief that he plunged himself out of a boat into the Thames, laden with weights to sink him."† The schemes of Tyrconnel succeeded. He persuaded lord Mountjoy to set out on a mission to James at St. Germain's, to represent to him "the moral impossibility of holding out against the power of England." He sent with him another envoy, chief baron Rice, "to give a quite different account to the king." Mountjoy was put into the Bastille. Tyrconnel had a clear course for his operations. "Accordingly this lord's back was no sooner turned but he began by degrees to pull off the mask. He caused all the Protestants in Dublin to surrender their arms; he began to augment the standing forces; and with as much prudence as dexterity soon put the kingdom in a tolerable state of defence." Such is the explanation of the alleged neglect, not given by a partizan of king William, but by the compiler of the Life of James II. from his own Memoirs.‡

James had quitted France with this remarkable wish of the great

* L'Estrange was the Censor of the press under Charles II. and editor of the "Public Intelligencer." Nevil Payne was an agent of James in Scotland, who was in correspondence with the English Jacobites.

† Alexander Cunningham—"History of Great Britain," vol. i p. 126.

‡ "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 320.

monarch at their parting—"the best thing I can desire for you is never to see you back again." The munificent favours of Louis—his generous as well as politic honours to a fallen brother—the adulation of courtiers, who looked upon a king, however powerless, as a demi-god—these were to be exchanged for a doubtful struggle for a divided kingdom. Yet if James could

Medal of Louis XIV.

maintain a position in Ireland, he might recover England. "If king James would quit his priests," said Danby, "he might still retrieve his affairs."* His prospects in Ireland were far from desperate; they were in many particulars encouraging. The Protestants who, from the time of the plantation of Ulster in the time of James I., had been gradually changing a wild and profitless country into a flourishing seat of trade and manufactures, had recovered the effects of the massacre of 1641. Cromwell had replaced them in security by the terror of his strong arm. They were again the dominant power; the native Irish were again a subjected race. James II. out of no sense of equal justice to save the aboriginal people from the tyranny of the smaller number, had determined to depress the colonisers and subject them to the less regulated tyranny of that hatred of their race and their religion which animated the Celtic population. In two years Ireland, under the rule of Tyrconnel, was a kingdom in which the civil and military strength was almost wholly in the hands of Papists. The Protestant militia had been disarmed early in the reign of James. Tyrconnel's soldiers seized upon all arms in the possession of Protestant householders, who were alone qualified by law to carry weapons. James entered Ireland when all those likely to oppose him were thought to be naked and defenceless.

Before the Revolution was completed in England, the inhabitants of

* Reresby's "Memoirs," p. 325.

Enniskillen and Londonderry had received such warnings from the attitude of the Irish government, and the temper of the native population around them, that they prepared to defend themselves against the same sort of attack which Londonderry had successfully resisted in 1641. Enniskillen repelled the attempt to quarter Popish soldiers in their little town. Londonderry secured its gates against the entrance of a similar force. Mountjoy, who was afterwards betrayed into the mission to James, was well received at Londonderry, and left a Protestant garrison for their protection, under one of his officers, lieutenant-colonel Lundy. Before William and Mary had received the crown, the whole Catholic population around the Protestants was preparing for rapine and revenge. The sovereigns of the Revolution were, however, proclaimed by the staunch citizens of Londonderry and the small colony of Enniskillen; and they abided the issue without shrinking. The men of Londonderry relied upon Lundy, as governor, who had sent his adhesion to England, and had received from William and Mary a formal appointment to his command. Upon Hamilton, Tyrconnel had bestowed the reward of his treachery, by placing him at the head of a body of troops to bring the Protestants of Ulster to submission. These troops desolated the country; and the wretched inhabitants fled before them to Enniskillen and to Londonderry. The city, which had been founded by Englishmen upon the site of the old ruined city of Derry granted by James I. to the Corporation of London, had become the chief refuge for many thousands, in addition to its usual inhabitants. Amongst those who had fled hither for succour, was the rector of a neighbouring parish, George Walker, whose name will always live in honoured remembrance.

The king of the Roman Catholics entered Dublin on the 24th of March. Devoted soldiers lined the streets; the houses were hung with tapestry; his horse trod upon flowers and green leaves. He was met at the castle gate by the procession of the host, and he fell on his knees in adoration. Despatches received from Hamilton, now a lieutenant-general, showed that there was work to do, beyond that of pageants and congratulations. The king himself at length determined to go amongst the troops to encourage them, taking with him the French officers that had accompanied him to Ireland.* His march into Ulster commenced on the 13th of April. He travelled through a wasted country from which the inhabitants had fled, taking with them their moveable goods. The position of James and his followers was disagreeable enough. It was determined to return to Dublin; and so they went back to Charlemont. But, says the Memoir, "the king received by an express a letter from the duke of Berwick, in the name of all the General officers, as their opinion, that in case his majesty would return to the army, and but show himself before Derry, it would infallibly surrender." † James again changed his mind; and setting out towards the obstinate city the next morning, overtook the French general Rosen within two miles of the place where his mere presence was to compel submission. The trumpeter sent by the king with a summons, found the inhabitants "in very great disorder, having turned out their Governor Lundy, upon suspicion." ‡ The cause of this unexpected reception was the presence of "one Walker, a Minister." He was opposed to

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 330; Own Memoirs. † *Ibid.* p. 332. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 333.

Lundy, who thought the place untenable, and counselled the townsmen to make conditions; "but the fierce Minister of the Gospel, being of the true Cromwellian or Cameronian stamp, inspired them with bolder resolutions." * James finally left Hamilton and the French generals to work their will upon the besieged, and upon the people who had not the shelter of the beleaguered city; and he went back to Dublin to meet a Parliament called for the 7th of May. We must finish this story of heroic bravery and more heroic fortitude, although the events which we shall thus attempt briefly to relate, will detain us from other events of importance for more than three months of this busy year of 1689.

Lough Foyle, the inlet of the sea which flows between the counties of Derry and Donegal, extends from its narrow entrance at Magilligan Point for about sixteen miles, when it meets the river Foyle at Culmore. The river is navigable for ships of heavy burthen to Londonderry, built by the colonists on the left bank. This city, in 1689, was contained within the walls; and it rose by a gentle ascent from the base to the summit of a hill, on the highest point of which was its cathedral. The streets were regularly laid out, in lines running to four gates, from a square in the centre, in which the Town-house and the Guard-house were placed. The gradual ascent of the city thus exposed it to the fire of an enemy. The small Bastions were insufficient for the defence of the Curtain against a vigorous assault; and there was no Moat nor Counterscarp. A ferry crossed the Foyle from the east gate; and the north gate opened upon a quay. On the east bank of the Foyle were woods and groves, with sites of villages destroyed by the marauding soldiery. On the west bank, close to the strand, was a large orchard, which became a place of ambush. At the entrance of the Foyle was the strong fort of Culmore, with a smaller fort on the opposite bank. About two miles below the city were two forts,—Charles Fort on the west bank; Grange Fort on the east.†

Lundy, the treacherous or perhaps panic-stricken governor, had persuaded Cunningham, the colonel who commanded two English regiments sent to assist in the defence of the place, to put his troops on board ship and sail away. The indignation of the English parliament was extreme when these troops returned home. Lundy's intention to surrender being manifest, the citizens, under the advice of their reverend champion, and of a more regular soldier, superseded the governor, and he was glad to escape in disguise. The battle now commenced in earnest. The reverend George Walker and Major Baker were appointed governors during the siege. They mustered seven thousand and twenty soldiers, dividing them into regiments under eight colonels. In the town there were about thirty thousand souls; but they were reduced to a less burdensome number, by ten thousand accepting an offer of the besieging commander to restore them to their dwellings. There were, according to Lundy's estimation, only provisions for ten days. The number of cannon possessed by the besieged was only twenty. With such resources a protracted defence of Londonderry might well appear impossible. On the 20th of April the city was invested, and the bombardment was begun.

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 334.
† Plan in Harris's "Life of William III." p. 193.

A strong force was planted at Pennyburn Mill, to cut off the road from Culmore to the city, that fort then being in the hands of the Protestants. It was afterwards lost. On the 21st the garrison made a sortie, and routed this force with considerable slaughter. Maumont, one of the French generals, fell by a musket ball in this desperate sally. The bombardment went on, with demi-culverins and mortars. No impression was made during nine days upon the determination to hold out; and on the 29th king James retraced his steps to Dublin, in considerable ill humour. He gave vent to that petulance which had so often alienated his friends, by exclaiming, "If my army had been English, they would have brought me the town, stone by stone, by this time."

The siege went on, amidst bombardments and sorties, for six weeks, with little change. Hamilton was the commander of James's forces, in consequence of the death of Maumont; and another French officer, Persignan, who might have assisted Hamilton's inexperience, was mortally wounded in a sortie of the sixth of May. The garrison of Londonderry and the inhabitants were gradually perishing from fatigue and insufficient food. But they bravely repelled an assault, in which four hundred of the assailants fell. Of the relief which had been promised from England there were no tidings. This solitary city had to bear, as it would appear, the whole brunt of the great contest for the fate of three kingdoms. Large bodies of troops held the country on every side, keeping in awe the trembling and starving population, that could give no succour. No friendly ship could sail up the river without receiving the fire from hostile forts at its mouth and on its banks. No messenger could safely pass by land or by water to tell of the need there was for relief. The banks of the Foyle were lined with musqueteers. The roads on the East and on the West were blocked by masses of troops. Across the narrow part of the river, from Charles Fort to Grange Fort, the enemy stretched a great boom of fir timber, joined by iron chains, and fastened on either shore by cables of a foot thick. On the 15th of June, the anxious lookers out from the high places of the city descried a fleet of thirty sail in the Lough. The English flag floated in the great æstuary, but the deliverers came no nigher for weeks. Signals were given and answered; but the ships lay at anchor, as if to drive hope to despair. Provisions were now dealt out in quantities scarcely sufficient to sustain life; and fever and dysentery seized upon their hundreds of victims. Gunpowder was still left; but the cannon balls were shot away, and the resolute men cast lead round brick bats, and fired the rough missiles upon the besiegers. At the end of June, Baker, one of the heroic governors, died. Hamilton had been superseded in his command by Rosen, when it was known in Dublin that an English fleet was in Lough Foyle. The prolonged resistance of two months by a city not fortified upon scientific principles, was too humiliating for the Frenchman, who was reported to have dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc; and Rosen, who was invested with powers as "Marshal General of all his majesty's forces," issued a savage proclamation, declaring that unless the place were surrendered by the first of July, he would collect all the Protestants from the neighbouring districts, and drive them under the walls of the city to starve with those within the walls. This was not a vain threat. For thirty miles round the remnant of the population—the old man incapable of bearing arms, and the young wife

with an infant at her breast—the children who lingered about their desolate homes, and the cripple who could fly nowhere for shelter—were driven in flocks towards the city where their friends were well nigh perishing. Some dropped on the road; some were mercifully knocked on the head. A famished troop came thus beneath the walls of Londonderry, where they lay starving for three days. The besieged immediately erected a gallows, within view of their enemies; and sent a message to their head-quarters that priests might come in to prepare the prisoners within the city for death, for they would hang every man if their friends were not immediately dismissed. The threat had its effect, and the famished crowd wended back their way to their solitary villages. It is but justice to James to state, that he expressed his displeasure at this proceeding, and wrote to Rosen, "It is positively our will, that you do not put your project in execution as far as it regards the men, women, and children, of whom you speak; but, on the contrary, that you send them back to their habitations without any injury to their persons."

Meanwhile the siege went on. Batteries were brought closer and closer to the city; and the firing was continued by day and night. At last a communication was effected with the fleet in the Lough. Major-General Kirk, the evil instrument of cruelty in the expedition against Monmouth, was now in the confidence of the new government. He it was who had come to the assistance of the besieged with men, arms, and provisions. He sent word by a little boy, who carried a letter in his garter—or in his button—that he found it impossible to get up the river; that he expected six thousand more men from England; and that then he would attack the besiegers by land. A doubtful hope. Famine was now doing its terrible work. The well-known substitutes for ordinary food, of horse-flesh, and dog's-flesh, of rats, of hides, were fast failing. On the evening of the 30th of July, Walker preached in the Cathedral, exhorting his hearers still to persevere, for that God would at last deliver them from their difficulties. An hour after the sermon the lookers out descried a movement in the Lough. Three vessels are sailing to the mouth of the Foyle. There are two merchantmen and a frigate. They are fired upon by the Culmore Fort and the New Fort. They return the fire. They are in the river. They are within a mile of the boom. They heed not the shots of the musqueteers, nor the guns of the Charles Fort and Grange Fort. And now the foremost of the merchant vessels is known by her build. She is the Mountjoy of Derry. She dashes at the boom. She breaks it, but she is driven ashore by the rebound. They are boarding. No. The frigate comes up and fires a broadside. The Mountjoy rights again. The three ships pass the boom safely. They are coming to the quay. We are saved. That night the four thousand three hundred of the garrison who, out of seven thousand four hundred, were left alive, feasted upon something better than the nine lean horses and a pint of meal for each man, that were left. Of the abundance that was landed at the quay amidst the shouts of the brave defenders of Londonderry, there was enough to make every heart glad of that heroic population, who thus fought and who suffered for a great principle. Bonfires are lighted. Bells are rung. The fire of the besiegers is the next day continued. But at nightfall a smoke arises from their camp, as if from the huts which had given them shelter for three months. Another night of watchfulness for the besieged; and as the sun of

the first of August glimmers over the waters of Lough Foyle, it is seen that Rosen, with his half-disciplined soldiers and his Rapparees, had marched away on the road to Strabane. Eight thousand of the besiegers had perished in this memorable struggle.*

At the period when Londonderry was saved, the men of Enniskillen took the field, and won the decisive battle of Newton Butler. On the 29th of July, the day before the great boom of the Foyle was broken, two English colonels, Wolseley and Berry, who had been sent by Kirk with a supply of arms and ammunition, sailed up Lough Erne to the isle of Enniskillen with their welcome cargo, and landed amidst the shouts of the people. Their arrival was very timely. A large force was advancing against Enniskillen under the command of Macarthy, Viscount Mountcashel. Wolseley and Berry went forth with three thousand men to meet the five thousand who were thus coming with a confidence of success; for the duke of Berwick was to attack Enniskillen from another quarter. The hostile forces were in presence of each other on the 30th. The larger number began to retreat; the smaller followed. Macarthy's dragoons at last turned to face the bold yeomanry, who were advancing with the determination of men whose dearest interests were at issue in this deadly strife. The Celtic army was routed amidst terrible butchery. As the besiegers of Londonderry halted on the 1st of August at Strabane, they heard the news of this defeat. They became wholly disorganised, abandoning their stores and their sick and wounded. James was already out of heart. The king's intelligence from England assured him of a speedy invasion from thence. The length of the siege of Derry, the badness of the weather, the frequent sallies, the unwholesomeness of the place of encampment, "had in a manner destroyed the army, so that no service could be expected from it for a considerable time." Add to this, "My lord Mountcashel entirely routed." Such were the griefs which, when Schomberg landed with an army on the 13th of August, "struck such a consternation amongst the generality, as made them give up all for lost." †

We must revert to the close of the year 1688, to be able to present a rapid narrative of the course of the Revolution in Scotland.

The attempt of James to dispense with the Test Act was as ill received in Scotland as in England. The Episcopalians suspected the motive; the moderate Presbyterians did not welcome his limited indulgence; the Cameronians spurned it, with a bitter hatred of their old oppressor, and of all his evil instruments. But there was in Scotland that strong feeling of attachment to their own race of kings which would not very enthusiastically welcome their sudden and complete downfall. There was sure to be a struggle, however it might terminate, for the superiority of the Church of the minority, established by law; and for the restoration of the Church of the majority,

* There are two original narratives of the siege of Londonderry, from which many of its incidents must be derived. One is, "A true account of the siege," by the famous George Walker, published in 1689. The other, published in 1690, is "A Narrative of the Siege," by John Mackenzie, a Dissenting Minister, who was chaplain to one of the regiments in the city. These accounts are condensed and compared in the "Life and Reign of William III." by Walter Harris.

† "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 372. Original Memoirs.

proscribed and persecuted. Conflicting interests and passions were certain to be brought into more immediate and direct hostility than in the English Revolution, in which an outrage upon the Church, with a view to the preponderance of Catholicism, united for a season the opposing principles of Establishment and of Dissent. In Scotland the government was wholly in the hands of those who had been the ministers of the intolerant tyranny of the king, and were the bitter enemies of those who clung to the Covenant. It was difficult to estimate what course events would take when the prince of Orange landed in England. The earl of Perth, the Chancellor, had declared himself a Roman Catholic on the accession of James. When the prince of Orange had landed, the Chancellor approached the Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh with the statements of what king James had done for them, and how they ought to oppose the unnatural invasion of that good king's nephew. He was answered, that the favours of the king had only for their object to ruin the Protestant religion. James fled; and then the terrified Chancellor attempted to fly also; for, says he, "Blair came from Edinburgh, and told me that the king was gone into France, and that if I did not immediately get away I was a gone man."* The earl and his lady went on board a sloop, where the men used them "with all the barbarity Turks could have done;" and finally put them on shore "at the pier at Kirkcaldy, exposed to the mockery and hatred of the people." The mob of Edinburgh, on the 10th of December, had broken into the chapel of Holyrood House, which had been fitted up for the Roman Catholic service; had destroyed its decorations; and had committed the sacrilege of disturbing the graves of the old princes of Scotland. The rabble had been fired upon by captain Wallace, who was in command of a party of soldiers at the palace; and the people of Kirkcaldy, says the earl of Perth, "got into a tumult to have me immediately sent to Edinburgh; though the tide did not serve, and though they knew that at Edinburgh I should have been torn to pieces, for there they believed that Johnny Wallace was commanded by me to fire upon the people."† He was rescued from the furious multitude of Kirkcaldy, "who began to call for cords;" and was conveyed to Stirling Castle, where he was detained as a prisoner for four years. Such was the temper of the people towards dignitaries at whose frown they had so lately trembled. The Episcopal Clergy fared no better. The hatred of the Scottish Puritans against the observance of Christmas went far beyond the quarrel with mince-pie of the Commonwealth Puritans. On the Christmas day of 1688, as if by universal agreement in the Western counties, the obnoxious ministers were, in the phrase of the day, "rabbled." Armed bodies of Covenanters terrified each clergyman in his manse; destroyed his furniture; gave him notice to quit; or turned him and his family out of their houses. They burnt his Prayer Book, and they locked up his church. No lives were lost, and no wounds were inflicted, in these execrable outrages.

In such a temper of a long oppressed people, William had issued his letters, as in England, for the assembly of a Convention. In England the strictest regard was paid to the existing state of the representation. In Scotland, the Act of 1681, which compelled every elector to renounce the

* "Letters from James, Earl of Perth," 1845 p. 1. † *Ibid.* p. 5.

Covenant, was superseded by William's authority; and Lords were summoned who had been deprived of their seats in the recent times of tyrannical rule. Meanwhile, in the interval of two months before the Convention was to assemble, furious passions were well nigh leading to a state of public confusion. Edinburgh Castle was held for king James by the duke of Gordon. The Whigs of Edinburgh and of the West were secretly arming. But each party was looking to the Convention as the test of their political strength, and each prepared for a contest which should decide the future fortunes of Scotland. Nobles of each party were in London. The consistent opposers of the popish James flocked round the prince of Orange at Whitehall. The most ardent supporters of the Stuart king were not driven from the new court. The earl of Dundee, says Burnet, "had employed me to carry messages from him to the king, to know what security he might expect if he should go and live in Scotland without owning the government. The king said, if he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him; to this he answered, that, unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly."* William was pressed to proscribe the Claverhouse who had borne so hateful a part in the days of persecution; but he refused to make any exception to the general amnesty, by which he hoped to make Scotland in some degree a land of peace.

Viscount Dundee arrived at Edinburgh at the end of February, in company with the earl of Balcarres. These noblemen were the confidential agents of James in Scotland; and from the day of their arrival the enemies of the Revolution had a rallying-point. The episcopal hierarchy were again full of hope that he they had called "the darling of Heaven," might be preserved and delivered by the mercy of God, by giving him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.† Balcarres is an authority for some curious incidents of this crisis.‡ He and Dundee went to the duke of Gordon to urge him to hold the castle of Edinburgh. They met "all the duke's furniture coming out;" but they made him promise to keep the fortress "until he saw what the Convention would do." On the 14th of March the Convention met. The bishop of Edinburgh prayed for the safety and restoration of king James, without opposition. The heir of the attainted Argyle took his seat, with only one protest. The conquerors and the conquered stood face to face. But the real strength was soon discovered. The duke of Hamilton had a majority of forty as President. Each party had put up a man that could not thoroughly be trusted. The marquis of Athol was as loose a politician as his opponent. But they were the heads of powerful clans, and their rank and influence made them leaders of politicians who had as little honesty as themselves.

It was alleged against the duke of Hamilton that he, and other western lords and gentlemen, "had brought publicly into town several companies of foot, and quartered them in the city; besides great numbers that they kept hid in cellars, and in houses below the ground, which never appeared until some days after the Convention had begun."§ Dundee complained to Hamilton

* Vol. iv. p. 39. † Address to James, November 3, 1688.

‡ "Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II., when in France," 1714. § *Ibid.*

that information had come to his knowledge that he was to be assassinated. The allegation came before the Convention on the 15th of March; and they took no concern in the matter. More important communications were to be laid before them. There was a letter to be read from king William in England; and a messenger had arrived with a letter from king James in France. The communication from king William had the precedence, by a decision of the majority. It was a mild and sensible document, exhorting to the laying aside of animosities and factions, and suggesting a Union of the two nations, "living in the same island, having the same language, and the same common interest of religion and liberty." The letter of James was counter-signed by the earl of Melfort, a man execrated by all parties. It breathed no spirit of peace. "He," the king, "would pardon all such as should return to their duty before the last day of that month inclusive; and he would punish with the rigour of his laws all such as should stand out in rebellion against him or his authority." When the seal of that letter was broken, the cause of James was felt to be lost. It was determined by Balcarres, Dundee, and a few other Tories, to leave the Convention, and gather together at Stirling. Sunday intervened. They were to start on the next day. Difficulties arose; and then Dundee, in his impatience, resolved to set out alone. "Then," says Balcarres, "he went strait away with about fifty horse. As he was riding near the castle of Edinburgh, the duke of Gordon made a sign to speak with him at the West side of the Castle, where, though it be extremely steep, yet he told the duke all that was resolved upon, and begged that he would hold out the castle till the king's friends might get him released, which he positively promised to do." Dalrymple says, that when Dundee galloped through the city, "being asked by one of his friends who stopped him, 'where he was going,' he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.'"

> "The Gordon demands of him which way he goes—
> Where e'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose—
> Your Grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
> Or that low lies the bonnet of bonny Dundee."*

The duke of Hamilton caused the doors of the Convention to be locked. The drums were beat in the streets. The Western Whigs came forth from their hiding-places. "There was never so miserable a parcel seen," says Balcarres. Nevertheless, the notion of a rival Convention at Stirling was at an end; and Dundee went his own course, to redeem, by his death in the hour of victory, some of the odium which, in spite of the romance of history, must always attach to the realities of his cruel and fanatical life. For he, a hater of fanatics, was amongst the worst who have borne that name,—one of "those exploded fanatics of slavery, who formerly maintained what no creature now maintains, that the Crown is held by divine, hereditary, and indefeasible right;" †—one who, in the maintenance of this creed, divested himself of the ordinary attributes of humanity, to be as callous as an inquisitor, and as remorseless as a buccaneer. Disappointed in their scheme, the only thing, says Balcarres to James, that could be thought of by all your

* Scott. "The Doom of Devorgoil." † Burke. "French Revolution."

friends, "was to engage the duke of Gordon to fire upon the town, which certainly would have broke up the Convention." The duke was wiser. "He absolutely refused to do anything but defend himself until he had your majesty's order."

The Convention now went fearlessly to work in the settlement of the kingdom. After long debates the House came to a resolution, which was embodied into an Act. "The Estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James VII. being a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a King, without ever taking the oath required by law, and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forefaulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant." * An Act was also passed for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary. On the day that the king and queen were crowned in England, they were proclaimed king and queen in Scotland. Commissioners were appointed from the Convention to proceed to London, to invest their majesties with the government. They —the earl of Argyle, sir James Montgomery, and sir John Dalrymple—were introduced at the Banqueting House on the 17th of May. Argyle tendered the Coronation Oath, which concluded with this clause, "that they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God." Upon this William declared that "he did not mean by these words, that he was under any obligation to be a persecutor." The Commissioners replied, that "neither the meaning of the oath, nor the law of Scotland did import it." "I take the oath in that sense," said William. In the Claim of Rights which the Convention had prepared it was set forth, "that Prelacy, and superiority of an office in the Church above Presbyters, is and has been a great and insupportable burthen to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed Popery by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished."

When Dundee, with his fifty horsemen, who had deserted from the regiment in England which he once commanded, had left the castle of Edinburgh far behind him, he scarcely then paused to think whither the spirit of Montrose would direct him. He retired to his country house in Forfar. He would probably have remained there unmolested by the new government; and he, as well as Balcarres, might have thought it most politic to continue quiet for a while. An agent of James arrived from Ireland, with letters recommending that nothing should be done till further orders; and Melfort, by the same messenger, wrote to Balcarres and Dundee. The letters fell into the hands of the dominant party in the Convention. Balcarres was arrested. Dundee had put the Tay between himself and his unfriends, "and having a good party of his own regiment constantly with him, they found it not so safe to apprehend him." Balcarres was brought before the Convention, and the letters of Melfort to him were read. In one, says Balcarres,

* "Others were for making use of an obsolete word, *forefaulting*, used for a bird's forsaking her nest."—Balcarres.

"he expressed himself much after this manner: That he wished some had been cut off that he and I spoke about, and then things had never come to the pass they were at; but when we get the power again, such should be hewers of wood, and drawers of water." Balcarres adds, addressing the king, that although he had never made any such proposition as that at which Melfort hinted, "nothing could have been more to the prejudice of your affairs, nor for my ruin, than this, which did show that nothing but cruelty would be used, if ever your majesty returned." When the order was given to arrest Dundee, he quitted his house with a few retainers; and was soon at the head of a body of Highlanders.

In the most picturesque history in our language there are no passages more picturesque than those in which the eloquent writer describes the Highlanders of this period.* He has produced his likeness of the Gael "by the help of two portraits, of which one is a coarse caricature, and the other a masterpiece of flattery." The caricature was produced out of the prejudices which existed up to the middle of the last century; the flattery has been created by poetry and romance in our own time. "While the old Gaelic institutions were in full vigour, no account of them was given by any observer, qualified to judge of them fairly." † We venture to think that there is one account, not indeed very full or very striking, which contains many traits which appear to be the result of observation, and which are not distorted by any violent prejudice. Alexander Cunningham, who left a manuscript history of Great Britain from the Revolution to the accession of George I., written in Latin,‡ was a native of Scotland, who is supposed to have been in Holland in 1688, and is held by his biographer to have been chosen by Archibald, earl of Argyle, to be travelling tutor to his son, lord Lorne. His position would naturally give him an interest in the state of the Highlands, and would probably enable him to describe the people from personal observation. "The Scotch Highlanders," he says, "a race of warriors who fight by instinct, are a different people from the Lowlanders, of different manners, and a different language." This may appear a trite observation to set out with; but it was the case then, as it was much more recently with many, that "by most Englishmen, Scotchman and Highlander were regarded as synonymous words."§ Cunningham goes on to say, "Though of a very ready wit, they are utterly unacquainted with arts and discipline; for which reason they are less addicted to husbandry than to arms, in which they are exercised by daily quarrels with one another." ‖ The hostilities of clans was the great moving principle in every Highland adoption of a public quarrel, as we have seen in the career of Montrose and of Argyle. It was the principle upon which Dundee relied when he hurried to the clans who were in arms for a private quarrel at Inverness. But the cause of king James had a hold upon their affections, beyond their desire to encounter the hostile chiefs who were the supporters of king William. They knew nothing of the political and religious grounds of difference. The causes of the great Revolution of England were to them unknown and uncared for. It was enough that "their minds, roused

* Macaulay's History, vol. iii. c. xiii.
† *Ibid.* p. 304.
‡ Translated by Thomas Hollinbury, D.D., 1788.
§ Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 312.
‖ Cunningham, vol. i. p. 120.

by the remembrance of former times, were easily drawn over by the viscount of Dundee, who was of the family of Montrose, to the interest of king James. "They firmly believe that the ancient kings of Scotland were descended from them, and wore the very same dress which they now wear; and therefore they were easily persuaded that king James was of their own blood, and, by a kind of divine right, entitled to the crown."* Their hardihood, under exposure to cold and wet; their habitual exercise; their predatory excursions, are noticed by this historian. "Being in general poorly provided for, they are apt to covet other men's goods; nor are they taught by any laws to distinguish with great accuracy their own property from that of other people. They are not ashamed of the gallows; nay, they pay a religious respect to a fortunate plunderer."† Scott says that a foray was so far from being held disgraceful, that a young chief was expected to show his talents for command, by heading a plundering expedition.‡ To their chief "the common people adhere with the utmost fidelity, by whose right hand they are wont to swear."§ Dundee knew the qualities of the race that he was going to lead against the regular troops of the new government. Their peculiar character and organisation were favourable for a dashing enterprise. They were perhaps most to be feared in the hour of success. "In battle, the point to which they bend their utmost efforts, and which they are most anxious to carry, is their enemy's baggage. If that once falls into their hands, disregarding all discipline and oaths, and leaving their colours, home they run." ‖

The clan which Dundee joined at Inverness had for its chief, MacDonald of Keppoch. This pugnacious warrior had recently won a battle against MacIntosh of Moy; and he was now about to harry the Saxon shopkeepers of Inverness for having taken part against his clan. In Inverness there was "sneezing," and sugar, and aqua-vitæ. He had recently been opposed to the soldiers of king James, who, under the direction of the Privy Council, had gone forth with letters of fire and sword to waste and kill in the country of MacDonald of Keppoch. When Dundee arrived, the chief thought less of the injuries which he had sustained from the government of king James than of the glorious opportunity of plunder in a fight against the government of king William. A goat was slain, a fire was kindled, the points of a small wooden cross were seared in the flame, and then the sparks were extinguished in the blood of the goat. "Their religion is partly taken from the Druids, partly from Papists, and partly from Protestants," says Cunningham. In the ceremony of preparing the Fiery Cross, we may readily trace the Pagan as well as the Popish element. MacDonald of Keppoch sent the Fiery Cross through his district. It was the signal for arming and assembling at a given place of rendezvous. It was handed on by one swift messenger after another through the country of Keppoch's allies and friends. The name of the Graham was sufficient to arm all those who hated the Campbell. The deeds of Montrose were the favourite themes of the bards; and now another Graham was come to lead the clans near Inverary, who had thrown

* Cunningham, p. 122. † *Ibid.* p. 121. ‡ Notes to "Lady of the Lake."
§ "No oath, but by his chieftain's hand." "Lady of the Lake," canto iii.
‖ Cunningham, vol. i. p. 122.

off their submission to Argyle, against another Argyle, who might again reduce them to their old condition of dependence. Dundee first surprised the town of Perth, seizing the public treasure; dispersed two troops of horse; and then entered into the Highlands, to wait the arrival of aid from Ireland. The clans gathered around him in Lochaber, all eager to fight for the cause which had the Mac Callum More for its enemy.

During the month of June active operations in the Highlands were suspended. But in the meantime Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the duke of Gordon. General Mackay had taken the command of the army in Scotland. "He was one of the best officers of the age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders; for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave; but he was not so fitted for command. His piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in anything where there might be a needless effusion of blood."* To shed blood needlessly is the greatest opprobrium of a commander. To mistrust himself in the fear of unavoidable slaughter is to produce a more fatal effusion of blood. It is not piety which produces such mistrust. Whether Mackay, the bravest of the brave, was open to this covert reproach, does not appear in the narratives of his conduct of the battle of Killiecrankie. Dundee had learnt that the marquis of Athol, who had decided to take part with the ruling powers, had sent his son, lord Murray, into Athol to raise the clans; but that his own castle of Blair had been held against him; and that a large number of his clan had quitted the standard of the marquis. He had also learnt that Mackay was advancing to reduce Blair Castle, a post most important as the key of the Northern Highlands. Dundee had received three hundred Irish troops from Ulster, and he had collected again about three thousand Highlanders, who had been allowed to leave Lochaber for their own glens. Mackay was approaching Blair Castle, out of Perthshire. Dundee arrived there on the 27th of July. Mackay was advancing up the pass of Killiecrankie. On one hand of the narrow defile was the river Garry, rushing below the difficult ascent. On the other side were rocks and wooded mountains. One laden horse and two or three men abreast would fill the road-way. In this defile, the passage of Mackay might have been effectually resisted. Dundee chose to wait for his enemy till he had reached the open valley at the extremity of the pass. The troops were resting, when the alarm was given that the Highlanders were at hand. From the hills a cloud of bonnets and plaids swept into the plain, and the regular soldier was face to face with the clansman;—"Veterans practised in war's game" on one side—"Shepherds and Herdsmen" on the other.† There had been firing from each for several hours. It was seven o'clock before Dundee gave the word for action. Unplaided and unsocked the Highlanders rushed upon the red soldier. They threw away their firelocks after a volley or two; raised their war-yell, amidst the shriek of the bagpipes; and darted upon Mackay's line. A few minutes of struggle, and then a headlong flight down the pass. What the poet calls "the precept and the pedantry of cold mechanic battle" could not stand up against the rush of enemies, as strange as the mounted Spaniard was to the Peruvian. The slaughter was terrible, as the Saxons

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 47.

† Wordsworth.

fled through the gorge, with the Celts hewing and slaying amidst a feeble resistance. But there were no final results of the victory of Killiecrankie. The Highlanders did not follow up their success, for they were busy with the booty of the field; and Dundee had fallen. He was leading a charge of his small band of cavalry; and was waving his arm for his men to come on, when a musket ball struck him in the part thus exposed by the opening of his cuirass. He fell from his horse, and, after a few sentences, "word spake never more." * There was terror in Edinburgh when it was known that Mackay had been defeated. There was hope when the news came that Dundee had fallen. The Highlanders went back to their mountains, laden with plunder. In London there was necessarily alarm. "But when the account of Dundee's death was known, the whole city appeared full of joy; and the king's enemies, who had secretly furnished themselves with arms, now laid aside all thoughts of using them." † The over-sanguine hopes of the enterprise of Dundee amongst the followers of king James, are thus expressed in a lament for his death: "Had he lived, there was little doubt but he had soon established the king's authority in Scotland, prevented the prince of Orange going or sending an army into Ireland, and put his majesty in a fair way of regaining England itself." ‡ Certainly not; whilst the real intentions of James towards Scotland and England continued to ooze out, as they were sure to do. Balcarres, in his account to king James of the affairs of Scotland, has this anecdote of the characteristic Stuart policy: "Next day after the fight, an officer riding by the place where my lord Dundee fell, found lying there a bundle of papers and commissions, which he had about him. Those who stripped him thought them of but small concern, so they left them there lying. This officer a little after did show them to several of your friends, among which there was one paper did no small prejudice to your affairs, and would have done much more, had it not been carefully suppressed. It was a letter of the earl of Melfort's to my lord Dundee, when he sent him over your majesty's Declaration, in which was contained not only an indemnity, but a toleration for all persuasions. This the earl of Melfort believed would be shocking to Dundee, considering his hatred to fanatics; for he writes, that notwithstanding of what was promised in your declaration, indemnity and indulgence, yet he had couched things so, that you would break them when you pleased; nor would you think yourself obliged to stand to them."

* The letter that it is pretended he wrote to King James is a transparent forgery.
† Cunningham, p. 123. ‡ "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 352.

Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne.

CHAPTER VII.

Close of the first Session of the English Parliament—The Irish Parliament—Second Session of the English Parliament—The Bill of Rights—The Princess Anne—Whig and Tory Factions—Parliament dissolved—State of the Army in Ireland—Abuses in Government Departments—Opening of the New Parliament—Corruption—Jealousy in settling the Revenue—Act of Recognition—Act of Grace—William goes to Ireland—Landing and March of William—The Boyne—William slightly wounded—Battle of the Boyne—Flight of James—His Speech at Dublin—Naval defeat at Beachy Head—Energetic Conduct of the Queen.

THE proceedings of the English parliament, from the period when the Commons went up to the king with an address, declaring that they would support him in a war with France, to the adjournment in August, are no doubt interesting when presented with characteristic details, but are scarcely important enough to be related with minuteness in a general history. Less important is it to trace the factious disputes in which so many angry passions and so many petty jealousies were called forth, during the three or four latter months of the Session. It is satisfactory to know that the attainders of William lord Russell, of Algernon Sidney, of Alice Lisle, and of alderman Cornish, were reversed. It is not so satisfactory to trace the revival of past animosities in the discussions upon the sentence of Titus Oates, who brought that sentence before the House of Lords by a writ of error. A majority of Peers affirmed the judgment; but in the Lower House a bill annulling the sentence was brought in. The majority of the Lords looked at the infamous character of Oates. In the Commons the supporters of the bill for annulling the sentence looked to the illegality of the judgment. The difference between the two Houses was compromised. Oates was released from confinement, having received a pardon; and the Commons moved an address to the Crown that he should be allowed a small pension for his support. In the case of Samuel Johnson, the Commons voted that his degradation from ecclesiastical functions was illegal, and the king was asked to bestow some preferment on him. William, more wisely, gave him a thousand pounds and a pension.

During this Session an Act was passed by which any Protestant clergy-

man of Ireland who had been forced to leave that kingdom, "for fear of the Irish rebels," should not be deprived of an Irish benefice by accepting ecclesiastical preferment in England.* Before the landing of James at Kinsale many Protestants had fled to England, in the dread of a repetition of the frightful atrocities of 1641. Many of these refugees were aided by a public subscription; and some of the clergy were appointed to lectureships and small livings.† The miseries produced "by fear of the Irish rebels" were small, compared with the tyrannous proceedings of the Parliament which king James opened in Dublin on the 7th of May. Of two hundred and fifty members of the Irish House of Commons, only six were Protestants. James told the Parliament in opening the Session, that he had always been for liberty of conscience, and against invading the property of any man. The next day he issued a Proclamation in which he says that, since his arrival in his kingdom of Ireland, he had made it his chief concern to satisfy his Protestant subjects "that the defence of their religion, privileges, and properties, is equally our care with the recovery of our rights." It has been alleged, as an excuse for James in furnishing a very speedy proof of the futility of such professions, that he could not control the violent spirit of his Parliament. They passed an Act of Toleration on one day; they passed an Act of Confiscation on the next. The one Act consisted of unmeaning professions; the other transferred all the lands held by Protestants under old Acts of Settlement to their ancient proprietors before the rebellion of 1641. Another Act transferred the tithe, for the most part from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy, without compensation. But the iniquity of the Act which deprived the holders of property for nearly forty years, whether acquired by grant, purchase, or mortgage, was small when compared with the Act of attainder, by which two thousand six hundred persons were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. "The severity of this Act exceeded even that of the famous proscription at Rome during the last Triumvirate."‡ The Act of Attainder affected the real estates of absentees thus declared to be traitors. Another Act vested in the king all their goods and chattels, debts and arrears of rent. The spirit of the Parliament was universally carried out. The arms of all Protestants were seized, whatever their political opinions. The Protestant clergy, mostly preachers of divine right, were insulted and unprotected. The fellows and scholars of the university of Dublin were thrust out of their halls and chambers, and their property seized; the sole condition of their personal liberty being that no three of them should meet together, "on pain of death." This was the ready phrase of terror applicable under all circumstances. The king, with the example before him of iniquities long faded away, issued a coinage of brass money which was to pass as sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns. "Eight half-crowns of this money were not intrinsically worth two-pence."§ The tradesmen of Dublin, if they refused the money, were threatened to be hanged by the Provost-Marshal. The government of king James, that was looking forward to the day when England and Scotland should come under the same merciful rule, decreed, by

* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 29. † See Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, 1857.
‡ Harris's "Life of William III." p. 231. § *Ibid.*

proclamation in the name of the king, that no covetous person should give by exchange of the currency, intolerable rates for gold and silver, to the great disparagement of the brass and copper money, under pain of death.

Such, when king William met his Parliament on the 19th of October, were the manifestations of what might be expected from the blessed rule of king James, should he be restored in England. It is recorded of William that, on the day before, he met the Council, and produced a draft of his speech, written by himself in French, when he thus expressed himself: "I know most of my predecessors were used to commit the drawing of such speeches to their ministers, who generally had their private aims and interests in view; to prevent which, I have thought fit to write it myself in French, because I am not so great a master of the English tongue: therefore, I desire you to look it over, and change what you may find amiss, that it may be translated into English." This was not complimentary to the king's ministers, nor accordant with our modern notions of ministerial responsibility. Yet it was an honest endeavour of William's common sense not to be misunderstood. He said that it was a misfortune that, at the beginning of his reign, he should have to ask such large supplies for carrying on the wars upon which he had entered with their advice. He had not engaged in these out of a vain ambition, but from the necessity of opposing those who had so visibly discovered their designs of destroying the liberties and religion of the nation. He asked that there should be no delay in determining what should be the supply for the charges of the war, because there was to be a meeting at the Hague, of all the princes and States who were engaged against France, and his own resolutions would be determined by the means at his command. This was honest language; which the Commons seconded by a vote that they would stand by the king in the reduction of Ireland and in a vigorous prosecution of the war with France. Yet there is nothing more painful to one who looks back upon the history of his country with an earnest desire to think the best of her public men, than to trace, amidst the bitter contests of factions, the slight predominance of the patriotic spirit. The second Session of the Convention Parliament is a melancholy exhibition of party intrigues for power, of rivalries that were to be made enduring by mean revenges, of desperate attempts to revive the indiscriminate hatreds of the past in a frequent disregard of the necessities of the present—hateful contests, that made William seriously purpose to throw up the government, and remove himself from a scene where he was unable to make men understand that there was a duty to their country, which ought to outweigh all selfish desires.

The work for which this Session of Parliament is to be chiefly remembered in after time, was the passing of the Bill of Rights. This celebrated measure was the reduction to a Statute of the Declaration of Rights.* Some important provisions were introduced. It was enacted, to prevent the kingdom being governed by a Papist, that the sovereign should in Parliament, and at the Coronation, adopt by repetition and subscription, the declaration against Transubstantiation. It was also enacted that if the sovereign should marry a Papist, the subject should be absolved from allegiance. The dispensing power of the Crown—the cause of so many fierce conflicts—was absolutely

* *Ante*, vol. iv. p. 445.

taken away.* The Parliament in this Session left few other records of considerate legislation. They went wildly to work with impeachments. They impeached the earl of Peterborough and the earl of Salisbury, for departing from their allegiance, and being reconciled to the Church of Rome. They impeached the earl of Castlemaine, under a charge of trying to reconcile the kingdom to the Church of Rome. They raked up the accusations against those who had been accessary to the convictions of Russell and Sidney, chiefly in the hope to fasten some charge upon Halifax, who had retired from office. They carried their political hatreds so far back into the region of history, as to accept a statement that "Major-General Ludlow is come into England, and is in town; and that his old accomplices do comfort, aid, and abet him;" and thereupon they carried an address that the king would issue a proclamation for apprehending General Ludlow, who stood attainted of high treason for the murder of Charles I. Old Colonel Birch, who asked for evidence of Ludlow being in London, made a sly allusion to the contrast between the present and the past: "I am in a new periwig, and pray let the House look upon me." † The men of the new periwigs seemed anxious that the passions of the old love-locks should never be forgotten. Ludlow returned to his asylum at Vevay; to wonder, perhaps, what sort of Revolution was that of 1688, which had thus repudiated what it owed to the Puritans who had made the Bill of Rights a practicable thing.

Amongst the annoyances to which William and Mary were subjected by party intrigues, there were none, probably, more personally distasteful than the misunderstandings which arose out of the position of the princess Anne. Upon her marriage with prince George of Denmark she had a settlement of £20,000 a year. From the circumstance of Anne being the presumptive heir of the Crown, it was not unnatural that she should desire a larger revenue. From the peculiarities of her character she was necessarily a fit subject for intriguing politicians to work upon. Sarah Churchill, afterwards duchess of Marlborough, had over her the most unbounded influence. The attachment of Mrs. Morley (Anne) to her dear Mrs. Freeman (Sarah)—or rather the dependence of a weak nature upon an imperious one—had an influence of long duration upon the politics of England. The correspondence of the princess and the lady of the bed-chamber, under their fictitious names, would lead to the belief that real friendship was not incompatible with a court atmosphere, if we did not see beneath this seeming affection the schemes of one of the most cunning and domineering of her sex. The Tories, who looked to Anne, in 1689, as one to be propitiated, had been moved to apply to Parliament for a large increase of her income. Sarah tells the story herself: "Her majesty, when some steps were made in Parliament towards settling a revenue on the prince and princess, taking her sister one night to task for it, she asked her, What was the meaning of these proceedings? To which the princess answered, She heard her friends had a mind to make her some settlement. The queen hastily replied, with a very imperious air, 'Pray, what friends have you but the king and me?'" The lady goes on to state how she urged the princess to persist in applying to Parliament instead of depending upon the king; how Shrewsbury (she

* 1 Gul. & Mar. Sess. 2, c. 2.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 414.

erroneously calls him "duke") came to her from the king, "who promised to give the princess £50,000 if she would desist from soliciting the settlement by Parliament;" and how she, the dictatress of the princess, insinuated a doubt whether the king would keep his word; upon which the princess herself told Shrewsbury, "that she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her." * The friends who had a mind to make the princess some settlement went too far. They asked for £70,000 a year, which the House would not grant; and, finally, Anne received the £50,000 which Shrewsbury was authorised to offer.

The politics of the palace were passing annoyances from the troublesome movements of a faction, rather than permanent causes of uneasiness to the king. The Whigs, to whom he in a great degree owed his crown, had manifested a violence towards their political opponents that rendered it impossible that he could wear that crown in tranquillity. They sought to obtain a considerable increase of power, by a bold manœuvre which would materially strengthen them in a new Parliament. Without any attempt to legislate in the spirit of party, a Bill had been read twice for restoring the Corporations which had surrendered their Charters at the mandates of Charles II. and James II. There was a thin attendance in the House, for it was the holiday time of Christmas. But the Whigs by concert mustered in force, and engrafted upon the Bill two clauses disqualifying for municipal office every person who had been instrumental in surrendering the charter of a borough. The term proposed for the duration of this disqualification was seven years. A large proportion of the parliamentary franchise was in the hands of corporations. The clause would have the effect of removing Tory electors, and substituting Whig electors. This attempt at a surprise was finally defeated. The gross injustice of the clauses—their spirit of vindictiveness—produced a disgust in which the king participated as much as any man. Absent members rushed to London from every district—and the clauses were at length rejected. The Tories, now triumphant, tried to carry the Bill of Indemnity for political offences, which had been laid aside in the last Session. So many exceptions to the measure of amnesty were introduced by the opposite faction, that it became a measure of proscription. William was worn out by these contests. According to Balcarres, he told the duke of Hamilton, "that he wished he were a thousand miles from England, and that he had never been king of it." † Burnet gives a circumstantial relation of the effect of these manifestations upon a mind so usually calm and imperturbable. "He was once very near a desperate resolution; he thought he could not trust the Tories, and he resolved he would not trust the Whigs; so he fancied the Tories would be true to the queen, and confide in her, though they would not in him. He therefore resolved to go over to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands: so he called the marquis of Carmarthen, with the earl of Shrewsbury, and some few more, and told them, he had a convoy ready, and was resolved to leave all in the queen's hands; since he did not see how he could extricate himself out of the difficulties into which the animosities of parties had brought him: they pressed him vehemently to lay aside all such

* "Authentick Memoirs of the Life of the Duchess of Marlborough," p. 89.
† Ralph, vol. ii. note at p. 186.

desperate resolutions, and to comply with the present necessity. Much passion appeared among them: the debate was so warm, that many tears were shed: in conclusion, the king resolved to change his first design, into another better resolution, of going over in person, to put an end to the war in Ireland." * This last resolution came to be known; and it was determined by the Whigs to oppose it, as a step inconsistent with the health and safety of the king. William took a decisive course. He went to Parliament on the 27th of January, determined to prevent any address that should interfere with his purpose. In his speech from the throne he said, "It is a very sensible affliction to me, to see my good people burthened with heavy taxes; but, since the speedy recovery of Ireland is, in my opinion, the only means to ease them, and to preserve the peace and honour of the nation, I am resolved to go thither in person, and, with the blessing of God Almighty, endeavour to reduce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a charge to this." The Parliament was then prorogued; and, two days after, dissolved.

"There was fierce and great carousing about being elected in the new Parliament." Thus writes Evelyn on the 16th of February. "There was a great struggle all England over in elections," says Burnet; "but the Corporation Bill did so highly provoke all those whom it was to have disgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new Parliament." A year had passed in which the foundations of civil and religious liberty had been widened and strengthened; but the constitutional legislation of the Convention Parliament was not likely to excite much popular enthusiasm. The people were heavily taxed to carry on the war. On the continent no effectual resistance had been offered to the ambition of France; and in Ireland James was dictator, at the head of a large military force. A prince with the highest reputation for courage and sagacity had come to be king over England; and yet her navy had been defeated in an encounter with the French; and the army which had gone to Ireland under Marshal Schomberg had done nothing, and was perishing in its inaction. "At the dinner table of the most influential minister, Carmarthen, "a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland, related to us the exceeding neglect of the English soldiers, suffering severely for want of clothes and necessaries this winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hardships." † Meagre as are the reports of debates in Parliament, we may trace, in 1689, complaints of departmental neglect very similar to those which were so loudly outspoken in 1855. Mr. Waller gave an account at the bar of the House of Commons of the state of the army in Ireland. The baggage-horses were left behind at Chester; for profit was made by putting them to grass. The sickness by which Schomberg's forces were terribly reduced, he imputed to the great defect of clothing; "all that were well clothed were in health." He contrasted the care bestowed upon a Dutch regiment in camp with the neglect of the English: "Their officers looked upon their soldiers as their children, and would see them make their huts, pave them, and lay fresh straw; in the whole Dutch camp scarce two died." Surgeons' medicines were very ill provided: "It was reported they had 1700*l.* worth of medicines, but I know not where they were." In that rainy season

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 69.

† Evelyn, "Diary," February 19.

"the foreigners were warmer clothed than our own men, in great coats over their close coats; of which the English had none." Lastly, the troops "were not well furnished with shoes: some came late;—they were not consigned to anybody."* The Commons naturally became furious at these recitals of neglect and peculation. Shales, the Commissary of the Stores, was the chief mark for their indignation. "If ever you have the war carried on with honour and success," said Colonel Birch, "you must hang this man." The House wanted to criminate higher men than the Commissary of the Stores, whose experience in what was useful as well as what was dishonest had been acquired in the army of James. The Commons resolved upon an indecent address to the king, to ask him to inform them who had recommended Shales. William consulted his higher sense of honour by refusing to be an informer. A wiser course was adopted than hanging Shales. A Commission was sent to Ireland, to remedy these abuses. The state of the navy was not more satisfactory than that of the army. The indefatigable Secretary of the navy, Pepys, though now out of office, had his keen eye upon the abuses of that department of which he had the most intimate knowledge of any man. At a dinner at which Evelyn was present, Pepys "deplored the sad condition of our navy, as governed by inexperienced men since the Revolution." He was for building frigates. He desired "they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify gentlemen-commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp. It would be the ruin of our fleets, if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience, nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo.†" The Victualling of the Fleet was as notoriously infamous as the Commissariat of the Army. The Victuallers were ordered by the House into custody; but the affair seems to have evaporated in talk. "I believe the fleet is as ill victualled as if our enemies had done it," was the sense of the House, thus expressed by Mr. Hampden. "You may talk of raising money, but not of raising seamen," said another member. The seamen would not serve to be starved and poisoned. With a Council in which there was far more hatred than concord; with a Parliament in which the evils of Party greatly outweighed its advantages; with a Church equally divided in opinion—"of whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, which it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting of Dissenters, others more stiff and rigid, for no condescension at all;"‡ with the dry rot of corruption in all the administrative departments of government,—we can scarcely be surprised that William panted for another field of action, in which his own energies could be fairly put forth. "The going to a campaign," he said, "was naturally no unpleasant thing to him; he was sure he understood that better than how to govern England."§ And so the sickly man advised with sir Christopher Wren about building for him a house of wood, that should be carried with the army like a showman's booth; and though his constant cough had driven him from Whitehall to Kensington for purer

* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 453.
† "Diary," March 7. ‡ *Ibid.* February 16. § Burnet, vol. iv. p. 82.

35473

air, he resolved to take no heed of those who manifested a real or pretended concern for his health. He would see with his own eyes if affairs in Ireland were irretrievable. Upon the king himself almost wholly devolved the duty of making a fit preparation for his campaign, by searching into the abuses of the military departments, and of remedying evils of such disastrous magnitude. He wrote to his friend Portland, after the prorogation of Parliament, "All will depend upon success in Ireland. I must apply myself entirely to regulate everything in the best way I can. There is no small work on my hands, being so badly assisted as I am." *

At the opening of Parliament on the 20th of March, 1690, some changes had been made in the ministry, and in the lesser offices, "so that," says Burnet, "Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; and both studied to court the king by making advances upon the money-bills."† The king had a tolerably equal contempt for both factions; and his sense of the baseness of some public men is recorded by the historian of his own time. Sir John Trevor, who had been Master of the Rolls under James, "being a Tory in principle, undertook to manage that party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the king had kept to stricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the king of this method. He said he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole."‡ The corruption of the age lasted through three generations. It had "lighter wings to fly" when paper-credit came. It grew more rampant under the second George than under the first. It flourished through half the reign of the third George. It would have lasted to our time if the people had not become fully acquainted with the proceedings of their representatives. It could not live in the light of public opinion, shed upon the nation by the free publication of the debates. We can scarcely blame king William for using the ready means of self-defence, whilst his enemies freely employed the subtlest arts for his overthrow. It was difficult for him to trust any one. His favourite minister was the Whig, Shrewsbury. Read his correspondence, and he appears the fairest of advisers. He writes to the king, "I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest principled men of both factions; but as there be a necessity of declaring, I shall make no difficulty to own my sense, that your majesty and the government are much more safe depending upon the Whigs, whose designs, if any against, are improbable and remoter than with the Tories, who, many of them, questionless, would bring in king James; and the best of them, I doubt, have a regency still in their heads; for though I agree them to be the properest instruments to carry the prerogative high, yet I fear they have so unreasonable a veneration for monarchy, as not altogether to approve the foundation yours is built upon." § William manifested some favour to the Tories, and Shrewsbury resigned the seals as Secretary of State. Burnet says, "he saw the Whigs, by using the king ill, were driving him into the Tories; and he thought these

* Note in Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 537.
† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 71.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 74.
§ Coxe, "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 15.

would serve the king with more zeal if he left his post." William, continues Burnet, "loved the earl of Shrewsbury." The man represented as so sullen and so cold, pressed his favourite Secretary, again and again, to hold the seals. Shrewsbury steadily refused; and his "agitation of mind threw him into a fever that nearly cost him his life." It has been proved, beyond doubt, that this friend of William resigned the seals by the command of king James, to whom he had tendered his services. James, in a paper submitted to the French government in 1692, said, "There is the earl of Shrewsbury, who, being Secretary of State to the prince of Orange, surrendered his charge by my order." * Shrewsbury, from weakness of character, was faithless to the master whom he admired; and his alienation was very temporary. Others were treacherous through the baseness of their natures; and, in betraying the prince whom they had contributed to raise, did not hesitate to betray their country.

Whatever may have been the amount of individual baseness, and of party violence, amongst the legislators of this period—however unpleasant their jealousy of arbitrary power might have been to a king who truly desired to rule over a free people—the spirit of the Long Parliament had not departed from the second Parliament of the Revolution. However desirous Whig or Tory might be to gain favour with the sovereign, they agreed in refusing to grant the duties of Customs to the crown for life, as they had been granted to William's two predecessors. "Why should they entertain a jealousy of me," the king said to Burnet, "who came to save their religion and liberties, when they trusted king James so much, who intended to destroy them?" Wisely and boldly did the bishop answer him: "King James would never have run into those counsels that ruined him, if he had obtained the revenue only for a short term." † On a previous occasion, when this question of the settlement of the revenue was raised, William said to Burnet, "he understood the good of a commonwealth as well as of a kingly government; and it was not easy to determine which was best: but he was sure the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure and without power." ‡ We may well believe that William had no desire to use treasure or power for despotic purposes; and yet we may rejoice that the Commons of England stoutly resolved to prevent the possibility of the Crown becoming dangerous by being too independent. For out of the practical working of the Constitution, through many a struggle, it has come to be understood that the sovereign can have no interest separate from the public advantage; and that the representatives of the people would grossly err in any attempt to lower the personal dignity of the sovereign. The real relations of the executive and the legislative power have practically changed, without any change in the constitutional theory of their rights. Under the well understood principle that the advisers of the Crown cannot exist with a minority in the House of Commons, the dignity of the Crown is in no degree lessened by any opposition which may enforce a change of the servants of the Crown. It was otherwise when the sovereign was in a considerable degree his own minister; and when his servants did not act under a joint

* Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 596, note.

† "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 75. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 60.

responsibility. William drew a distinction between the good of a commonwealth and the good of a kingly government. Practically, the distinction has almost ceased to exist in our times. But we venture to think that our constitutional historian scarcely makes allowance for the remaining influence of the traditions of the monarchy when he says of William, "he could expect to reign on no other terms than as the chief of a commonwealth." *

The Statute-book contains an Act of a dozen lines, which passed with little effectual opposition, although well calculated to produce a trial of strength between the two great parties. It is the Act whereby the Lords and Commons recognise and acknowledge that William and Mary "were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen." † This Act also declares that all the Acts made in the Parliament assembled on the 13th of February, 1688 [1689], are laws and statutes of this kingdom. Upon this point the Lords debated long and warmly. In the Commons, the question was settled in two days; for Somers put the House in a dilemma. This parliament, he said, depends entirely on the foundation of the last. "If that were not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason: the laws repealed by it were still in force, so they must presently return to king James." ‡ The Whigs had their triumph in so easily carrying this Bill. It was a triumph of common sense. They were justly defeated upon an attempt to impose a new test upon the people. A Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, requiring every person holding office to abjure king James. To make the proposed measure still more odious, any justice of the peace was empowered to tender the oath of abjuration at his pleasure, and to commit to prison whoever refused to take it. The Bill was rejected by a small majority. The measure, with some modifications, was then tried anew in the House of Peers. "I have taken so many oaths in my time," said lord Wharton, who looked back to the days of the Long Parliament, "that I hope God will forgive me if I have not kept them all. I should be very unwilling to charge myself with more at the end of my days." The old Puritan interpreted the real feelings of every honest man about the multiplication of political oaths. It was well known that William had no desire for such a measure as this oath; and thus, after many angry words and insinuations, the abjuration of king James was abandoned. King William strengthened his throne far more effectually than by a test arbitrarily administered, by authorising Carmarthen to present to the Peers an Act of Grace for political offences. Bitter memories of the past had prevented the passing of Indemnity Bills. William resolved that the cause of the Revolution should not be disgraced with forfeitures and bloodshed, as was that of the Restoration. The exceptions to the Act of Grace were the surviving regicides—who had been excepted under the Act of Charles II. These were far out of the reach of such a visitation for the crime of forty years standing. Thirty of the evil instruments of James were excepted by name; and, last of all, "George, lord Jeffreys, deceased."

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," chap. xv.
† 2 Gul. & Mar. c. 1.
‡ Burnet, vol. iv. p. 73

This "Act for the King and Queen's most gracious general and free pardon," was passed by both Houses without debate. It was one of the most effectual means to prevent a recurrence of "the long and great troubles and discords that have been within this kingdom." Yet the clemency of William was sneered at by those who received its benefits, and condemned by those who were baulked of their revenges. The king closed the Session on the 20th of May; and an Act having been passed to give the queen power to administer the government in his absence, he prepared to take the conduct of the war in Ireland.

William left London on the 4th of June. He had selected nine privy-councillors to advise the queen in the conduct of affairs. It was difficult wholly to rely upon the honesty of this Council, in which there was a mixture of the leading men of the opposite factions. It was a time of great anxiety. Plots were in course of detection; invasion might be expected. The king determined to go where the necessity was most pressing. "He seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits, from the state of his affairs, which was then very cloudy. He said, for his own part, he trusted in God, and would either go through with his business, or perish in it. He only pitied the poor queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness; and wished that those who loved him would wait much on her, and assist her." * William had done everything in his power to ensure success in his great enterprise. Schomberg had been largely reinforced. His army had grievously suffered from sickness and neglect. The pestilence which had thinned its ranks was deemed by the court of king James, "a visible mark of God's judgment upon that wicked and rebellious generation." † William, "a fatalist in religion" according to Smollett, had a rational confidence that God might manifest His judgments through the industry and zeal of His creatures; and he had set about to repair all that had been amiss in the previous organisation of the Irish army. He had now in Ireland thirty-six thousand troops, well fed, properly clothed, not wanting in the munitions of war, prepared by his own vigilant superintendence to take the field with those advantages without which the skill of a general, and the bravery of his men, may be thrown away. The English knew how carefully it had been endeavoured to repair the evils of the last autumn and winter. Still the people were anxious and doubtful. There is a curious instance of the uncertainty attached by public opinion to the determination of the king to attempt the reduction of Ireland,—an instance also of the gambling spirit of that age. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross, who had been ejected from his benefices, is going with the army of William as a Chaplain. He and four of his friends desire to raise money; and they borrow four hundred pounds under a bond, signed and sealed at Jonathan's Coffee-house, the great resort of stock-jobbers, "for the payment of six hundred pounds within a month after king William and queen Mary are in actual possession of Dublin and Cork." ‡ Of the condition and prospects of king James, a lamentable account is given by his official biographer. The duke of Berwick had been beaten at Belturbet; Charlemont had surrendered; but these misfortunes "were nothing in comparison of the disappointments the king met

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 82. † "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 385.
‡ "Journal" of Rowland Davies, p. 101.

with from the court of France." Louis would not consent to make England the seat of war instead of Ireland. He would not believe that the friends of James in England, at the head of an Irish and French army, would soon "make the English weary of resisting God and their duty." * Louis would only consent to send six thousand men into Ireland.† The English were masters of Ulster. The Catholics who quitted it upon Schomberg's landing brought such prodigious flocks of cattle with them, as ate up the greatest part of the grass and corn of other counties, according to the lugubrious memoir writer. The Rapparees destroyed on all sides; there was no corn nor meal to feed the army; no cloth, no leather; "and the brass money put an absolute stop to importation."—We cannot have a more striking picture of the effects of an improvident and iniquitous administration of public affairs.

Ulster, at the beginning of June, was big with expectation of the arrival of king William. Absurd reports preceded him. An officer came from London to Belfast, and reported that the parliament was adjourned; that the king was speedily to set out, "and will bring with him four hundred thousand men." † On the 7th, the busy chaplain, preaching one day, dining jovially in the English quarters on another, saw many troops landing at Carrickfergus, and the train of artillery in the harbour. On the 10th, in the evening, on a false report that the king was landed, "all the country flamed with bonfires."‡ On the 14th, over a bowl of punch, "we received the newe of the king's landing, and being at Belfast, and spent the night jollily." On the 15th, the officers of the various regiments crowded round William, and were presented to him. Troops continued to arrive, "insomuch that there was not less than five hundred sail of ships together in the Lough." William reviewed the troops on the 17th and on the 19th, and then gave orders that they should march after him. The army was composed not only of English and Englishers. There were Brandenburgers, Dutch, Danes, and French Huguenots. The spirit of the king triumphed over his feeble body. He was all animation. His eye sparkled with the exultation of hope. "I will not let the grass grow under my feet," he exclaimed. James appeared equally alert at the call of danger. He left Dublin on the 16th of June. William's army was at Loughbrickland on the 26th of June, consisting of thirty-six thousand men. The troops had manifested a very different conduct from those of James, who had ravaged the country in the preceding year; for William had issued an order that they "do so carry themselves both in garrison, quarters, and wheresoever they shall march, as persons ought to do who are under military discipline;" that they should not presume to rob or spoil, to do violence or extort, "but that they duly pay such reasonable rates for their provisions," as shall be ordered and appointed.§ The captains of king William's forces paid in a better coin than the brass money of king James. It was expected that the Irish army would have disputed the passage of William at the pass near Moyra Castle, now known as Ravensdale; but they left it open; and on the 27th the English army was at Dundalk, forming "a camp at least three miles in length, in two lines." ‖ King James still retired as William advanced;

* "Life of James II." vol. i. p. 336. † Rowland Davies, p. 117.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 119. § Harris, "Life of William," Appendix xl.
‖ Rowland Davies, p. 121.

but at length, on the 30th, as the English army approached Drogheda, the enemy was seen encamped on the opposite south bank of the Boyne.

The army of James was in a strong defensive position. The stream which divided the counties of Louth and Meath was between him and his rival. "The river was deep, and rose very high every tide; and after these difficulties were surmounted, there was a morass to be passed, and behind it a miry ground." * The camp of James on the Meath side was defended by intrenchments and batteries. The fortress of Drogheda, on the Louth side, was held by the Irish, and displayed the ensigns of James and of Louis. The numbers of his enemy were variously reported to William. He had received tolerably accurate information from a man who knew how to deal with exaggerations. An officer who had deserted from James's army greatly magnified their real amount. Mr. Cox, a civilian with sir Robert Southwell, bade the officer look upon the English camp and say what their numbers were. "He confidently affirmed them to be more than double their real number; whence his majesty perceived he was a conceited ill-guesser." † William, surrounded by his generals, rode along the bank of the river on the morning of the 30th to inspect the position of the enemy. "We shall soon be better acquainted with their numbers," he observed.‡ He alighted from his horse near the village of Old Bridge. It was a rising ground, within musket-shot of the river. His breakfast was spread on the grass, and he rested for an hour. On the opposite bank there were watchful eyes directed towards the group which surrounded William; and it was soon perceived that no common enemy was within the reach of cannon. Two field pieces were quickly brought down from the hill, and planted in a ploughed field screened by a hedge. The king had remounted. One piece is fired, and the horse of prince George of Hesse is hit. Another shot, and William himself is struck. The ball has rent his buff-coat, and grazed his right shoulder. His officers crowd around, for the king stooped upon his horse's neck. He alights, and the slight wound is dressed. A shout went through the camp of James; and the tale passed from mouth to mouth that the prince of Orange was killed. The rumour soon crossed the sea. On the 2nd of July feux-de-joie were fired in Paris, to proclaim the great triumph. The next day had its own tale, of which James himself was the bearer. William was soon riding through every part of his army; and when the sun of that last of June was set, he was still in the saddle, making arrangements by torchlight for the coming struggle. He had resolved to pass the river the next morning. The enterprise was thought by Schomberg too dangerous. William felt that there was greater danger in delaying a decisive action. The event proved that the daring of the comparatively inexperienced prince was a better policy than the caution of the old hero of many a well foughten field.

The right wing of William's army was the earliest in its movements after day-break on that first of July. It was led by the son of marshal Schomberg, accompanied by the earl of Portland. There were twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons, and six regiments of foot under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, the marshal's brave son. Every man had a green bough in his hat, according to an order issued by the king on the previous night. This right

* Harris, p. 266. † *Ibid.*, p. 267. ‡ *Ibid.*

wing marched towards the bridge of Slane, about five miles from the main camp. Rowland Davies, who was with this division, says, "at two fords we passed the river, where there were six squadrons of the enemy to guard the pass." Other accounts represent the right wing as passing over the bridge of Slane. Whether by the fords or by the bridge, the passage was resisted by some squadrons of horse, but they soon gave way. The French general Lauzun saw that the movement of the English right wing must be met, and he rapidly moved his best troops to prevent the rear of James's army being attacked. "As soon as we passed the river," says Davies, "we saw the enemy marching towards us, and that they drew up on the side of a hill in two lines." Portland recommended the horse and foot to be drawn up also in two lines, intermixing horse and foot, squadron with battalion—"grounded upon the example of Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia." * Rowland Davies parades no such learned authority, in relating the same fact; and he says, "thus the armies stood for a considerable time, an impassable bog being between them." Reinforcements of foot having arrived, "we altered our line of battle, drawing all our horse into the right wing; and so, outflanking the enemy, we marched round the bog and engaged them, rather pursuing than fighting them, as far as Duleek." †

It was arranged that king William should lead the left wing, and pass the Boyne about a mile above Drogheda. This division consisted wholly of cavalry. Marshal Schomberg, commanding the centre, composed almost entirely of infantry, was to cross the river about half a mile higher up at the ford of Old Bridge. Count Solmes led his Dutch regiment of guards through the rapid water, though up to their middle. The English foot crossed up to their arm-pits. The Danes and French refugees also waded through the stream at other points. The south bank was bristling with Irish horse and foot. Some attempt at resistance was made by the Irish infantry while the greater part of the troops were still in the water; but at last the columns had crossed. Then the Irish foot would not face these resolute soldiers of many nations. An ancient superstitious fear of the Danes perhaps contributed to their panic. But the Irish cavalry, led by Hamilton, fought with desperate courage against the infantry that had gained the shore, or were still in the bed of the river. The issue was very doubtful. Caillemot, the commander of the Huguenots, was killed. The veteran Schomberg saw the danger; and rushing to the river without waiting to put on his cuirass, crossed, and led the retreating Protestants, exclaiming, "Allons, messieurs! Voilà vos persécuteurs." Schomberg fell in the confusion; his skull was cloven. On the same ground fell the heroic defender of Londonderry, George Walker. At this critical juncture William arrived on the field. He had brought his left wing across the stream, with some difficulty. There was a rapid tide. The bed of the stream was in some places a deep mud. His own horse floundered in the miry bottom, or was carried along by the rushing tide. But the king and his cavalry were at last on firm ground. William drew his sword, and was soon in the heat of the fight. The Irish horse retreated towards Donore, about a mile from the pass. Here, from his tent on the hill near the church, now a ruin, king James had watched the pro-

* Harris, p. 268.

† Journal of Davies, p. 123.

gress of the battle. Here his retreating horse made a stand. They turned upon their pursuers, and William's cavalry began to give way. He rode up to the Enniskilleners, and exclaimed, "What will you do for me?" "It is the king," said their officer. "You shall be my guards to-day," cried William, and led on the yeomen who were conquerors on the field of Newton Butler. The battle of the Boyne was not yet won. Again and again "Little Will" * rallied his troops whenever they gave way, and brought them up to the charge. The fate of the day did not long remain in suspense. Hamilton, the traitorous messenger to Tyrconnel, was taken prisoner. "Will the Irish fight any more?" said William. "Yes, sir, upon my honour, I believe they will." "Your honour!" exclaimed the injured prince; and then directed that his prisoner's wounds should be looked to. There was little more fighting. James saw that the day was going against him; and he mounted his horse and fled, the French covering his retreat. At nine o'clock that night he arrived in Dublin.

William crossing the Boyne. From West's picture.

It is remarkable that a battle so momentous in its consequences, should have been attended with so small a sacrifice of life. The loss in James' army did not exceed fifteen hundred men, chiefly cavalry. On William's side the loss of men was not more than five hundred. If we may judge from a passage in Rowland Davies, the steadiness of the Dutch guards repelled the attacks of the Irish horse, by a mode of fighting which is mentioned as if it were novel: "Count Solmes marched over the river with the blue Dutch regiment of guards. No sooner were they up the hill, but the enemy's horse fell on them, ours with the king being about half a mile lower, passing at another ford. At the first push, the first rank only fired, and then fell on their faces, loading their muskets again as they lay on the ground. At the next charge, they fired a volley of three ranks. Then, at the next, the first rank got up

* "Little Will, the scourge of France,
No Godhead, but the first of men."—PRIOR.

and fired again, which being received by a choice squadron of the enemy, consisting mostly of officers, they immediately fell in upon the Dutch as having spent all their front fire. But the two rear ranks drew up in two platoons and flanked the enemy across; and the rest, screwing their swords into their muskets, received the charge with all imaginable bravery, and in a minute dismounted them all. The Derry regiment also sustained them bravely, and as they drew off maintained the same ground with great slaughter."

Such was the battle of the Boyne, in which Protestant Europe was fighting against Roman Catholic ascendancy, in the island which had been distracted for a century and a half with the bitterest wars of religion. The Londoner, the Scot, and the English settler of Ulster, the Dutch Calvinist and the French Huguenot, stood the brunt of that first of July, with equal resolution and equal confidence in their leader.

A great principle was manifested in this battle—a principle not always understood by statesmen or warriors—that the results of a victory are not to be estimated by the numbers of killed and wounded on the side of the vanquished—nor by the possession of the field of battle—not even by the submission of the district in which the conquering army has gathered its laurels. Looking at the mere material results of the 1st of July, there was no sufficient cause for the dispersion of the Irish army, many of whom James had seen fighting bravely in his cause as he looked upon the valley of the Boyne from the hill of Donore. The real victory was in its moral consequences—in the instant and complete exposure of the character of the man for whom the better part of the Irish Catholics had been fighting, out of an honest conviction that they were in arms for the cause of their country and their religion. James first deserted them in his intense selfishness; he afterwards insulted them in his cowardly ingratitude. On the morning of the 2nd of July, he assembled the magistrates of Dublin. He said that he had been often told, that when it came to the touch, the Irish would not bear the brunt of a battle. He had provided a good army, and had made all preparations to engage a foreign invader, and he had found the fatal truth of which he had been forewarned. Though the army did not desert him as they did in England, yet when the trial came they basely fled the field, and left it a spoil to his enemies. Thenceforward he determined never to head an Irish army, and now resolved to shift for himself, as they themselves must do. He exhorted them to prevent the plunder or destruction of the city; and to submit to the prince of Orange, who was a merciful man. After this, the most devoted slave of the house of Stuart would perfectly understand that this ungenerous and cruel attack of James upon his army was a mere selfish expedient to cover the ignominy of his own desertion of the cause for which his adherents had fought—some with admirable resolution; others, as well as the miserable discipline in which they had been trained would lead a reasonable man to expect. They had been trained to plunder, to ravage, to make war with the instinct of savages; and when they had to meet the shock of civilised warfare, they fled as a lawless multitude always will flee, regardless of everything but their own safety. The battle of the Boyne manifested the utter disorganisation of the principal force by which Ulster had been wasted and harassed during a year of evil government.

There was another battle being fought on the south-eastern coast of

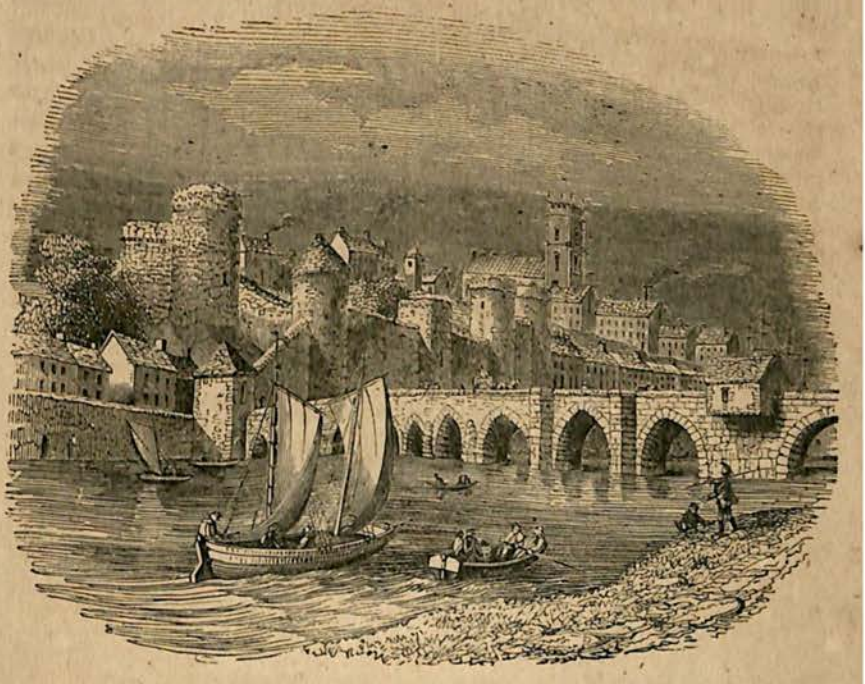
England, at the very hour when the shot that was fired across the Boyne had very nearly settled the question whether the Revolution of 1688 should be a starting-point in a race of honour and prosperity, or a broken trophy of one brief and useless effort for liberty and the rights of conscience. The departure of William for Ireland was the signal for an attack upon the English coasts, which was to be accompanied with an insurrection of the Jacobites. A fleet sailed from Brest under the Count de Tourville. The English fleet was in the Downs, under the command of the earl of Torrington. He sailed to the back of the Isle of Wight, and was there joined by a squadron of Dutch vessels under a skilful commander, Evertsen. Queen Mary and her Council were aware that the French fleet had left Brest. It soon became known that the English admiral had quitted his position off St. Helen's, and had sailed for the Straits of Dover upon the approach of the French. The Council determined to send Torrington positive orders to fight. The French fleet was superior in vessels and guns to the combined English and Dutch fleet; but the inequality was not so great that a man of the old stamp of Blake would have feared to risk a battle. Torrington did something even worse than hesitate to fight. He let the brunt of the conflict fall upon the Dutch. He put Evertsen in the van, and brought very few of his own squadron into action. The Dutch fought with indomitable courage and obstinacy, but were at length compelled to draw off. The gazers from the high downs of Beachy Head witnessed the shameful flight of a British admiral to seek the safety of the Thames. When

Medal struck to commemorate the Conduct of the Queen, after the Defeat of the English and Dutch Fleets in the Channel, in June, 1690.

the news came to London that Torrington had left the Channel to a triumphant enemy—when an invasion was imminent, for England was without regular troops—when plotters were all around, and arrests of men of rank, even of Clarendon, the queen's kinsman, were taking place—then, indeed, there was an hour almost of despair such as was felt when De Ruyter sailed up the Medway. But the very humiliation roused the spirit of the people. The queen was universally beloved; and, although studiously avoiding, when the king was at hand, any interference in public affairs, she took at once a kingly part in this great crisis. "The queen balanced all things with an

extraordinary temper," writes Burnet. She sent for the Lord Mayor of London; and inquired what the citizens would do, should the enemy effect a landing? The Lord Mayor returned to the queen with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds; of nine thousand men of the city trainbands, ready instantly to march wherever ordered; and a proposal for the Lieutenancy to provide and maintain six additional regiments of foot; and of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council to raise a regiment of horse, and a thousand dragoons, by voluntary contributions.* The same spirit was manifested throughout the land. The people might grumble against the Dutch; they might feel some commiseration for an exiled prince; they might be divided about questions of Church government; they might complain that the Revolution had brought them increased taxation. But they would have no Papist government thrust upon them by the French king. They would not undo the work of their own hands. The gloom for the disaster of Beachy Head was quickly forgotten. On the 4th of July a messenger had brought letters to the queen which told that a great victory had been won in Ireland, and that the king was safe; and, says Evelyn in his quiet way, "there was much public rejoicing."

* Maitland's "London," vol. i. 495.



Limerick.

CHAPTER VIII.

James embarks for France—William enters Dublin—The French devastate Teignmouth—William's march to Limerick—Siege of Limerick—The siege raised—William goes to England—Parliament—War supply—England and Continental Politics—William leaves for Holland—Congress at the Hague—Mons capitulates to the French—Vacant sees in England filled up—Plot of Preston and Ashton—Treason laws—Marlborough in Flanders—Limerick surrenders to Ginkell—Treaty of Limerick.

KING JAMES, "in compliance with the advice of all his friends, resolved to go for France, and try to do something more effectual on that side, than he could hope from so shattered and disheartened a body of men as now remained in Ireland." * "Request of friends" is the apology for the foolish actions of the weak king as well as of the vain scribbler. On the 3rd of July James quitted Dublin with all speed, about five in the morning; left two troops of horse at Bray, to defend the bridge there against any pursuers; rode over the Wicklow mountains, and baited near Arklow; "mended his pace" when four French officers maintained that the enemy was not far behind; and never stopped till

* "Life of James II." Own Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 402.

he got to Duncannon about sunrise. His attendants found a merchant ship at Passage. The captain was persuaded to take James on board in the evening. They sailed for Kinsale; and the next day the royal fugitive was secure in a French frigate, and was landed safely at Brest.* James repaired to St. Germains, where "his Most Christian Majesty came to see him; and in general terms promised all imaginable kindness and support." The sanguine exile having abandoned Ireland, had his ready scheme for invading England, "now naked and ungarnished of troops." Louis received the project coldly; and, finally, would have nothing to do with the affair; although James magnanimously offered to go with a fleet, either with or without an army, for he was sure "his own sailors would never fight against one under whom they so often had conquered."† His Most Christian Majesty pretended illness when his brother of England came to pester him with his new demands for ships and troops. "The court of France could not forbear speaking great disrespect, even in his own hearing; which the queen seemed much more sensible of than he did."‡ The courtiers of Versailles could guess at the truth; although "the few English courtiers who stayed with the queen in France, to justify the flight of their king, did not spare calumniating the Irish." They averred that "the Irish abandoned their prince, and left him exposed to the enemy;" and this version of the cause of James's return was so believed by the uninformed, that the Irish who had been refugees in France since the days of Cromwell, "durst not walk abroad or appear in the streets, the people were so exasperated against them." §

On the day that James fled from Dublin, the citizens had to apprehend two sorts of danger. The forces of James, scattered about the vicinity, pressed by hunger, might return and rifle the town. The lowest of the Dublin populace, in a pretended zeal for religion, threatened to burn and plunder the houses of the Papists. The city was saved from these calamities chiefly by the firmness of captain Robert Fitzgerald.‖ On the 3rd, the camp of William on the Boyne was broken up. On the 4th, the Dutch guards took possession of Dublin Castle. On the 5th, the head-quarters of the king were at Ferns; and on the 6th, being Sunday, he rode to Dublin, and in the cathedral of St. Patrick returned thanks to God for the success of his arms. William, however, continued to sleep in his camp. On the 8th, "his Majesty in person viewed and took a general muster of all the army, and was fourteen hours on horseback; only for one quarter he did alight to eat and drink."¶ The news of the disgrace of Beachy Head had reached Ireland on the 10th, when the king, contemplating a return to England, resolved to secure Waterford, as the most important harbour of the Eastern coast. On the 11th of July the army was on its march. Rowland Davies records how, in defiance of the royal proclamation, the troops "robbed and pillaged all the road along." Execution followed execution. On the 14th, on the march to Carlow, "as we passed, two of the Enniskillen dragoons hung by the wayside, with papers on their breasts exposing their crime; and thereby our march was very regular, without any such excursions or pillaging

* "Life of James II." Own Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 402. † Dalrymple.
‡ Dartmouth's note in Burnet, vol. iv. p. 100.
§ "Macariæ Excidium," Camden Society edit. p. 41.
‖ Harris, p. 273. ¶ Rowland Davies, p. 126.

as before." * On the 21st, Waterford was in possession of William's troops, the garrison having capitulated. The king then determined to return to Dublin, with the view of embarking for England. With a French fleet in the Channel, there was now greater danger to be met on the English shores, than in the resistance which continued to be made in Ireland. The forces which had been scattered on the 1st of July had gathered around Limerick, and were prepared to defend that city. Officers and soldiers, without orders from their superiors, without a leader, all flocked to Limerick, "as if they had been all guided thither by some secret instinct of nature." † But, irregularly fortified, and its defence left to the Irish, it was considered as likely soon to fall. On his road to Dublin, on the 27th, more accurate intelligence from England had reached the king, and he determined to invest Limerick in person.

The shameful discomfiture of the allied fleet at Beachy Head had not been followed up by the French so as to produce any results that should give serious alarm to William. On the 22nd of July, the French admiral, Tourville, was anchored in Torbay, with the fleet which had chased Torrington to the mouth of the Thames; and he had been reinforced with a number of galleys, rowed by slaves. The whole fleet was employed to transport troops. The approach of danger had roused up the spirit of the July of 1588. The beacons are again blazing on the Devonshire hills. From every road in the interior the yeomen of the West are gathering on the coast, not shrinking from trying their strength against the veterans of France. Tourville loses faith in the assurances of the Stuart courtiers, that all England would be up to aid in his enterprise. All England is shouting "God bless king William and queen Mary." But Tourville will do something. He lands some troops at Teignmouth, which Burnet calls "a miserable village," but which the inhabitants represented as consisting of two towns, having three hundred houses. The people of Teignmouth obtained a brief for their losses; and in this document they say that "the French fleet, riding in Torbay, where all the forces of our county of Devon were drawn up to oppose their landing, several of their galleys drew off from their fleet, and made towards a weak unfortified place called Teignmouth, about seven miles to the eastward of Torbay." The narrative then continues to describe the ravages of these heroes:—"Coming very near, and having played the cannon of their galleys upon the town, and shot near two hundred great shot therein, to drive away the poor inhabitants, they landed about seven hundred of their men, and began to fire and plunder the towns of East and West Teignmouth, which consist of about three hundred houses; and in the space of three hours ransacked and plundered the said towns, and a village called Shaldon, lying on the other side of the river, and burnt and destroyed one hundred and sixteen houses, together with eleven ships and barks that were in the harbour. And to add sacrilege to their robbery and violence, they in a barbarous manner entered the two churches of the said towns, and in the most unchristian manner tore the Bibles and Common Prayer-books in pieces, scattering the leaves thereof about the streets, broke down the pulpits,

* Rowland Davies, p. 128. † "Macariæ Excidium."

overthrew the Communion-tables, together with many other marks of a barbarous and enraged cruelty. And such goods and merchandises as they could not, or durst not, stay to carry away, for fear of our forces, which were marching to oppose them, they spoilt and destroyed, killing very many cattle and hogs, which they left dead in the streets." After these feats, Tourville sailed away to France; and left behind him an amount of indignation that was worth more for defence than even the troops of horse raised by the citizens of London. The brief of the "poor inhabitants" of the towns of East and West Teignmouth and Shaldon,—who "being in great part maintained by fishing, and their boats, nets, and other fishing-craft being plundered and consumed in the common flames," had lost, as they alleged, eleven thousand pounds—went through every parish from the Land's-end to the East, South, and North; and every penny that was dropped in the plate at the church door was accompanied with the pious hope that England might have strength from above to resist the Papists who burnt fishing-huts, and tore the Bible in pieces, and who would ravage this island as they had ravaged the Palatinate.

On the 8th of August king William's main army was encamped at Cahirconlish, about six miles from Limerick. "As we came up," says Davies, "we saw houses in the country round on fire, which put the king into some concern." The earl of Portland had advanced with a large body of horse and foot within cannon-shot of the city; and in the evening of the 8th William himself viewed the position in which the strength of the Irish Catholics was now concentrated. The French general, Lauzun, had declared that the place could not resist the attack of the advancing army. With the pedantry that sometimes clings to military science as well as to other sciences, he trusted more to walls and moats, such as Vauban constructed on the French frontier, than to resolute hearts, by which Limerick only could be defended. He left the Irish to their fate. The Irish resolved to redeem the dishonour of the Boyne. They had an intrepid counsellor in Sarsfield, their general, who put his own resolute spirit into the twenty thousand defenders of the city. Lauzun and Tyrconnel had marched away to Galway, as the English advanced guard approached. As the setting sun flashed on the broad expanse of the Shannon, William would see an old town entirely surrounded by the main stream and a branch of the great river, and connected with another town by a single bridge. The town on the island, with its ancient castle built by king John on the bank of the stream, was known as the English town. The other was known as the Irish town. The eye of the tactician would quickly see the capacity for defence of this position, even though its walls were not of the most scientific construction. The English town was accessible only through the lower Irish town. The Shannon, in a season of wet, overflowed its flat margin. "The city of Limerick," says one at whom some may laugh as an authority, "lies, an' please your honour, in the middle of a devilish wet swampy country. * * * 'Tis all cut through with drains and bogs."* Thus naturally defended, a besieging army had many difficulties to encounter, and there could be no want of supplies to the

* Corporal Trim, in "Tristram Shandy." Sterne, says Lord Macaulay, "was brought up at the knees of old soldiers of William."

besiegers from the open country of Clare and Galway. The river approach from the sea was commanded at this time by a French squadron. William looked upon Limerick, and determined to commence the siege. On the 9th the main body of his army advanced. "When we came near the town, and found all the bridges within a mile of the city lined by the enemy, the king ordered a detachment of grenadiers to go down and clear them, which they immediately did, with all the bravery imaginable."* The peculiar missiles of the grenadiers thus employed, are called "new invented engines;"† and the Irishman of this period is represented as ready to give his one cow, if he could be safe "without these French and Dutch grenados."‡ Before the night of the 9th, the Irish town, according to Davies, was invested "from river to river." The expression has reference to the remarkable curve of the Shannon in its course to the sea, before it reaches the island on which the English town was built. The river thus encloses, in the form of a horse-shoe, a long and narrow tongue of land, but not insulated from the country on the southern bank. William's position was taken up partly on this space between the windings of the stream, and partly on the south bank, near the Irish town. For several days the siege was not actively prosecuted, for the battering train had not arrived. On the night of the 10th, Sarsfield, with about five hundred horse, passed out of Limerick, crossing the Shannon at Killaloe, with the object of intercepting the train of artillery and a supply of military stores and provisions, coming to the besiegers from Dublin. The convoy had arrived within eight miles of the English position. The ruined castle of Ballyneedy was at hand to offer a place of safety for the waggons and guns; but the escort was scattered about in the open plain, securely sleeping whilst a few sentinels watched. Sarsfield suddenly came down from the mountains; killed most of the too confident escort, the rest flying for their lives; loaded the guns to the muzzles, and half buried them; heaped up the barrels of powder around the guns, with a pile of waggons and stores; fired a train; and was safe in Limerick before the dawn. Part of the army was at Drumkeen, waiting for the heavy cannon, which were expected to be within three miles of them on the night of the 11th. "About three in the morning we were all awakened by the firing of two great cannon near us, which made our house shake, and all within it startle; and about an hour after were alarmed by a man that fled to us almost naked, who assured us that the enemy had fallen upon us, taken all our cannon, ammunition, and money, and cut off the guard."§ Sarsfield attributed great importance to the success of this daring enterprise; for he told a lieutenant who was taken prisoner, that if he had failed he should have given up all as lost, and have made his way to France. The loss of the cannon and stores was partially repaired by the arrival of two guns from Waterford. But that surprise was in some degree more fatal to the besiegers than in the actual havoc and loss. The success of the exploit gave new courage to those who resolved to defend their city against an army not greatly superior in numbers to themselves. The besiegers were proportionately depressed, for they knew that the materials for a bombardment were insufficient. On the night of the 17th the

* Davies.

† "Macariæ Excidium."

‡ Note to the same, by Mr. Crofton Croker.

§ Davies's Journal, p. 136.

forces of William entered the trenches of the besieged; and the same desperate work went forward till the 27th, when a general assault was determined upon. The attack was unsuccessful. As the troops of William mounted a breach with the most determined bravery, the Irish repulsed them with equal resolution. A fort, called the Black Fort, was stormed and carried; when a magazine was exploded, by which the greater part of a Brandenburg regiment was destroyed. After four hours of desperate fighting, the besiegers retired, with fearful loss on both sides. At a council of war on the 29th it was determined to raise the siege. On the 30th king William was on his way to Waterford; and the next day the besiegers had quitted their trenches, and the camp was broken up. There was a reason for this determination of the council of war, even more powerful than the gallant resistance of the Irish. Another assault might be more successful; for in this failure of the 27th some of the besiegers had penetrated to the very streets of the English town. But the elements were opposed to the farther progress of the siege. Evelyn writes in his Diary, "The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hindered, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised." The duke of Berwick asserted that when the siege was raised not a drop of rain had fallen. Rowland Davies, on the 25th of August, says, that day "proved so extremely wet that no one could stir;" but he does not mention bad weather again till the 9th, when in the camp near Thurles the evening "proved extremely wet and stormy." In this uncertain condition of the evidence to disprove the insinuation of Berwick, that the wet weather was a pretence of king William to cover the shame of defeat, the testimony of the humourist who preserved "the traditions of the English mess tables," is worth something. "There was such a quantity of rain fell during the siege, the whole country was like a puddle; 'twas that, and nothing else, which brought on the flux, and which had like to have killed both his honour and myself. Now there was no such thing, after the first ten days, continued the corporal, for a soldier to be dry in his tent, without cutting a ditch all round it, to draw off the water."*

King William landed at Bristol on the 6th of September; and slowly travelled to London. The renown of his victory at the Boyne was slightly diminished by his repulse at Limerick; but the English of all ranks felt proud of their sovereign, and had confidence in his energy and sagacity. His reception by the people was as enthusiastic as could be indicated by huzzas and bonfires,—by peals of bells and loyal addresses. The parliament was to meet on the 2nd of October. In the interval an expedition had set sail for Ireland, under the command of Marlborough. On the 22nd of September the fleet was disembarking troops near Cork. The forces of Marlborough were soon joined by a portion of the army from Limerick, under the duke of Würtemberg. The German prince and the English earl settled a dispute about precedence, by agreeing that they should command on alternate days. Marlborough here displayed that genius which was to culminate in victories far greater than had ever been achieved by English generalship. Cork capitulated, after a struggle of forty-eight hours, on the 29th. On the 30th the Protestant magistrates of Cork proclaimed the king

* "Tristram Shandy," vol. iii. c. xi.

and queen. Marlborough did not wait to receive the freedom of the city, in the silver box which the Corporation voted him. He was on his march to Kinsale; and his cavalry arrived there in time to save the town from destruction, it having been fired by the Irish. The garrison, after a short resistance, also capitulated. Marlborough accomplished these successes with no great loss of men in action; but many perished from the diseases incident to the season and the climate. The duke of Grafton, who had accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, was wounded in the attack upon Cork, and died on the 9th of October. The spot where he fell is now called Grafton's alley.*

The second Session of the second Parliament of William and Mary was opened by the king on the 2nd of October. His partial success in Ireland was modestly alluded to, with one slight reference to his own exertions: "I neither spared my person nor my pains, to do you all the good I could." He told the Houses that the whole support of the Confederacy abroad would absolutely depend upon the speed and vigour of their proceedings in that Session. The Parliament testified its belief that the support of the Confederacy was a national object, by voting, in less than a fortnight, more than two millions and a-half for maintaining an army of nearly seventy thousand men; and a further sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds for the navy and ordnance. So large a supply had never before been voted by Parliament for warlike operations—"the vastest sum that ever a king of England had asked of his people." † This supply was to be raised by a monthly assessment on land, by doubling the excise duties, and by increasing the customs' duties on certain articles imported. The community in every rank of life would thus feel the cost of this war. Yet the House of Commons was almost unanimous in voting the supply. Burnet wrote to Mr. Johnston, the English minister at Berlin, that the members "dare not go back into their countries, if they do not give their money liberally. * * * We seem not to be the same people that we were a year ago; and the nation seems resolved to support the king in the war, to the utmost to which it can possibly stretch itself." ‡ Burnet attributes this change to the outrages of the French at Teignmouth, and to the gallant behaviour of William in Ireland as contrasted with the meanness of James. This national conviction of the necessity of carrying on the war with extraordinary vigour may be ascribed to more general causes. Imperfect as were the sources of political information, the English people well knew that an European war against the preponderance of France was inevitable. The hostile attitude of the French king towards England was essentially connected with the long-formed determination of the prince of Orange, to organize a general resistance to the designs of Louis against the independence of nations. William had freed England from a bigoted despotism, and at the same time had put himself at the head of the European coalition. Louis, in his determined endeavour to restore the deposed king—untaught as James was by misfortune, and as obstinate as ever to maintain the prerogatives which he claimed by Divine right—was attacking his continental enemies in the most vital part. William, as King of England, wielded an authority far greater than William as

* Note of the Editor of Davies's Journal.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 113.

‡ Quoted in Ralph's History, vol. ii, p. 247.

Stadtholder of Holland. When the English people took William as their king, they accepted the involvements of his continental politics as the unavoidable price of their liberty. Had they continued under the rule of James, they might have been spared the vast burdens of a continental war by remaining in a state of semi-vassalage to France. The condition of peace was slavery. They had made their election for freedom at whatever cost, and they were willing to abide by it. The Englishman of 1690 saw, what only dreamers have ever failed to see, that a state of isolation from continental quarrels was simply an impossibility, if his country were to hold her rank amongst the nations. He knew how she had sunk in all the attributes of honest greatness under the base government of the Restoration. He knew that she had again a leader, who would strive to bring her back to the position in which Cromwell had placed her as the head of the Protestant States. But he also knew that, the idea of the isolation of England from continental politics being a delusion, it was better for her to fight her battles on the banks of the Meuse or the Scheldt than on the banks of the Thames or the Humber. In the operations of the Confederacy to which England was committed by the sovereign of the Revolution, there might be the mistakes inseparable from conflicting interests. Perfect co-operation in such alliances was scarcely to be expected. The same summer that saw the disgrace of Beachy Head and the havoc of Teignmouth, also saw the defeat of the allies at Fleurus by the greatest of French generals, Luxemburg. The thought might enter many minds that the power of the great French king was too mighty; had such support in the most skilful of diplomatists; was too entirely under the direction of one head, to be adequately resisted by any combination of jealous courts, held together only by the energy of a prince of infirm health, and blunt manners, who was indeed their natural and acknowledged leader, but as such leader of great kings and petty dukes—the pettiest the most proud and punctilious—exposed to intrigues that would mar every well-concerted project, and rivalries that would arrest every bold enterprise. The victory of the French over the Dutch at Fleurus was attributed to the want of concert of the elector of Brandenburg. Such want of organization might occur again, and the results of the alliance might only go to lead on the ambition of France to new encroachments. So might reason the refining politician of that period. But then would come the instinctive feeling of English common sense, that even a battle lost might not be wholly unprofitable. When William was fighting at the Boyne, England was under the apprehension of an invasion. The news of Fleurus arrived to make men anxious. But to the movements of the allies, connected with the doubtful and bloody day of Fleurus, is attributed the fact that England was saved from the hostile descent of a great army. The French, says Burnet, "had suffered so much in the battle of Fleurus, and the Dutch used such diligence in putting their army in a condition to take the field again, and the elector of Brandenburg bringing his troops to act in conjunction with them, gave the French so much work, that they were forced, for all their victory, to lie upon the defensive, and were not able to spare so many men as were necessary for an invasion." * Many thoughtful minds in

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 94.

England would thus see that William was not speaking with an un-English spirit when he said to his Parliament, "if the present war be not prosecuted with vigour, no nation in the world is exposed to greater danger." It was better for the purpose of a continental war that the nation should be heavily taxed—that loans should be raised which should be felt in after time, rather as a precedent than for their actual amount; that the commerce of the country should decay; that even her population should dwindle; than that the country should have peace and dishonour under the tutelage of Louis of France. It was not the French nation that was at war with England, to place a satrap of king Louis on the throne at Whitehall. The man who said he was "himself the State," was the enemy to be opposed. The only man to oppose him was he who shrunk from no labour and no privation to earn the position which even Louis himself, a few years later, was obliged to concede to his merits. "I could not see him," writes the French king to Marshal Boufflers, "at the head of so powerful a league as that which has been formed against me, without having that esteem for him which the deference that the principal powers of Europe have for his opinions seems to demand." * The mental qualities of William—what St. Simon describes as the capacity, the address, the superiority of genius, which acquired for him "the confidence, and, to say the truth, the complete dictatorship of all Europe, excepting France"—these qualities were not only the best security of England against the renewal of her degradation under the Stuarts, but reflected some of their lustre upon the country which had chosen their possessor for its ruler. And thus, with treasons against him hatching at home; with non-juring churchmen hating him for his toleration, and praying for a heaven-ordained king though he were a papist; with a popular feeling, not sufficiently propitiated by William himself, that he was more a Dutchman than an Englishman, he set out for the Congress at the Hague, and the nation at any rate felt that its honour was in safe hands.

On the 5th of January, 1691, the king closed the Session of Parliament, with his thanks for the great dispatch they had used "in furnishing the supplies designed for carrying on the war." He was now at liberty, he said, to go into Holland. The wind was adverse for some days; but on the 18th he embarked at Gravesend, with many distinguished persons of his court. The passage that is now made in twenty hours occupied five days. The man-of-war in which the king sailed was becalmed off the English coast; and when the shores of Holland were neared, it was thought dangerous to approach in the thick fog that shrouded the land from view. William was resolved to make the coast in an open boat; but a night of cold and darkness was passed, before a landing was effected on the island of Goree. Covered with ice, the king and his nobles were too happy to enjoy the shelter and warmth of a peasant's hovel. The enthusiasm of his reception when he reached the Hague was an ample compensation for the disagreeable incidents of his voyage, and for the perils at which "he himself was the only person nothing at all dismayed." † William had that hatred of parade which

* Letter dated July 12, 1697, in Grimblot, "Letters," &c. vol. i. p. 24.

† "A Late Voyage to Holland, written by an English Gentleman attending the Court."—1691. Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany.

belongs to the truly great; and he at first resisted the entreaties of his countrymen that he should make a public entrance at the Hague. He yielded at length to their wishes; and on the 26th of January he passed through long files of his admiring compatriots, under triumphal arches, on which the chief actions of his life were painted. The pomp was soon over and the real business began. The Tory historian, who has no affection for the person of William, writes, "Of the princes and ministers who attended his Majesty at the Congress, almost all authors affect to give a long and pompous list, in imitation perhaps of the tricks of the stage; where it is used to form a court, or a train, of scenemen or other rabble, to raise a higher idea in the audience of the hero presented before them." * In place of such a list, let us endeavour to give some notion of the interests that were represented at this extraordinary assembly of potentates and ministers.

The emperor of Germany had his representative at the Congress. His real interests were essentially concerned in resisting the oppressions of France; but his ruling desire was to succeed in his war against the Turks, chiefly with a view to the enlargement of his own dominions. He was a Roman Catholic, and had no sympathies for the Protestant coalition of England and Holland. Charles II. of Spain was there represented by the marquis of Gastanaga, the governor of the Netherlands, the imbecile servant of a weak king and a decaying monarchy. The armies of France would soon have overrun the Spanish Netherlands, if they had not been defended by some bolder arm than that of Spain. These great Catholic sovereigns had not been hostile to the prince who had ejected the Papist king of England; for at the time when the Revolution of 1688 was maturing, pope Innocent the Eleventh was not indisposed to encourage any opposition to his oppressor, the French king. His ministers, it is affirmed by the historian of the Popes, had personal knowledge of the designs of the prince of Orange upon England; and if he knew not of the entire scheme, "it is yet undeniable that he attached himself to a party which was chiefly sustained by Protestant energies, and founded on Protestant sentiments." † But at the period of the Congress at the Hague, Innocent the Eleventh was dead. His successor, Alexander the Eighth, had indeed the same disposition to make common cause with those who opposed Louis. In July, 1691, that pope also died. His successor, Innocent the Twelfth, was of a more pacific disposition; and the French king saw the necessity of making concessions to the papal see, and thus removing one cause of the strange union of Catholic and Protestant. Changes such as these rendered the task of William to hold the Coalition together a work of constant and increasing difficulty. At the Congress, however, there were princes who joined the alliance with a zeal for the cause which William represented as the sovereign of Protestant England, and the first magistrate of Protestant Holland. The chief of these was Frederick the Third, elector of Brandenburg—subsequently Frederick, first king of Prussia. His mother was aunt to William; and he succeeded to the electoral dignity seven months before his cousin landed in Torbay. William had sent him the Garter in 1690; and it is said that the young elector was indulging

* Ralph, vol. ii. p. 264.

† Ranke's "History of the Popes," translated by Mrs. Austin, vol. iii. p. 181.

his taste for pageants in a solemn investiture of the insignia of the "most honourable and noble order," at the hands of the English envoy at Berlin, when he ought to have been marching to the Sambre to aid the prince of Waldeck. We have been made somewhat more familiar with the person and character of our William's cousin, in his relation of grandfather to Frederick the Great.* Crooked, through an accident in his infancy; of weak nerves; of a turn for ostentation; an expensive prince; but nevertheless a spirited man and strictly honourable;—this is he who, on the 3rd of February, 1691, is entertained by his cousin, the king and stadtholder, "at his house in the wood;" and sits on William's right hand; whilst the duke of Norfolk is on his left, and great nobles, English and foreign, fill up the table. The gentleman who attended on one of these noble English lords tells us how "the first health was begun by the king, who whispered it softly to the elector, and the elector to the rest;" and he also tells us how, ten days after, the king dined with the elector, "who went out in the very street to receive him" when he came; and when he returned, "accompanied him to the very boot of his coach."† The Hohenzollern, "with his back half-broken," knew how to show respect to his heroic little cousin, with the constant asthma. Of other German princes at the Congress there were the elector of Bavaria, and the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt; there were princes of Luxemburg, of Holstein, of Würtemberg, of Anspach. Few came out of disinterested love for the cause of national independence. Of one of these potentates there is this curious notice by a contemporary: "The elector of Saxony, a bold man, and a hard drinker, as well as a zealous assertor of the Protestant religion, was brought into the confederacy by the promise of money: 'For,' said he, 'our friendships, though ever so good, must be confirmed by presents.'" ‡

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, had already joined his fortunes to those of the Confederacy. At the period of the Congress he was defending his own dominions against the armies of France. The young prince had become weary of the domination exercised over him by the French court; had for some time been secretly negotiating with Austria; and was watching the progress of the Revolution in England, with a view to make a decisive effort for independence. The vigilance of the diplomatists of Louis frustrated his designs; and, with the ultimate argument of an army marching upon Piedmont, Catinat, the French general, demanded for his master, that French troops should garrison Turin and Vercelli. Victor put on a bold front; refused compliance; and war was the inevitable consequence. An ambassador from Savoy came to London before William set out for the Hague, and in a formal address to the king said, "You have inspired my master with the hope of freedom after so many years of bondage." The first military operations of the duke of Savoy were unfortunate; and at the period of the Congress many an anxious thought of William must have been turned to Piedmont. The talent and bravery of Victor were undoubted—a capacity too much mingled with Italian craft, but a courage that did not shrink from an encounter with fearful odds. The dangerous position of the duke of Savoy

* Carlyle. "History of Friedrich II. of Prussia."
† "A late Voyage to Holland." ‡ Cunningham. "History," p. 133.

enabled William to stipulate successfully that the Waldenses, who had been subjected to long and grievous persecution, should be allowed to exercise their religion in peace. A treaty containing a secret article for their toleration was signed on the 8th of February, 1691.

The arrangements of the Congress had sufficiently ripened in a month to allow William to announce in the London Gazette, that the various powers had agreed to furnish certain contingents, which would enable an army of two hundred and twenty thousand men to take the field. But whilst the king of England was infusing his spirit into his allies, some eager and confident, others tardy and lukewarm, most with some especial private interest to accomplish—whilst, as the caricaturist of that day paid a homage to his powers, William was teaching his bears to dance*—Louis suddenly appeared in person at the head of a great army to besiege Mons, the strongly fortified capital of Hainault, and one of the chief barriers of the Netherlands against France. The French troops, gradually converging to the frontier from every quarter of the territory of Louis, were opening trenches before this strong fortress, whilst the allied powers were deliberating and dining at the Hague. William, with his accustomed energy, at once broke up the Congress; got together an army of fifty thousand men; but arrived only in time to learn that the burning city had capitulated amidst the terrors of its population, after a bombardment which had destroyed one half of its dwelling places. Louis went back to Versailles, to hear the well-rehearsed flattery, that wherever the great king appeared the genius of Victory was there ready with the laurel crown. William ran over to England, with his secrets of the future kept close in his own bosom. He arrived on the 13th of April. On the 1st of May, he was again on his way to Holland. In these seventeen days the king had important affairs to settle, which required the exercise of a clear intellect.

The period had arrived when it was necessary to fill up the sees, vacant by the refusal to take the oaths, of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough. Two other non-juring bishops, Worcester and Chichester, had died in the interval since the Revolution. A discovery had been made of a correspondence of Turner, the bishop of Ely, with the court of St. Germains. Burnet says, "the discovery of the bishop of Ely's correspondence and engagements in the name of the rest, gave the king a great advantage in filling the vacant sees." Whether Turner was justified in stating to James that he was acting in concert with his brethren, when he advised that a French army should come into England, may reasonably be doubted. Sancroft and a few bishops denied the charge in a printed paper, in answer to an anonymous pamphlet. Endeavours had been made to conciliate the non-juring prelates. All that they would engage to do was to live quietly. Their deprivation was no longer opposed, even by the king's Tory advisers. So Tillotson became archbishop of Canterbury, and Sharp archbishop of York. Patrick, Stillingfleet, Moore, Cumberland, Fowler, and Kidder, filled the other vacancies. "In two years' time the king had named fifteen bishops; and they were generally looked upon as the learnedest, the wisest, and best men that were in the church." This was

* Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 8.

Burnet's opinion; but from this opinion there were many dissentients. Tillotson was especially marked out for the hatred of the Jacobites. The violent high-churchmen saw cause of offence in all these preferments, for the successors of the non-juring bishops "were men both of moderate principles and calm tempers."*

When the king closed the Session of Parliament on the 5th of January, he noticed "the restlessness of our enemies, both at home and abroad, in designing against the prosperity of this nation and the government established." It was impossible that such "restlessness," and such dislike of "the government established," should not exist in some quarters. William alluded to the apprehension of lord Preston, with two other agents of the Jacobites, on the night of the 31st of December. They were seized on board a smack in the river, with papers addressed to James, containing propositions for his coming over with a small force during the absence of William, when the nation would be undefended, and the people would be complaining of the burthen of taxation. Preston and his humbler associate, Ashton, were tried for high treason in January, and were convicted upon very clear evidence. The altered character of the mode in which prisoners charged with political offences were treated by the judges and by the counsel for the crown, was strikingly exhibited in this trial. In the "Life of James" there is a curious observation of the compiler, which shows in what light the laws of the realm were considered by the champions of arbitrary power. The law which makes a correspondence with a foreign enemy treasonable is for the safety of the commonwealth, as every other portion of the law of treason contemplates that safety. The biographer of James writes thus: "My lord Preston and Mr. Ashton (there not appearing evidence enough against Mr. Elliott) were brought to their trials, condemned, and the latter executed, being the first that suffered by a court of justice for the royal cause; which was a new subject of grief to the king, for he knew not what would be the consequence when he found the laws, as well as the sword, turned against him."† The notion could never be driven out of the heads of those who had seen a king ejected for his contempt of the laws, that he alone was the source of all law; and that without him, the one legitimate head of the law, it was powerless to protect or to punish. The new head of the law, expressly chosen that the ancient laws, which gave the people security and freedom, should not perish, but should be strengthened by an infusion of principles having still higher regard for the general good,—this sovereign of the Revolution was always considered by James and his minions as an interloper having no legal rights. The solemn compact which had been entered into by the nation with William and Mary was to give them no real authority. William was but a Prince of Orange, who had traitorously and wickedly thrust out God's anointed; and the assassin's knife was therefore too good a fate for him. Happy was it for England that this prince was a man of justice and clemency. We shall have to mention plot after plot against his life and his government. But we shall have to record no sweeping proscriptions, no demands for new powers, no exercise of his own uncontrolled will. During the long continuance of plots and conspiracies, the laws of high treason were so modified

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 132.

† "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 443.

as to assure the prisoner a much fairer trial than under the ancient system, by affording him every facility for his defence. We may have incidentally to notice the publication of the most virulent libels against the person and principles of William. But we shall also have to record that, at the very time when these attacks were most frequent and most inflammatory, the laws against printing and publishing were relaxed instead of being made more stringent—the censorship of the press was abandoned. We may probably attribute to this moderation of the king, the circumstance that, although his reign was one of continual danger to his person; that although he was surrounded by treacherous servants and cold friends; that although a systematic attack upon the principles that raised him to power was constantly going forward,—his power strengthened as it grew, out of the very absence of any attempt to prop it by unconstitutional devices. There might have been something in the character of the English people which led them to respect the equanimity which had no morbid dread of the conspirator or the libeller; which was never diverted from its own course of duty by fear or by revenge. But certainly there must have been something very remarkable in the character of William—very different from the ordinary character of those who are termed usurpers—to direct him toward the noble policy of making himself secure by equal justice instead of irregular despotism, and of living down calumny instead of weakly attempting to forbid its utterance. We have been led to these remarks by the fact, that when William returned from the Continent in April, he had to occupy some portion of his short visit to England by learning the extent of the conspiracy of which Preston was the chief agent, and of determining as to the fate of some of those accused as conspirators. We cannot enter minutely into the details of the discoveries which had been made by his ministers in the king's absence. Preston had confessed, when his own fate appeared to depend upon his confession, that he was guilty himself, and that Clarendon, Turner the bishop of Ely, and William Penn, were implicated with him. When William returned to England, Preston was brought before him at the Council; and he then said, "that Mr. Penn had told him the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Macclesfield, lord Brandon," * and others, were well affected to the plot. He also implicated lord Dartmouth. The accusation against these eminent persons was probably without foundation. Whether or not, William stopped the hearsay testimony of Preston. The biographer of James shows the value of this wise discretion: "It is probable the prince of Orange thought it not prudent to attack so great a body of the nobility at once; that what he knew was sufficient either to be aware of them, or by forgiveness and a seeming clemency gain them to his interest. Which method succeeded so well, that whatever sentiments those lords which Mr. Penn had named might have had at that time, they proved in effect most bitter enemies to his Majesty's [king James's] cause ever afterwards." † And this is deliberately written by the habitual maligner of king William.

Since the successes of Marlborough in the autumn of 1690, there had been no marked change in the positions of the two contending parties in Ireland. To follow up his successes was not a trust assigned to the victor

* "Life of James II." p. 443. † *Ibid.*

at Cork and Kinsale. Marlborough was chosen by William to accompany him in his Continental campaign. He was entrusted to collect all the English troops, and to wait near Brussels till the king should arrive to take the command. William had much diplomatic work on his hands—to encourage the wavering, to assist the weak, and to bribe the hungry. Victor Amadeus was in despair at the devastation of his country by the French armies: Schomberg was sent by William to raise the duke out of his despondency. The petty princes of the Germanic empire, striving, for the most part, for some personal dignity or profit, had each to be propitiated and kept in good humour. In the interval between the king's arrival at the Hague and his taking the command of the army, Marlborough was sorely tempted to make good some of the professions which he had secretly conveyed to the sovereign whom he had betrayed in 1688. It is recorded that Marlborough had, in London, told colonel Sackville, an agent of the court of St. Germains, "that he was ready to redeem his apostacy with the hazard of his utter ruin;" and "proffered to bring over the English troops that were in Flanders if the king [James] required it." It is further stated that he wrote to the same effect to James himself, in January and May, 1691. "Nevertheless," says the compiler of James's life, "the king found no effects of these mighty promises; for his majesty insisting upon his offer of bringing over the English troops in Flanders, as the greatest service he could do him, he excused himself under pretence that there was some mistake in the message." Marlborough asked, however, for two lines under the hand of James, "to testify that he would extend his pardon to him."* James, it is stated, complied with this request. Whether the crafty Churchill really believed, as he assured James, that "in case the French were successful in Flanders, or any ill accident should happen to the prince of Orange, his restoration would be very easy," it is pretty clear that he, like many others, saw nothing higher in politics than their own safety and their own profit. William had no suspicion of the man employed by him in a most important command. The opportunity was probably wanting for a decisive act of treachery in this campaign, in which nothing great on either side was accomplished or even attempted.

But, if 1691 were a year of inaction in Flanders, it was a year of great events in Ireland. In the spring, Tyrconnel had arrived from France to assume his position as the viceroy of James; and he was followed by a French general, Saint Ruth, as commander-in-chief of the Irish army. He took the command at Limerick, and made great exertions to bring the disorganized troops into a state of efficiency. On the English side, an experienced Dutch officer, Ginkell, was appointed to the command-in-chief. His first operation was to lay siege to Athlone. On the thirtieth of June, a day memorable with the English army, the grenadiers again put green boughs in their hats, and were led to the assault under the command of Mackay. The town was taken by a bold attack; and Saint Ruth, who was encamped near, marched away on the road to Galway. He took up a strong position at Aghrim, resolved to risk a general engagement. On the 12th of July, at five in the evening, the two armies joined battle. The Irish fought with the

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 448.

most desperate resolution. The English and Dutch attacked and fell back, again and again. The issue was at one time very doubtful. But at the very crisis of the engagement, the French general was killed by a cannon-ball, and his death was concealed. The other general, Sarsfield, was inactive with the reserve, waiting for orders. The Irish were overpowered, and were soon disorganized. The victory of the English was complete, and they did not use it with moderation. There were few prisoners; and four thousand Irish lay dead on the actual battle-field. It is supposed that seven thousand altogether fell in the horrible carnage which accompanied the total rout of Aghrim. Ginkell followed up his victory by obtaining the capitulation of Galway; its garrison, with the French general, D'Usson, being permitted to retire to Limerick. Here was the last stand made against the triumphant army of king William. That army was now well supplied with artillery and the munitions of war. The same ground was occupied as in the previous year; but it was not in the same wet condition. Ginkell, by a bold manœuvre, crossed the Shannon on a bridge of boats, and scattered the Irish horse that were encamped near the city. He then succeeded in carrying a detached fort, which commanded the bridge called Thomond's; and a fearful slaughter of the garrison accompanied this success. The bombardment was terribly effective. The garrison might hold out till the whole town was in ashes; but even then, unless the besiegers were compelled to retire on the approach of the wet season, hunger would effect what cannon-balls and bombs had left incomplete. The fall of the city became inevitable. In 1690 a French fleet commanded the approaches from the sea. Now, an English fleet rode in the Shannon. Hostilities were suspended for some days during the progress of negotiations. On the 1st of October, two treaties were signed—one military, the other civil. The civil treaty was signed by the Lords Justices, who had repaired to the camp. The first article of this civil treaty was in the following words: "It is agreed that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second. And their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in this particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion." An entire amnesty was promised to all who should take the oath of allegiance. Limerick bears the name of "the City of the Violated Treaty." Years of unjust and vindictive penal laws, which are now happily swept away, have manifested that this reproach is not unfounded. The Parliament of Ireland became wholly Protestant, and laws were passed which not only denied the Roman Catholics "privilege, in the exercise of their religion," but deprivey them of the most sacred civil rights—the rights of family. The war in Ireland was at an end—but not its woes. It was offered to the thousands of Irish troops at Limerick, to make their election for entering the army of king William, or to become the soldiers of king Louis in France. The greater number decided for France. It had been promised by the Irish general that those who embarked for another country should be allowed to take their wives and families with them. The promise could only be partly realised. "When the ablest men," says the writer of "Macariæ

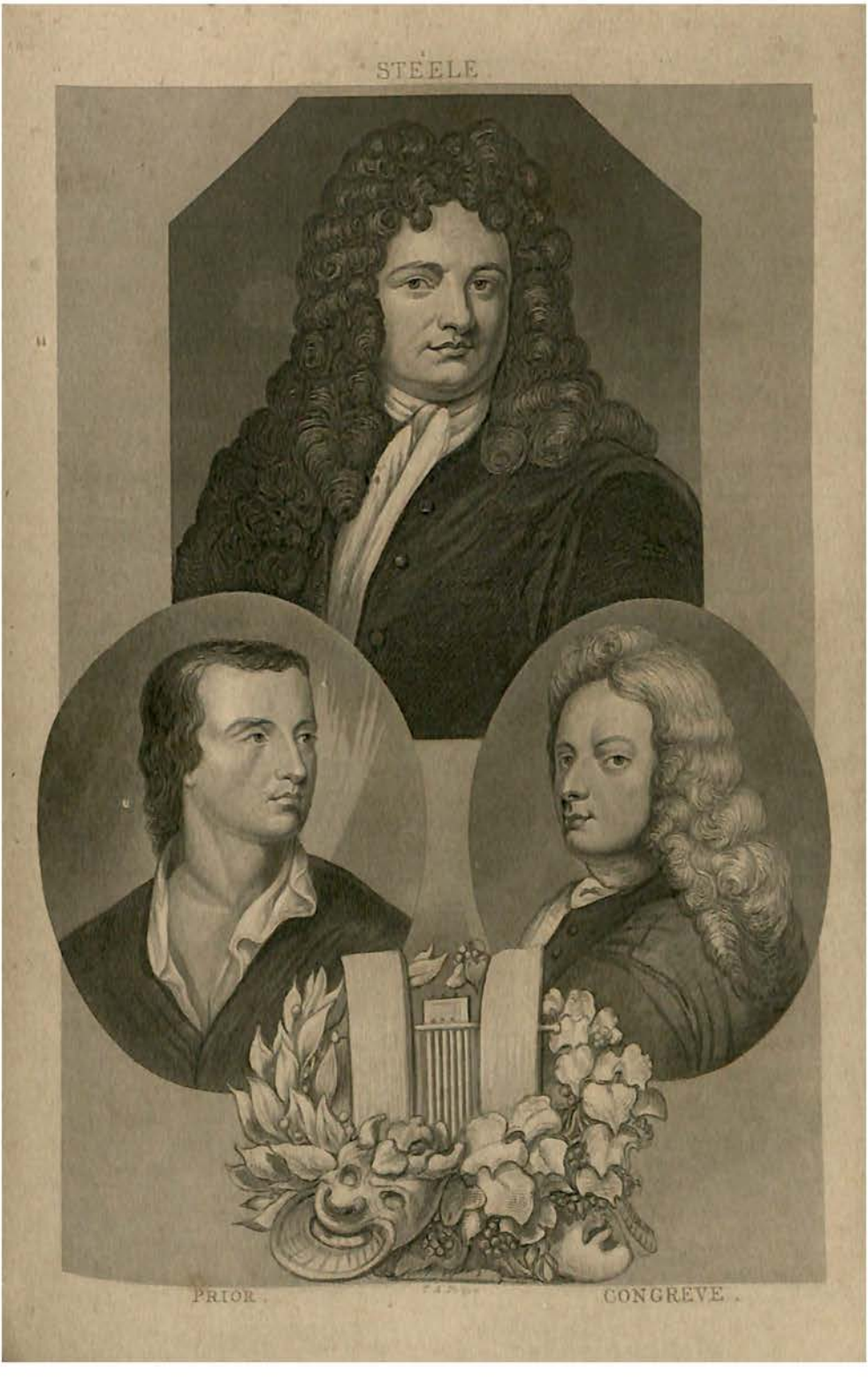
Excidium," "were once got on shipboard, the women and babes were left on the shore, exposed to hunger and cold, without any manner of provision, and without any shelter in that rigorous season but the canopy of heaven; and in such a miserable condition that it moved pity in some of their enemies." Ireland thus passed under the rule of the English colonizers. Happy would it have been, if years had not been suffered to elapse before it was felt that penal laws were the worst of all modes for securing religious conformity; happy, if another series of years had not been wasted in attempts to maintain the Union of two nations without an equal participation of civil rights. The present generation has honestly laboured to repair the injustice of the past; and the time may thus arrive when even the name of the third William shall be pronounced without party hatreds.

Glencoe.

CHAPTER IX.

Scotland—Affairs of Religion—Plots—The Highland Clans dispersed—State of the Highlands in 1691—Breadalbane—Proclamation of the Government—The Master of Stair—Tardy submission of MacIan—Order as to rebels not submitted—Order for MacIan of Glencoe, and his tribe—Letters of the Master of Stair—Highland troops arrive in Glencoe—The Massacre of the MacDonalds—Inquiry into the Massacre in 1695—Resolutions of the Scottish Parliament—Master of Stair dismissed—The other persons implicated—Breadalbane—Misconceptions connected with the Massacre—Character of William unjustly assailed.

THE politics of Scotland in the first two years after the Revolution were more complicated than those of England. The ascendancy of the Presbyterians had been established; but the Episcopalians were still a formidable body. In 1689, although episcopacy had been abolished, the church-government had not been defined. There was no supreme directing power in affairs of religion. In 1690, the Parliament of Scotland established the synodical authority; made the signature to the Confession of Faith the test of orthodoxy; and Patronage was abolished, under certain small compensations to the patrons. The dissensions connected with these arrangements gave courage to those who looked to discord as the means for restoring the Stuart king. A knot of turbulent and discontented men, known as The Club,


STEELE
PRIOR.
CONGREVE.

entered into schemes for reversing all that had been accomplished by the Revolution. Their leaders were frightened, and informed against each other. Lord Annandale implicated the unhappy Jacobite scribbler, Nevil Payne. He thought himself safer in Scotland than in London—a fatal mistake. We extract a passage in a letter from the earl of Crauford to the earl of Melville, the king's high-commissioner, to show how the ancient ferocity still lingered amongst the politicians of Scotland. The letter is dated December 11th, 1690: "Yesterday in the afternoon, Nevill Penn (after near an hour's discourse with him, in name of the council, and in their presence, though at several times, by turning him out and then calling him in again) was questioned upon some things that were not of the deepest concern, and had but gentle torture given him, being resolved to repeat it this day. Which accordingly about six this evening we inflicted on both thumbs and one of his legs, with all the severity that was consistent with humanity, even unto that pitch that we could not preserve life and have gone further; but without the least success." * This was the last occasion on which Scottish statesmen were disgraced by endeavouring to extort evidence against political malcontents, by "all the severity that was consistent with humanity." † The noble actors in this plot offered up the obscure Nevil Payne as a sacrifice; secured their own safety; and suffered the Lowlands to settle down into peace.

After the victory of Killiecrankie, there was a new gathering of Highland clans. The command was taken by general Cannon, who had come over from Ireland with the three hundred troops sent by James to the aid of Dundee. The chieftains soon began to manifest their repugnance to be under the control of a stranger, although he had served in the Netherlands, and brought his military experience to aid their national mode of warfare The comparative value of regular troops and of mountaineers, who if they failed in the first rush were quickly disorganized, was again to be tried. The Cameronian regiment at Dunkeld was attacked by four or five thousand Highlanders. The place was obstinately defended by the successors of the old Puritans, and after four hours' fighting, the clans drew off; the chiefs signed a pledge to support king James; and their followers dispersed. The victorious army of Dundee melted away like a snow-drift. During 1690 there were various outbreaks of detached clans. But Mackay collected an overpowering force at Inverlochy; and there hastily built Fort William, and fixed a garrison there under the command of colonel Hill.

King William, as early as March 1690, manifested a wise disposition to tranquillize the Highlands by gentle measures. His warrant to George viscount Tarbet to treat with the Highland chiefs, authorizes him to offer the leaders of the clans indemnity, with money and honours, upon their "return to their duty." Early in 1691, a message had been sent to James "by the loyal Highlanders who had continued in arms for him in Scotland, that unless those of the South joined them, or that his majesty sent speedy succours, it would be impossible to hold out any longer." His majesty returned for answer that his abilities to assist were exhausted by the pressing necessities of Ireland; but that "he had made a shift to send them some

* "Leven and Melville Papers," p. 582.

† "The law of England was the only code in Europe which dispensed with judicial torture."—Burton, "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 85.

present relief of flour, salt, brandy, tobacco, medicinal drugs, flints, &c.," and that if they could stand out no longer, he recommended "an outward compliance." * In 1690 a negotiation had been opened with lord Breadalbane, to win him over to the government, and to employ his influence to conciliate the rebel chiefs. This negotiation failed. But in the autumn of 1691, Breadalbane, having made his submission to the government, was again authorized to treat with the heads of clans, and to expend twelve or fifteen thousand pounds in this work of pacification. It may well be doubted whether this Highland earl went about his trust in perfect good faith. He is described by his contemporary, John Macky, "cunning as a fox; wise as a serpent; but as slippery as an eel." † At any rate, those who had the most intimate knowledge of the rivalries and petty interests of the chiefs doubted the practicability of the plan, as they doubted the honesty of the man employed to work it. Colonel Hill, in May, 1691, had received an order from the Council, as he writes to the earl of Melville, "to fall upon those Highlanders within my reach that do not presently come in and take the oath of allegiance, and deliver up their arms." In a previous letter he says, "I could wish, if they rise again, that all the West country, and all the clans whom they have injured, may be let loose upon them *till they be utterly rooted out.*" ‡ Utterly to root out a rebellious clan was the ready method that presented itself to the military mind. At this time Hill says, "I expect several of them in, and the M'Intoshes men in the Brae, and Glencoe men; if they fail, I'll put my orders in execution against them." On the 15th of May, he writes to Melville, "I have last night received an order to delay the severity prepared by the former order, till I hear further." § He took wiser measures than the plan of rooting out. He sent the clans the form of an oath, to which many chiefs subscribed. "The Appin and Glencoe men have desired they may go in to my lord of Argyle, because he is their superior, and I have set them a short day to do it in." ‖ By a letter of sir Thomas Livingstone, who was chief in command of the king's forces, it appears that he "had been commanded by the Master of Stair, to order Hill not to act as yet any way vigorously on his side." ¶ The Master of Stair, sir John Dalrymple, was secretary of state for Scotland, and was then in attendance upon king William in Holland and the Netherlands. The scheme of lord Breadalbane for bribing the chiefs to submission and loyalty was the cause of the direction to Hill not to act vigorously. Colonel Hill by no means approved of Breadalbane or his plan. He would, he writes, have had "much more of the people under oath had not my lord Breadalbane's design hindered; which I wish may do good, but suspect more hurt than good from it: for my part, hereafter if I live to have geese, I'll set the fox to keep them." ** Breadalbane came into the Highlands, and made his overtures to certain chiefs. "He tells them the money he has for them is locked up in a chest at London; but they believe, if he say true in this, he will find a way to keep a good part of it to himself." †† On the 23rd of July, Dalrymple wrote to Livingstone from the camp at Gerpines, in the name of the king, to direct

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 468.
† Quoted in Burton's "Scotland," vol. i. p. 156.
‡ "Leven and Melville Papers," pp. 610, 611.
§ *Ibid.* p. 613.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 618.
¶ *Ibid.* p. 622.
** *Ibid.* p. 623.
†† *Ibid.* p. 625.

him to keep his troops on the Highland borders, but not to commit any acts of hostility against the Highlanders.* On the 29th of July, the Privy Council of Scotland expressed their opinion to the queen, that if the army had marched against those who held out when Hill was tendering the oath, "they would have submitted themselves, or been easily forced to it." †

The plans of Breadalbane did not produce the effect that was contemplated. Hill writes on the 23rd of August, that the country was peaceable; but that there were impediments to a general submission, through the oath of confederation amongst clans, "by which they are obliged to do nothing without the consent of each other." ‡ There was a strong suspicion that Breadalbane did get the lion's share of the money which he pretended to be in the chest at London, but which was really in his own coffers. According to a tradition preserved by Dalrymple, he refused to give any account of how it was applied, saying, "the money is spent—the Highlands are quiet—and this is the only way of accompting among friends." In the distribution of his gratuities he brought his own interests and passions into play. He was a great Highland lord, with large domains and hundreds of vassals; but his territories were often exposed to the depredations of the clans with whom he was at feud. The small clan, MacDonald of Glencoe, were bad neighbours to Breadalbane; and he took this occasion to require that the gratuity which he had to offer for their allegiance should be a set-off for certain claims of the Campbells for injuries committed by the MacDonalds. MacIan, their chief, as proud if not so great as Breadalbane, was wholly impracticable upon such terms. Others followed his example; and many clans remained in a state of inert rebellion. In August, the government determined to bring the submission of the Highland chiefs to a decisive issue, by a Proclamation offering indemnity to all who should take the oaths, on or before the last day of December, 1691, and threatening the extremities of military execution,—in the old form of threatening the vengeance of fire and sword,—against all and each who should not submit to the government, and swear to live in peace. "Letters of fire and sword had been so ceaselessly issued against the Highlanders, that in the time of the Stuarts it was a usual and little noticeable form." §

It would appear by a letter of the duke of Hamilton, dated as late as the 26th of December, that he regretted that sir Thomas Livingstone, who had that night returned from London, had not seen the king, which "would have contributed more to his service than commanding him back; for he could have advised better measures than *is* taken, to have reduced the Highlanders, of which there is not one word signified to the Council." ‖ Some of the chiefs had held out to the very last. But on the 31st of December, all the clans had given their submission, with one exception—the MacDonalds of Glencoe. The submission of all the other chiefs who had been in arms against the government was an event which was not contemplated with satisfaction by the Master of Stair. Burnet says, "a black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more clans, reckoned to be in all above six thousand persons." ¶ This may be a very

* "Leven and Melville Papers," p. 631. † *Ibid.* p. 634. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 641.
§ Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 156.
‖ "Leven and Melville Papers," p. 652. ¶ "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 274.

loose assertion; but letters of Dalrymple, written to lieutenant-colonel Hamilton early in December, prove that he had an especial grudge against the MacDonalds, "for marring the bargain which the earl of Breadalbane was doing with the Highlanders;" and that he entertained a hope that the MacDonalds would "fall into the net"—that is, not comply with the Proclamation. He further intimates that the government is obliged to ruin some of the clans, "in order to weaken and frighten the rest." That Dalrymple contemplated something like "the black design" mentioned by Burnet, is evident from his letter of instructions to the commander of the troops for his guidance, if the obnoxious clans should not have submitted by the prescribed day. He is directed to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. "Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." Mr. Burton considers that Dalrymple, from whose letters of this nature we now turn with such loathing, "only pursued the old policy of Scottish governments towards the Highlanders. . . . . The rule had always been to show no more consideration to Highlanders than to wild beasts." *

The clan of the MacDonalds dwelt in the valley of Glencoe, under their venerable chief MacIan. Their huts were scattered in several hamlets around his house—a small population of not two hundred adult males.† He had fought with his few hardy followers in the ranks of Dundee at Killiecrankie; he had the reputation of being one of the most daring of the Highland marauders; he had driven off cattle in the territories of Argyle and Breadalbane. He was therefore an object of especial hatred to those proud nobles, who regarded him as a paltry robber to be crushed when the opportunity came. MacIan had his own pride, and deferred his obedience to the Proclamation till the last moment. On the 31st of December he presented himself, with some of his clan, at Fort William, and offered to take the oaths before colonel Hill. The commander of the garrison had no legal power to receive them; he was not a magistrate. Hill gave him a letter to the sheriff of Argyleshire, stating the application that had been made to him, and expressing a hope that the submission of the "lost sheep recovered" would be received. It was six days before he reached Inverary, over mountain paths covered with snow. The sheriff yielded to the old man's prayers and tears; administered the oath, and sent to the Sheriff-Clerk of Argyle, then at Edinburgh, a certificate to be laid before the Council of the circumstances which had led him to do what was a departure from the letter of the Proclamation, but which was within its spirit. The Sheriff-Clerk first tendered the certificate, with a copy of Hill's letter, to the Clerks of the Council, who refused to receive it. He then applied to individual Privy Counsellors, who would not interfere in the matter. The certificate was finally suppressed, and the general body of the Council were kept in ignorance of it. Amongst those who advised that the certificate should not be sent in, was the Lord President, father of sir John Dalrymple. Dalrymple, the Secretary, was the medium for the transaction of Scottish affairs with the

* "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 170.

† Macaulay says "two hundred persons;" certainly an error.

king. It would appear that the general submission of the clans was not quite certain; for the king had signed, on the 11th of January, instructions to sir Thomas Livingstone, to pursue with fire and sword those Highland rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity; but to allow them to surrender on mercy. Objections were taken to the use of the old term "fire and sword" in these instructions. On the 16th of January the instructions of the 11th were repeated, with verbal alterations, and with this addition: "As for MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." Burnet alleges that "the king signed this, without any inquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry." Those who doubt this, allege that it was not only signed but superscribed by the king. The Hon. William Leslie Melville says "that the king's having both superscribed and subscribed 'one unfortunate sentence,' should not be received by all our historians and poets as a conclusive proof of his being cognisant of their contents. I find numerous warrants and orders from him, some superscribed and subscribed, some only superscribed, some only subscribed, as a man in haste would dispatch business of form." * It is of some importance to bear in mind that what William superscribed and subscribed was a long letter of instructions containing several clauses. It was a duplicate, with alterations, of what he had signed five days before. In this duplicate the "one unfortunate sentence" was added. In a little book, very useful as a summary of events, the compiler prints the words beginning, "As for MacIan," and ending, "sect of thieves," with "William R." as the superscription of these four lines only, subscribed "W. R." He then rejects the notion that William signed without reading the document, because it consisted "of so few words." † We attach no importance to Burnet's defence. In our view the character of William is best defended by assuming that he did read the order; that he signed without knowing that MacIan had irregularly taken the oaths; and that the words, "to *extirpate* that sect of thieves," who were represented in a state of rebellious warfare, was not to direct their butchery with circumstances of treachery and cruelty. We are inclined to believe that William not only signed the order with a complete knowledge; but that the attempt to prevent any indiscriminate slaughter, by the words "if they can well be distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders," looks like an emanation from his mind. The Master of Stair would have little cared how many were slaughtered in a loose construction of the exceptional case of the MacDonalds. Whether the argument that the word *extirpate* "would naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense," ‡ may admit of a difference of opinion. The word meant, no doubt, a complete suppression of a community not conforming to the laws of civilized society; but, as it appears to us, it did not mean their indiscriminate slaughter. Hill, who appears to have been no cruel oppressor, desires that the rebellious clans "may be utterly rooted out." To extirpate, and to root out, are synonymous

* Preface to "Leven and Melville Papers," p. xxxv.
† "Annals of England," vol. iii. p. 371. ‡ Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 205.

terms. We believe that William knew what the word implied. He had probably never read "The Tempest;" but used the word as Shakspere used it when he makes the king of Naples hearken to the suit of Prospero's brother, that he

> "Should presently *extirpate* me and mine
> Out of the dukedom."

If the long letter of instructions, concluding with the short sentence relating to the MacDonalds, had run in the ancient form for the destruction of Highlanders, he might have hesitated: "To invade them to their utter destruction, by slaughter, burning, drowning, and other ways, and leave no creature living of that clan, except priests, women, and bairns."* At any rate we may affirm, that it is a falsehood in the compiler of the Life of James II. to say, "By an order, which Nero himself would have had a horror of, the prince of Orange commanded one colonel Hill and lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, to put Glencoe to death, and all the males of his line, [in age] not exceeding seventy."† It is observed by Walter Wilson, in his Life of Defoe, that "the inveteracy that marked the language of the Jacobites when speaking of king William, and with which their works are so highly seasoned, has descended in full force to our own day." We have an example of this temper in the valuable but somewhat prejudiced "Annals" issued from Oxford, in which it is inferred "that Stair did not really go beyond William's instructions in planning the massacre of Glencoe, although the Parliament of Scotland had the complaisance to lay the greater blame on the minister." The Parliament of Scotland expressly said, as the first result of their investigation in 1695, "We found, in the first place, that the Master of Stair's letters had exceeded your majesty's instructions." William was, indeed, justly indignant at this resolution; "frequently repeating that he thanked the Parliament of Scotland; they had used him better than England had done his grandfather, for they had tried him for his life, and brought him in not guilty." ‡ His pride was wounded that any investigation at all should have taken place as to his concurrence in the act of his minister. The Parliament had voted the Glencoe slaughter to be a murder; and he thought it no compliment to be formally acquitted as an accessory before the fact.

In transmitting from London the instructions signed by the king on the 11th of January, the Secretary of State for Scotland wrote to sir Thomas Livingstone, "I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glencoe; and it is well that people are in mercy. Just now, my lord Argyle tells me, that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sept, the worst of the Highlanders." When Dalrymple sent the instructions of the 16th, he wrote to Livingstone, "For a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glencoe may be rooted out to purpose." To colonel Hill he wrote on the same date, "That such as render on mercy might be saved;" but entreats that "for a just vengeance and public example the tribe of Glencoe

* "Spalding Club Miscellany." Quoted by Mr. Burton.
† "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 470.
‡ Defoe, "History of th Union," p. 72.

may be rooted out to purpose. The earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they shall have no retreat in their bounds." During another fortnight nothing was done towards accomplishing Dalrymple's entreaties. On the 30th he wrote again to Livingstone: "I am glad that Glencoe did not come within the time prefixed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to harry their cattle, and burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men; but I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the nation, that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off." To Hill he writes, on the same day, "Pray, when the thing concerning Glencoe is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." Colonel Hill sent his orders to lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, to march with eight hundred men straight to Glencoe; "and there put in execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief." Hamilton addressed his orders to major Duncanson, his second in command; concluding his letter by directing that the avenues be so secured, "that the old fox, nor none of his cubs get away: The orders are that none be spared, nor the government troubled with prisoners." Major Duncanson then despatched captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, to proceed to Glencoe, in advance of the other troops, with a detachment of a hundred and twenty men of Argyle's regiment. He arrived there on the 1st of February.

The valley of Glencoe has been variously described, according to the associations of those who have visited it. In the eyes of the picturesque historian of this period,—who regards it as a rugged desert, "valued on account of the shelter which it afforded to the plunderer and his plunder,"—it is "the most dreary and melancholy of all the Scottish passes, the very Valley of the Shadow of Death."* To the equal-minded tourist, "the scenery of this valley is far the most picturesque of any in the Highlands."† To the enthusiastic believer in Ossian, it is the valley of Fingal,—having a name, indeed, signifying in the Celtic tongue, the Valley of Tears—"the most peaceful and secluded of narrow vales." Here "the matchless melody of the sweet voice of Cona first awaked the joy of grief." The blue stream of Ossian's Cona here bends its course to Lochleven. The glen, "so warm, so fertile, so overhung by mountains which seem to meet above you," is described as "a place of great plenty and security."‡ The admirable historian of Scotland from the Revolution, tells us of the narrow slip of grazing ground between the Alpine walls of Glencoe; and a few, still narrower, on the upper levels. If the MacDonalds had not lived, he says, by plunder, their arid glen could not have supported the population.§ Whether barren or fertile, whether filled by robbers, or by "born poets," who treasured up "the songs of Selma,"—here dwelt the MacIans in patriarchal simplicity. Campbell of Glenlyon, who came with his hundred and twenty Highlanders of the Argyle regiment on the 1st of February, 1692, spent twelve days with his men amidst the somewhat unpoetical hospitalities of the clan. The MacIans had no affection for the Campbells; but Glenlyon's niece was

* Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 191. † Pennant.
‡ See Mrs. Grant's "Letters from the Mountains." Letter xi. 1773.
§ Burton, vol. i. p. 162.

married to the second son of their chief; and when he and his lieutenant, Lindsay, said they came as friends, and asked for quarters, being sent to relieve the garrison of Fort William, who were overcrowded, they were received with cordiality. Undoubtedly the chief and his clansmen trusted to the indemnity of the government which they thought had been secured by the oath which MacIan had taken before the Sheriff of Argyle. Here they lived for twelve days as Highlander with Highlander. They had beef and spirits without payment. They were sheltered from the snow storms in the huts of the poor people. Glenlyon became affectionate over his usquebaugh with the husband of his niece; played at cards with the old chief; and entertained two of MacIan's sons at supper on the night of the 12th. At that time he had the following letter in his pocket, from major Duncanson, dated on the 12th from Balacholis, in the immediate neighbourhood: "You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do on no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king and government, nor a man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand." Captain Campbell did not tarry for his superior officer. He was strong enough to do his murderous bidding without his aid. Sir Walter Scott thinks that the purposed crime was more foul, through its perpetration being "committed to soldiers, who were not only the countrymen of the proscribed, but the near neighbours, and some of them the close connexions of the Macdonalds of Glencoe." He adds that, "the massacre has been unjustly attributed to English troops." * We venture to believe that English troops had not the qualities which would have recommended their employ. It is impossible not to see that the revenges of the Campbells had as much to do with this act, as "the king's special command." Argyle and Breadalbane were not promising that the clan Mac Donald should have "no retreat in their bounds," without making known their desire to their people that "the old fox and his cubs" should be wholly "cut off." The cunning of the affair was characteristic of the mountain tribes: "Highland history is crowded with incidents, which, in modern phraseology, would be stamped as treachery, but in the social system of the actors passed as dexterity." † Some agitation amongst the Argyle soldiers—whisperings and murmurs—had roused the fears of John MacIan. He went at midnight to the house of Inverriggen, in the hamlet where Glenlyon was quartered. The captain was up and his men about him. He was ordered, he said, to march against Glengarry's people. Could he be likely to harm his friends, and especially those amongst whom his niece had married! Would he not have given a hint to Alaster? The man was satisfied. The

* "Tales of a Grandfather," chapter l-iii. † Burton, vol. i. p. 165.

night was stormy. The valley lay quiet in mists and thick darkness. At five in the morning Glenlyon and his men slaughtered Inverriggen and nine other men. A child of twelve was stabbed by an officer bearing the name of Drummond. Lindsay and his party went to the house of the old chief, and killed him as he was dressing himself, roused by his faithful servants. His two sons escaped amongst the rocks. His wife was stripped of her trinkets by the savages, and died the following day from her ill-usage. In another hamlet, Auchnâion, a serjeant of the name of Barbour, with his detachment, shot Auchentriater, and seven others, as they sat round the fire in the dark morning. It is reckoned that the number of the slaughtered was thirty-eight. Happily, the order that the avenues should be secured was not effectually carried out. Duncanson did not arrive in time. The reports of the murderous guns had alarmed the sleeping families, and three-fourths of the adults, with their wives and children, escaped by the passes before the troops of Hamilton had barred their way. No deed of blood remained for those who came to Glencoe, when the sun was high in the heavens, but to slay an old man of eighty. Their work was to burn the huts of the tribe, and drive off their cattle. But the unhappy fugitives who had escaped the slaughter had to endure all the extremities of hunger and cold in that inclement season. The number who perished in the snow; sank exhausted in the bogs; crept into caverns, and died for lack of food, was never ascertained. In a short time, some few stole back to their half-ruined cabins, and in after years the valley had again a population. Amongst those who returned to the scene of desolation was the bard of the tribe. "The bard sat alone upon a rock, and looking down, composed a long, dismal song." *

In an age of publicity the extraordinary occurrences of the valley of Glencoe would have been known in a week in every corner of these realms. In an age when newspapers were uncommon, and gatherers of news by no means vigilant to minister to public curiosity, no Londoner knew of this tragedy, or, if he heard some rumour, heeded it not. After some weeks had elapsed, there was a report that a robber tribe had been engaged with Scotch troops, and that the chief and some of his clan had been killed. At Edinburgh, people in the coffee-houses began to talk. Glenlyon was conscious of the remarks upon him, and said that "he would do it again, if it were again to be done. He would stab any man in Scotland or England without asking why, if he were commanded so to do." Argyle's Highland regiment was quartered at Brentford, in June, 1692; and it was afterwards published that the soldiers talked about the massacre, and that one said, "Glencoe seems to hang about Glenlyon night and day; and you may see it in his face." Whilst public murmurings were faintly heard in Scotland—not "while public indignation was at the highest," as Scott says—Dalrymple wrote to Hamilton from the Hague, on the 30th of April, 1692, "For the people of Glencoe, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself, by showing all your orders, which are now put in the 'Paris Gazette.' When you do right you need fear nobody. All that can be said is, that, in the execution, it was neither

* Mrs. Grant.

so full nor so fair as might have been." Charles Leslie, the non-juring clergyman, obtained some particulars of the deliberate treachery and cold-blooded ferocity which made the Glencoe massacre so peculiarly atrocious; and he published the circumstances about the end of 1692. A pamphlet called "Gallienus Redivivus" followed up this attack. Burnet says that the transaction at Glencoe "raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their Gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the king's government as cruel and barbarous; though in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess." * The affair would probably have rested with the French Gazettes and Jacobite libels, had not the Parliament of Scotland, after a recess of two years, met in 1695, when Glencoe was a subject which had roused the nation to demand inquiry; for the non-jurors and friends of king James had worked diligently in stirring up the popular feeling. Political hostility to the Master of Stair had something to do with the tardy indignation of the Scottish Estates. William had in 1693 authorized an investigation of the matter by the duke of Hamilton and others. The duke died; and the inquiry was left to die with him. The king was now advised to take a more decided course, anticipating the measures of the Scotch Parliament. He issued a Commission of Precognition to the marquis of Tweeddale, and other privy counsellors in Scotland. The inquiries were necessarily minute and complicated; but the document was at last produced. From that document, and the letters and oral evidence accompanying it, is an authentic narrative of the massacre to be collected.

The Report of the Commission, with the depositions and letters, were read in the Scottish Parliament on the 24th of June, 1695, and the result is thus recorded:

"After hearing of the said Report, it was voted, *nemine contradicente*, that his Majesty's instructions of the 11th and 16th days of January, 1692, touching the Highland rebels, who did not accept in due time of the benefit of his indemnity, did contain a warrant for mercy, to all, without exception, who should offer to take the oath of allegiance, and come in upon mercy, though the first day of January, 1692, prefixt by the Proclamation of Indemnity, was past, and that therefore, these instructions contained no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe men, made in February thereafter.

"Then the question stated and voted, if the execution and slaughter of the Glencoe men in February, 1692, as is represented to the Parliament, be a murder or not, and carried in the affirmative."

It was then moved "that since the Parliament has found it a murder, that it may be inquired into, who were the occasion of it, and the persons guilty and committers of it, and what way and manner they should be prosecute." †

On the 10th of July, the Parliament agreed to an Address to the king, which contains the following material passages:

"We humbly beg that, considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glencoe men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion in a great measure to so extraordinary an

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 155.
† "Acts of Parliament of Scotland," vol. ix. p. 377.

Execution by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise; And considering the high station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, We do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your Government as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit.

"And likeways considering that the Actors have barbarously killed men under trust, We humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send the Actors home, and to give orders to your Advocate to prosecute them according to Law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your Government of so foul and scandalous an aspersion as it has lain under upon this occasion." *

The Master of Stair was only dismissed from office by the king. The Parliament of Scotland did not accuse "the original cause of this unhappy business" as being participant in what they voted to be a murder. Whether the king ought to have placed the chief culprit on his trial for a great crime can scarcely be maintained without acknowledging that William had some excuse for his comparative lenity in the very mild recommendation of the Parliament "to give such orders about him, for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit." Most persons will nevertheless agree with the historian that "in return for many victims immolated by treachery, only one victim was demanded by justice; and it must ever be considered as a blemish on the fame of William that the demand was refused." † The Scottish Parliament imputed no guilt to Livingstone or Hill; they somewhat doubted about Hamilton and Duncanson; but they were clear that captain Campbell and captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsay, ensign Lundy, and serjeant Barbour were the actors in the slaughter, and ought to be prosecuted. The king did not cause these to be prosecuted. He knew perfectly well that they had as sound a legal defence before a civil tribunal, as any of the privates who discharged their muskets under the orders of serjeant Barbour. Defoe affirms that "his Majesty often said, it was a moot-point in war, whether they had broken orders or no; and though I have the honour to know that his Majesty exceedingly resented the manner, yet it did not appear at all that they had laid themselves open to military justice in it." ‡

There was one person connected with the Glencoe massacre, of whom we lose sight in the decisions of the Scottish Parliament as to "who were the occasion of it." That person is the earl of Breadalbane. But there is a further record in the Minutes of that Parliament which shows that the other great culprit besides Dalrymple had not been wholly overlooked: "July 1. A warrant granted to bring the earl of Breadalbane down to the Parliament House." § From the Parliament House he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, on a charge of high treason. In the course of the Glencoe inquiries the Highland chief Glengarry, and others, deposed that in offering them money he alleged that he continued in the interest of king James, and pressed them to make a show of pacification, that they might be ready to

* "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," vol. ix. p. 425.
† Macaulay, "History," vol. iv. p. 580.
‡ "History of the Union," p. 72.
§ "Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland," vol. ix. p. 389.

serve him at some future time—the "outward compliance" which James had himself recommended. Breadalbane contrived that the inquiry should stand over from time to time, till the Session of Parliament came to an end. He had pleaded his pardon from the Crown; but the offences charged were subsequent to that pardon. Burnet says, "he pretended he had secret orders from the king, to say anything that would give him credit with them; which the king owned so far, that he ordered a new pardon to be passed for him."* It is impossible to fathom the depths of the intrigues of the Scottish statesmen and great lords at this period. Burnet in his narrative of the Glencoe massacre, says of Breadalbane: "that he might gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to all the Highlanders, he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe."† We believe in no such refinement of Breadalbane's cunning. He and Argyle were glad to sweep out the MacDonalds, who annoyed them. Dalrymple would have exterminated the whole Celtic population of Jacobites, Papists, and thieves—for the greater part were such in his mind—as his predecessors in power had often hunted them down as wild beasts. Not three months before Dalrymple put the Order of January 16th before William to sign, he wrote to Breadalbane that no prince but William would have not been tempted to hearken to the earnest desires of all those he trusts in his government, "to have made the Highlanders examples of his justice, by extirpating them."‡ William acceded to the one exception to his general clemency, urged upon him by Dalrymple, Argyle, and Breadalbane; for it was a measure justified to his mind by the "laws of war." It is one of the most lamentable evils of these laws, that in some cases a violation of the rights of humanity ceases to be regarded as a crime; and that in all cases implicit obedience to orders is the paramount duty of a soldier, however revolting to his moral sense.

Sir Walter Scott, recalling his early recollections, says, that "on the 5th of November, 1788, when a full century had elapsed after the Revolution, some friends to constitutional liberty proposed that the return of the day should be solemnized by an agreement to erect a monument to the memory of king William, and the services which he had rendered to the British Kingdoms." How was the proposal defeated? By an anonymous letter in one of the Edinburgh newspapers, "ironically applauding the undertaking, and proposing as two subjects of the entablature for the projected column, the massacre of Glencoe, and the distresses of the Scottish colonists at Darien." We have related the one story, with a scrupulous regard to facts. We shall have to tell the other distressing narrative, with the same scrupulosity. Sir Walter Scott impresses upon his grandson this lesson: "You may observe from this how cautious a monarch should be of committing wrong or injustice, however strongly recommended by what may seem political necessity."§ The great novelist left his juvenile readers, and his confiding adult readers, to the full belief that king William was the principal person to be accused as the author of both calamities. There probably is not a more striking instance of the blindness of a morbid

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 274.
† *Ibid.* p. 153.
‡ Burton, Appendix, vol. i.
§ "Tales of a Grandfather," chap. lix.

nationality, than in this mode of attributing "wrong or injustice" to a sovereign who, in the one case, was wholly under the guidance of his Scotch ministers, acting in the spirit of all Scotch Statesmen towards the Highland clans; and in the other case was wholly under the control of the English parliament, uttering the voice of the English nation in the commercial jealousies of the age. We have reached a period when all the false nationalities and party sympathies embodied in romance, and in histories more fictitious than fiction, have very nearly done their work; when we may look at kings and statesmen through that achromatic glass which shows them under no false colouring in their public characters. We may therefore doubt, with a Scottish historian who belongs to this more advanced age, whether, in a period when the Highland chief was acting after his kind in the indulgence of a fierce revenge—when the Scottish statesman was acting as Scottish statesmen had done for ages before him—it was likely that a "far-seeing and deeply judging prince" should desert his nature and habits so much as "to countenance, suggest, and urge on, the slaughter of those poor Highlanders."* The anonymous libeller who would have inscribed "Glencoe" on the entablature of a column to William, if he had read the evidence, would have known perfectly well that this slaughter was devised by Scottish statesmen of the Lowlands, and carried through by Scottish captains of the Highlands. He would have known that the treachery of this military execution was the device, in the old crafty and ferocious spirit of clan hostility, of the native soldiers to whom the slaughter was entrusted. He probably knew that Glencoe was not the last of the Highland massacres, sanctioned by no intervention of king William; but by the old "letters of fire and sword" granted by the Privy Council of Scotland. These letters were not granted for any political object; but in the ancient spirit of revenge by which a favoured clan was authorized to destroy another less favoured. Six years after the Glencoe massacre, the laird of McIntosh obtained letters of fire and sword against MacDonald of Keppoch. McIntosh and his followers, with the assistance of the governor of Fort William, are authorized to hunt and take; if necessary to put to death; and if they retire to strongholds to "raise fire and use all force and warlike engines." This process, then a legal one, was not sent out against the king's rebels—for the pacification of the Jacobite clans had been accomplished—but to obtain restitution of lands alleged to be unjustly held by a clan that did not care for being "put to the horn." † It were well if those who repeat glibly "how cautious a monarch should be," &c., would lead their readers to some real knowledge of the condition and manners of the Highlanders of those days, and of the mode in which the authorities of Scotland had for generations been accustomed to treat them. They would perhaps then be inclined to assign to its proper cause—a hatred of the political and religious principles of the king of the Revolution—the imputation that to his "hard-heartedness" is to be ascribed "the massacre of Glencoe; an enormity which has left a stain on William's memory that neither time, nor the services that he was providentially the instrument of rendering to these kingdoms, can ever efface." ‡

* Burton, vol. i. p. 173. † *Ibid*, vol. i. p. 177, note.

‡ "Annals of England," vol. iii. p. 120.

In narrating the circumstances which retarded the Union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland—a measure of which William observed, "I have done all I can in that affair, but I do not see a temper in either nation that looks like it"—Defoe says, "The affair of Glencoe was another step to national breaches." To us, looking calmly upon this affair at the interval of a hundred and sixty-six years, it would appear the most extravagant of national delusions to set up this as "a ground of national animosity." From the beginning to the end it was a Scottish affair. Not an English statesman was concerned in advising the proceeding. The character of the monarch who signed the order, as king of Scotland, is far more truly exemplified in one sentence of the Proclamation of Indemnity, which ought to have been the rule of conduct for those who urged on the massacre—"to interpret this indemnity in the most favourable and ample manner."

William III. (From a Print dated 1694.)

Namur.

CHAPTER X.

Marlborough dismissed from office—Parliamentary Debates—Independence of the Judges—The king leaves for Holland—Threatened invasion—Declaration of James—Battle of La Hogue—Siege of Namur—Grandval's plot to assassinate William—Battle of Steinkirk—Parliament—Crime and public distress—Commencement of the National Debt—The Licensing Act expires—Place Bill—Bill for Triennial Parliaments—The King's Veto—Murder of Mountfort—Trial of Lord Mohun.

"THE king was pleased, without assigning any reason, to remove my lord Marlborough from his employments." Such is the brief notice of an important event by the wife of the great peer. Much fuller is her account of the circumstances which caused a serious disagreement between queen Mary and her sister, the princess Anne. The queen, three weeks after the dismissal of the earl, wrote to her sister that "it is very unfit lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not." Mary said, "I need not *repeat* the cause he has given the king to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times

to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it." Anne refused to be separated from her beloved Mrs. Freeman; and Mrs. Freeman being commanded to leave the palace, Mrs. Morley left with her. Anne chose her abode at Sion House; and the nation was scandalised at a quarrel between the occupier of the throne and the sister who might one day be called to occupy it. It is easy to imagine that no circumstance in the lives of William and Mary produced more misery than this rupture. The dismissal of Marlborough occurred on the 10th of January, at the very time when, in the view of some candid persons, William was occupied in planning the slaughter of an obscure Highland clan. It was a period to the king of great political anxiety. Lady Marlborough says she could never learn "what cause the king had for his displeasure." The popular feeling regarded the earl's dismissal as a just punishment "for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness, and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers."* In another passage, Evelyn attributes Marlborough's disgrace to his "having used words against the king." What Marlborough had really done has been revealed in a letter of James. The Lieutenant-General of William, who also held the domestic office of his Gentleman of the Bedchamber, had concerted with the Jacobites to effect the recall of James by the subtlest of plots. He was organising a party to propose and carry in parliament a motion that all the foreigners in the employ of the Crown, civil or military, should be sent out of the kingdom. The object was to produce a rupture between the king and the parliament. Then, says the letter of James, "'my lord Churchill would declare with the army for the parliament; and, the fleet doing the same, they would have recalled me." James adds that some of his own imprudent friends, dreading that the scheme of Churchill had for its ultimate object to make the princess Anne queen, discovered it to Bentinck, and thus "turned aside the blow."†

The Parliament was adjourned on the 20th of February, having met on the 2nd of the previous October. It was a Session of great debate; but more remarkable for the discussion of important measures, than for their final enactment. The rival claims of the Old East India Company and of the New, were the subject of earnest argument, not unmingled with party feelings. But nothing was finally decided; and a bill for the regulation of the India trade was suffered to drop.‡ A most important measure for regulating trials in cases of high treason was passed by the Commons; but becoming the subject of a great controversy between the two houses, as to the right of peers to be tried by the whole body of the Upper House, as well during a recess as during the sitting of Parliament, that valuable bill also fell through. A few years later the jealousy of the Commons was removed. Another measure of great public advantage was defeated by the king's Veto. It was the first time in which William had exercised this power. The Judges had been made independent of the Crown as to their term of office. They were appointed by William and Mary "Quamdiu se bene gesserint:" they could not be arbitrarily removed. But their salaries had not been fixed,

* Evelyn, "Diary," January 24.

† This letter, in French, is given by Macaulay, who mentions that a translation was published by Macpherson "eighty years ago." History, vol. iv. p. 166.

‡ See *ante*, p. 38.

as they ought to have been. The Houses passed a Bill for legally establishing this judicial independence; also providing that each judge should be paid a thousand a year. But they charged the salaries upon the hereditary revenues of the Crown, without the previous consent of the king having been accorded. The king, says Hallam, "gave an unfortunate instance of his very injudicious tenacity of bad prerogatives in refusing his assent." A later historian says that the circumstances under which the king used his veto have never been correctly stated. "William could defend the proprietary rights of the Crown only by putting his negative on the bill. . . . . It was not till the provisions of the bill had been forgotten, and till nothing but its title was remembered, that William was accused of having been influenced by a wish to keep the judges in a state of dependence." * This great constitutional principle was determined by the Act of Settlement of 1701 (13 Gul. 3, c. 2), which provides that after the limitation of the Crown under that statute shall take effect, "Judges' Commissions be made Quamdiu se bene gesserint, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the Address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them."†

The king set out for Holland on the 5th of March. At the beginning of the Session he had told the Parliament that an Army of sixty-five thousand men would be required, and the Houses voted that number. The distribution of the land force gave about eleven thousand men for England, thirteen thousand for Ireland, two thousand for Scotland, and thirty-eight thousand to serve beyond sea. The proportion of regular troops for the defence of England was thus comparatively small; but then the Militia of the kingdom could be immediately called out, and the regiments of London and Westminster were always in readiness for service. The Navy had been brought into a greater state of efficiency than at any previous period since the Revolution. If loyal songs are to be believed in, the war was popular;

> "Our army makes Lewis to tremble and quake
> He fearing that Mons we again will retake." ‡

Weavers, shoemakers, butchers, dyers, hatters—the men of London and the men of the West—were all ready to march under "renowned king William," says the popular doggrel. But something more effective than a broadside ballad was issued to stir up the country to defend its government. It was a Declaration by James himself, which was not suppressed by the queen and her Council, but reprinted, and widely circulated with appropriate comment. There was in this document not a word of regret for the past; not a word that could hold out a prospect of amendment for the future. It breathed

* Macaulay, "History," vol. iv. p. 183. There is an exception to Lord Macaulay's wonted accuracy in his remarks on this subject. He says, "that great law [the Bill of Rights] had deprived the Crown of the power of arbitrarily removing the judges." The Bill of Rights contains not a word on the subject; neither does the Declaration of Rights.

† Mr. Hallam has pointed out that we owe the independence of the Judges to this statute, and not to George III., as we have long been taught to believe. Blackstone contributed to this popular delusion, by ascribing vast importance to the statute 1 Geo. III. c. 23, which continued the commissions of the judges notwithstanding the demise of the Crown—a point before doubtful. The recent editor of Blackstone, Dr. Kerr, has pointed out that "the learned commentator much exaggerates the value" of the statute of George III.

‡ "Songs of the London Prentices and Trades." Edited by Charles Mackay, p. 122.

vengeance against nobles and prelates who were proscribed by name; it threatened whole classes with punishment as guilty rebels; the judges and juries who had convicted Ashton and Cross, two of the plotting Jacobites, and the "fishermen and all others who offered personal indignities to us at Feversham." Such was a Declaration issued to prepare the people for receiving their ejected king with contrite tears, when he came back at the head of a French invading army. James had at last induced the king of France to hazard the chance of a landing in England. The minister who had constantly opposed that dangerous project was dead. That minister was Louvois. He had been the chief military administrator of Louis for nearly a quarter of a century, but at last became obnoxious to his master. Louvois, says Burnet, "grew uneasy at the authority Madame de Maintenon took in things which she could not understand; and was in conclusion so unacceptable to the king that once, when he flung his bundle of papers down upon the floor before him, the king lifted up his cane, but the lady held him from doing more." * Saint Simon tells something like the same story, with the variation of the king catching up the fire-tongs instead of lifting his cane. Louvois died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. Saint Simon represents Louis as feeling free when he had got rid of his old servant; and then relates that, when an officer came from James at St. Germains, with a compliment of condolence, Louis, "with an air and a tone more than perfectly easy" (plus que dégagés) replied—"give my compliments and thanks to the king and queen of England, and say to them from me, that my affairs and their affairs will go on none the worse for what has happened." When the great war minister of France was saved by the hand of death from being sent to the Bastile, Louis was free to assist his confident brother at St. Germains with ten thousand French troops, and with the Irish regiments which had entered the service of France. A camp was formed at La Hogue; and James, in the Declaration which we have noticed, announced that the Most Christian King had now "lent us so many troops as may be abundantly sufficient to untie the hands of our subjects, and make it safe for them to return to their duty and repair to our standard." †

On the 24th of April, James joined his camp in Normandy. He relied upon his French and Irish army, but he relied as much upon the defection of the English fleet. Not only Admiral Russell, but other officers had been tampered with. Russell, however, had been disgusted into something like a sense of honour and duty by the insane Declaration issued by James. He sent word to the rebel-threatener that he ought "to grant a general pardon, and that then he would contribute what he could to his restoration, without insisting upon any terms for himself." ‡ This crafty renegade had still something of the Englishman about him; for whilst he proposed to get out of the way with the fleet he commanded, so as to give the invaders an opportunity of landing, he declared that "if he met the French fleet he would fight it, even though the king himself were on board."

On the 15th of May, the English fleet was at St. Helen's. It had been joined by the Dutch fleet, the whole force amounting to ninety sail of the

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 165.

† "Life of James II." vol. ii p. 479.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 489.

line. Russell was in command on board the Britannia. A scene took place in the flag-ship which is happily without a subsequent parallel in English history. A despatch had arrived from Nottingham, the Secretary of State, which Russell was commanded to read to the Commanders of the Fleet. In his cabin there were men whose names are inscribed amongst the great naval heroes of our land—sir George Rooke,—sir Cloudesley Shovel. Such true hearts could have little suspected that he who read to them the magnanimous resolve of the queen was most obnoxious to its covert reproach. Nottingham said, in her majesty's name, that a report was spread abroad that some of the officers of her fleet were not hearty in their service, and that she had ordered many of them to be discharged. She further said that she believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government,—that she retained an entire confidence in their fidelity and zeal for the service of the crown and the defence of the country, and was resolved not to displace any one. Then, with one accord, an address to the queen was signed—Russell probably not signing as being too exalted for suspicion to attach to him. It was an address, not cold and formal, but full of the devotion of the heart, concluding in these earnest words,—"And that God Almighty may preserve your majesty's most sacred person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms by sea and land against your majesty's enemies, let all the people say Amen, with your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects." * There was no time for the enthusiasm of that hour to cool. On the afternoon of that day the French fleet, under Tourville, was seen from the coast of Dorsetshire. On the 17th, the English and Dutch fleets were at sea. Tourville had with him only his own squadron, having sailed from Brest, and in his passage to Cape la Hogue had come within view of Portland. Off La Hogue the French transports were receiving troops. Tourville was to convoy this fleet of the invaders. On the morning of the 19th, the two fleets came in sight of each other. Tourville immediately bore down upon an armament more than double his number. The wind was favourable to him, and only half of the ships of the allies could come into action. The defection upon which he relied was nowhere to be seen. To vindicate their honour, the commanders of the English fleet urged their men with a zeal that made them invincible, and Russell even told the sailors of the ships that he visited, to throw over any commander that played false, himself not excepted. Carter, Rear-Admiral of the Blue—who is said to have disclosed that overtures had been made to him from the Jacobites—broke the French line at the onset, was mortally wounded, and dying exclaimed, "Fight the ship as long as she can swim." The battle lasted five hours, when the wind changed, and the whole force of the allies was brought together. The victory was complete, the French flying in every direction to their own shores. Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, the finest vessel of that day, got to Cherbourg, with two other three-deckers. There were no docks at that time to afford security. The great men-of-war were hauled into the shoals. Admiral Delaval attacked them with his fire-ships and his boats' crews, and the pride of the French navy and the two other vessels were burned to the water's edge. Tourville,

* The address is in the London Gazette of the 19th of May, and is quoted in Ralph, vol. ii. p. 352.

during the chace, had shifted his flag to the Ambitious, and with twelve other large ships had got into the bay of La Hogue. Here he lay, under forts and batteries, with the army of James close at hand, and the flags of England and France flying on one of the forts, for James himself was within. On the 23rd of May, Admiral Rooke led a flotilla of two hundred boats and numerous fire-ships into the bay. The huge vessels fired with little effect. There was a cannonade from the batteries and volleys of musketry from the shore; but on came the rowers, with the old battle-shout. The boats' crews of Tourville fled in confusion. The crews of the French ships abandoning them, the English sailors boarded, and set them on fire. At eight the next morning again came Rooke into the bay with his terrible flotilla. The remaining vessels were in like manner burned, after their guns had been turned against the French batteries. "The defeat," says the biographer of James, "was too considerable to be redressed, and too afflicting to be looked upon, nor was it even safe to do it long." * Saint-Simon, mentioning that "the king of England" looked on at this battle from the shore, says, "he was accused of letting some words escape him of partiality in favour of his nation, although none had made good the promises upon which he had counted when he had urged a naval battle." Tourville, says the same authority, had sent two couriers to Louis to represent the extreme danger of relying upon the assurances of James as to the probable good will of the English commanders, and his confidence in the defection of more than half the fleet during an action. Evelyn writes in his Diary of the 5th of June, "Reports of an invasion were very hot, and alarmed the City, Court, and People." On the 15th he writes, "After all our apprehensions of being invaded, and doubts of our success by sea, it pleased God to give us a great naval victory, to the utter ruin of the French fleet." The success was recognised by a temporary act of national gratitude, in a distribution of thirty-seven thousand pounds amongst the sailors, and in the bestowal of gold medals upon the officers. A more permanent demonstration of the feelings called forth by the victory of La Hogue was a declaration by the queen, that the royal palace of Greenwich should become what we now look upon with patriotic pride—the noble asylum for the disabled "mariners of England."

When the news of La Hogue reached the great supporter of James, the French army was besieging Namur. The army of the allies, under the command of William, was encamped in the neighbourhood. The French general, Luxemburg, with an overwhelming force, prevented any near advance for the relief of the besieged. Louis himself conducted the siege. "The fortified and threatening hill" looks over a "watery glade" of exquisite beauty; † but in the early summer of 1692 the Sambre had overflowed its banks; and the besiegers had to contend with other difficulties than those created by the science of Cohorn, the engineer of the States-General, who was in the citadel. Vauban, the great engineer of France, was in the lines with Louis. The magnificent monarch so far relaxed the rigour of his wonted etiquette as to permit Vauban to dine with him; at which distinction, says Saint-Simon, Vauban was overwhelmed. It was a time when the presence of the monarch

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 496.
† See Wordsworth's Sonnet.

was of some importance. Boileau describes the king, with the basest adulation of a venal muse, as directing the siege:

"C'est Jupiter en personne."

Saint-Simon shows him doing some service in a sensible human fashion, when it rained in torrents, and the trenches were full of mud and water. The soldiers were cursing Saint Médard; for that saint, like his brother of our calendar, was held to be in a rainy humour for forty days if he willed it to rain on his festival day, the 8th of June. Louis, who always travelled with a vast troop of idle lackeys and fine gentlemen of his household, commanded them to work in carrying corn to the army of Luxemburg. The roads were impassable for waggons, and the household troops and fine gentlemen were commanded to bear sacks of grain to the starving soldiers on the cruppers of their horses. Bitterly they complained; but the king would be obeyed. Without his presence, says Saint-Simon, the siege would never have been successful. The besiegers were in extremity for want of provisions. Unfortunately Cohorn was wounded. The governor of Namur and the garrison lost heart, and the town was first surrendered and afterwards the citadel.

During the siege of Namur the army of William had often a distinct view of the operations of the French army. On the 1st of June the English were encamped at Ville, on the Mehaigne. The low grounds on each side of the river were so flooded by incessant rains, that it was impracticable to cross, so as to attack the enemy on the opposite side. On the 5th the rains had destroyed most of the bridges over the Mehaigne. "I scarce see what we have to do here," writes one in the camp. On the 8th the allied army and the army of Luxemburg were each moving on opposite banks of the river. On the 13th the French army had drawn nearer to Namur, and William continued to follow their movements.* Namur surrendered on the 30th. "The king's conduct," says Burnet, "was on this occasion much censured; it was said he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than suffer such a place to have been taken in his sight." Boileau concludes his ode with a taunt to the enemies of France—"Go to Liège and Brussels, to carry the humble news of Namur taken under your eyes." Louis returned to Paris with his long train of carriages filled with ladies of the court—his poets, his comedians, and the musicians—"according to the old Persian luxury." William remained to watch Luxemburg, and to fight if opportunity offered. In the middle of July the allied camp was at Genappe. Three prisoners had been brought thither from Bois-le-duc, accused of a design to assassinate William. Their movements had been watched for some time. Burnet had made it known that M. Morel, of Berne, who had been incarcerated in the Bastile for seven years on refusing to renounce his Protestantism, and had been released in April, had written to him that he had been out of curiosity to St. Germains to see king James; and that returning in a public conveyance he met with a man named Grandval, whom he had observed in secret conversation with the exiled king. Grandval was very communicative, and said there was a design in hand that would confound all Europe—the prince of Orange would not live a month. Various

* Letters of Vernon to Colt, printed in Tindal's "Continuation of Rapin," vol. iii. p. 206.

other circumstances had led to the arrest of Grandval and two men that he had associated in his enterprise, Dumont, a Walloon, and the baron de Leefdale, a Dutchman. These two accomplices of Grandval had no desire to carry through the project to which they had agreed. They gave warnings that there was a plot to remove William by assassination. Leefdale came with Grandval from Paris to the Netherlands. Dumont, having previously told something of what he knew to the duke of Zell, at Hanover, set out to meet Grandval. When apprehended, and brought to the camp at Genappe, a court-martial of general officers commenced sitting on the 23rd of July, for the trial of Bartholomew de Liniere, Sieur de Grandval. The examination of the prisoner had been taken, and the witnesses were about to be confronted with him, when "greater matters intervening put a stop to the process of Grandval."*

The "greater matters" were the sudden determination of William to attack Luxemburg, and the disastrous issue of the enterprise. The French army was encamped between Enghien and Steinkirk, a few miles to the north-west of Hal. The head-quarters of William's army were at Lambecque. Luxemburg had an agent in the allied camp who gave him information of the movements of the forces opposed to him—a secretary of the elector of Bavaria, named Millevoix. A letter from this man was accidentally picked up, and carried to the elector. His correspondence was discovered; and William, with remarkable presence of mind, took advantage of the discovery, not by hanging the traitor, but by making his treachery serviceable. He dictated a letter of false intelligence to the terrified Millevoix, in which Luxemburg was informed that the English would come the next day towards the French army to forage, and that a portion of the army would be at hand to protect the foragers. At dawn on the morning of the 3rd of August, the whole force of the allies was marching towards Steinkirk. Luxemburg was incredulous of the news which his scouts brought him, for he relied upon the informant in whom he thoroughly trusted. He at last roused himself. The nature of the ground was in his favour. The march had been tedious, for there were defiles to pass, and the country was enclosed. The duke of Würtemberg led the vanguard, and drove the advanced brigade of the French from hedge to hedge. But Luxemburg, with the rapidity of genius, had soon the main body of his army in order of battle. The affair was no longer a surprise. We have before us an unpublished letter written by marshal Conway in 1774, on the occasion of a visit to this battle field: "From Oudenarde and Enghien by Grammont the road lies through a beautiful country. Near the former we took horses to go and see the ground of the famous battle of Steinkirk, where king William took such good measures to surprise marshal Luxemburg; but by the activity and quickness of that able antagonist, failed in his project, and was repulsed after a long and bloody engagement. The ground here remains, by all accounts, just as it was at that time, now eighty-two years ago."† As the ground was, eighty-two years after the battle, we may readily conclude

* Letters of Vernon to Colt.

† From a MS. volume of Conway's Letters to his brother, the Marquis of Hertford, the property of the author of this history.

that another term of eighty-two years has made no very material change. Commerce has not here created new towns, though a railway may cut through the hedges, and span the hollow ways, where the allied cavalry could not act, and the vanguard began to engage, while the main body of infantry was at some distance. Count Solmes, who was chief in command of the English, sent his horse to their relief; but, says a great military critic, "What signified his marching the horse, where the ground was so strait, and the French had such a nation of hedges, and copses, and ditches, and felled trees laid, this way and that, to cover them." * The eloquent Corporal truly describes how five English regiments were cut to pieces; "and so had the English life-guards too, had it not been for some regiments upon the right, who marched up boldly to their relief, and received the enemy's fire in their faces, before any one of their own platoons discharged a musket." These brave fellows were led by Auverquerque. They saved the English life-guards; but they could not save the infantry who had been left without support. Mackay, their brave leader, fell in the desperate conflict. The blame of this great reverse was imputed to count Solmes, who had probably to bear the mistakes of others as well as his own. It is clear that the nature of the ground was not perfectly understood; and that the panic to be produced by a sudden attack was too confidently relied upon. William made every effort to bring up his men to relieve the vanguard; but Luxemburg was now reinforced by Boufflers, who heard the firing, and marched from his neighbouring quarters. The king, it is said, looked upon the slaughter, and exclaimed, "Oh, my poor English, how are they abandoned." On each side there were about seven thousand killed and wounded. The allies marched from the field of battle in good order, to the camp from which they had unfortunately gone forth, as they believed to victory. The nation was dispirited. The army was indignant that Solmes, a foreigner, should have been placed in the command of English troops, and then look on while they were slaughtered. In the House of Commons, three months after, the public voice found an indignant vent. That House now fully exercised the right from which it has never since parted, of seeking occasion freely to comment upon warlike operations—sometimes unjustly, often ignorantly, but never without advantage to the discovery of truth. On the 22nd of November, these words were heard in the House: "None are ignorant of the melancholy story of Steinkirk; every one knows that tragedy. The common soldiers had no opinion of their officers. I move," added sir Peter Colleton, "That none but natives should command Englishmen." Sir Edward Seymour asked, "What number have you fit for General Officers? They are few; and will you think to discharge and send away foreigners till you have generals of your own?" There can be no doubt that during the long vassalage of the Stuarts to France, England had lost all the qualities of a military nation, except the best quality, the spirit of her people—the blood and bone of those who fought in her ranks. She wanted scientific as well as brave leaders, bred in her own bosom. Seymour truly said, "Men are not born generals." There were in the House of Commons at that time, as there have been ever since, officers of rank, who

* "Tristram Shandy."

came from active service in the field to the senate, and said honestly what they knew. Lord Colchester, who commanded the third troop of horse-guards, was one of these. He told his story simply and clearly; and his relation confirms the ordinary historical accounts in all essentials: "I find the business of Steinkirk stick with some gentlemen. The chief occasion of the ill-success there was the wrong information given to the king of the ground we were to pass, which was so full of hedges and woods, that we could not draw up one body to sustain another; horse and foot were mingled. I saw the attack made by Fagel; Dutch, English, and all nations: they beat the French from hedge to hedge, but their very weight of men bore us down. The French came upon us, and Auverquerque came up, and behaved himself as well as any man in the world. He sent us two Danish regiments, and we retreated to the main body, and from thence to the main camp." * The anger of the House centred upon Solmes. "When this attack was formed," said colonel Cornwall, "Solmes was there, with ten battalions to sustain them. Solmes said, 'That to send more was to slaughter more.'" The king withdrew his countenance from the obnoxious general, who had offended by his haughtiness as well as by his conduct in the battle of Steinkirk. He fell in a second unfortunate battle in the coming year.

The Court-Martial on Grandval was re-opened in a week after the battle. Two of the Generals of whom it was originally composed had fallen in the field—Mackay and Lanier. The duty of the court was not very embarrassing; for the prisoner had made a circumstantial confession, "without any constraint or pain, or being in irons." So says the official relation of the Court-Martial. He declared that the late French minister, Louvois, had in 1691 entered into an agreement with Anthony Dumont, about the murder of king William; that upon the death of Louvois the design dropped, but that Barbesieux, the son of Louvois, who succeeded him as Secretary of State to the French king, revived the project, and had several conferences with him, Grandval; that he was engaged in the affair with colonel Parker, in the service of king James; and that with him, Barbesieux, and Dumont, the plan was arranged, which was that he should shoot William, when he exposed himself during the campaign. Leefdale was then brought into the scheme. The most material averment of the prisoner was, that he had seen James at St. Germains, his queen being present, and that James said, "Parker has given me an account of the business; if you and the other officers do me this service, you shall never want." Grandval was executed in the camp at Hal, according to his sentence. He declared in a letter to a friend that it cost him his life for having obeyed the orders of Barbesieux. The confession of Grandval was printed and circulated in several languages. No answer was made to its circumstantial statements, vouched for by ten distinguished officers of various nations, who composed the Court-Martial.

The king returned to England on the 18th of October. The outward signs of a cordial welcome awaited him. There were illuminations as he passed through London to Kensington. There was a loyal address from the Corporation of London; and the king dined at Guildhall on the Lord Mayor's day. There was a solemn thanksgiving for his safe return, and for

* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 713.

the great victory at sea. But there were many symptoms of political and social distempers, which made sober men uneasy. In September the queen had issued two proclamations—one for the discovery of seditious libellers, the other for the apprehension of highwaymen. The one proclamation was far more effective than the other. The libellers worked their secret presses, and the furious zealots circulated their productions without any material injury to the government. The people grumbled a little more under the pressure of taxation, and under other evils of their daily life, when they read inflammatory pamphlets from Jacobites and Non-jurors; but a return to the times before the Revolution was the farthest from their wishes. There was a good deal of alarm in that autumn of 1692, from the daring crimes that sometimes seem epidemic in a nation. Hence the proclamation against highwaymen. We have mentioned a robbery of the tax-collectors in Hertfordshire.* Similar gangs of banditti robbed mails and stage-coaches even in the day-time. William on his return took strong measures to put down these enormities. Many highwaymen were discovered and executed; and a regiment of dragoons was used as a preventive police, and patroled all the great roads leading to the capital. Burglars were almost as bold and as numerous as footpads and highwaymen. We doubt whether there was any especial distress connected with this particular juncture; though it is said that there was a failure of the harvest—that the heavy rains had been fatal to the crops—that no fruit ripened—that the price of the quarter of wheat doubled.† Evelyn indeed writes in his Diary of the 1st of October, "This season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a long and tempestuous north-east wind, that this usually pleasant month was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly." But he says nothing of a bad harvest in England. He says, "France is in the utmost misery and poverty for the want of corn and subsistence." The harvest of 1692 is represented as plentiful, so that England was exporting corn.‡ Nevertheless there can be no doubt that amongst a people who had not previously borne such heavy burdens of taxation as four years of war had imposed upon them—and whose industry was not sufficiently developed to enable them to bear their burdens without being weighed down—there must have been much suffering and more discontent.

The king opened the Parliament on the 4th of November. He thanked them for their large supplies; he would be compelled to ask for a further supply to maintain a force by sea and land. He was sensible how heavy this charge was upon his people. It afflicted him to learn that it was not possible to be avoided, without exposing the kingdom to inevitable ruin and destruction. He hoped for their advice and assistance, which had never failed him. The House of Commons set about giving its advice; but it did little more than display a good deal of ill-humour as to the conduct of the war. There were several important matters bearing upon the future condition of the country, arising out of the proceedings of this Session, which we shall briefly notice.

Turning over the Index of the ponderous Statute-book, to look for Acts

* *Ante*, p. 40. † Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 204.
‡ Tindal, vol. iii. p. 217.

that have had a permanent influence on the condition of the country, we might perhaps pass over one Act that bears this lengthy title: "An Act for granting to their majesties certain rates and duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of ten hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France." * Under this statute commenced the National Debt of England. The million of money which was to supply a portion of the expenses of the war "in a manner that would be least grievous," as the preamble says, was expected to be voluntarily advanced on the credit of the special provision of the new duties of excise, which were to be set apart as they were paid into the Exchequer. The ten hundred thousand pounds were speedily subscribed; for the industry of the people had created capital which was seeking employment, although they had been far more heavily taxed during four years than at any previous period. Louis, although he was familiar with the system of loans, was somewhat amazed at the comparative ease with which taxes were raised and a million of money borrowed in England upon the credit of the taxes. He is said to have exclaimed, "My little cousin the prince of Orange is fixed in the saddle; no matter; the last louis d'or must carry it." † This was really a just view of the premises of success, though the great king's conclusions were fallacious. The people of England were in a far better condition than the people of France, to fight on without expending all to the last louis d'or. The working and accumulating Middle Class was far more powerful in the one nation than in the other. There can be no doubt that the means first created by the Act of 1693 for the investment of superfluous capital, have largely contributed to the progressive development of the national resources. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the facilities of borrowing by the creation of Stock, have often led to extravagant expenditure in wars that have averted no real danger nor secured any public advantage.

There can be nothing more true than the assertion of Mr. Ricardo that "there cannot be a greater security for the continuance of peace, than the imposing on ministers the necessity of applying to the people for the taxes to support a war." He has further observed, speaking the language of common sense which is the language of all true political economy, that "the burdens of a war are undoubtedly great during its continuance, but at its termination they cease altogether. When the pressure of war is felt at once, without mitigation, we shall be less disposed wantonly to engage in an expensive contest, and if engaged in it, we shall be sooner disposed to get out of it, unless it be a contest for some great national interest." ‡ Although the statesmen and the people of the reign of William III. felt that the war against the preponderance of France, and the consequent subjection of England, was for a great national interest, they also felt that the burden could not be borne in the existing state of the country without resort to the system of loans. In the case before us they did not contemplate a permanent loan. In the next year, when the Bank of England was established

* 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 3. † Ralph, vol. ii. p. 398.
‡ "Works of David Ricardo," pp. 539 and 546.

upon the condition of lending a sum of money to the government, of which the principal could not be demanded by the lenders, though the borrowers had the privilege of paying it off, a permanent debt was begun to be contracted. The system of borrowing went on for three years, till at the peace of Ryswick the debt amounted to twenty-one millions and a half. Nevertheless, so strong was the objection to the continuance of that system, that, although engaged in a most expensive war for five years after the accession of Anne, the debt was reduced to sixteen millions. In half a century more it had increased to seventy-five millions. It was then the received opinion of financiers that if it ever reached a hundred millions the nation must become bankrupt.

When we look at the one million borrowed on Life annuities in 1693, and the eight hundred and three millions constituting the public debt of the United Kingdom in 1858, we may be amazed at the vast amount of the burthen which has been gradually accumulating, but we also can now distinctly perceive how that burthen has been borne. It has not weighed down the country, because all the material resources of the country have been increasing with it. The increasing wealth—of which this vast debt owing by the nation to the nation is a symbol,—produced by the incessant applications of capital and labour, of science and invention, has increased the ability of the great body of the people to participate in the advantages to be derived from a ready and secure investment of their savings, with the condition that the sum so invested might be easily transferable. To this cause may be attributed the ease with which the government of that day could obtain loans by the creation of Public Funds at a fixed rate of interest, chiefly upon annuities. That facility shows the growing importance of the trading class, who most readily lent their surplus capital. Money, also, was no longer hoarded by those who had no means of employing it commercially; although, for a considerable period, there were vast numbers who had not sufficient confidence in the government to lend. The time was far distant when there would be three hundred thousand persons receiving dividends upon stock, and when one million three hundred and forty thousand persons would also lend their small accumulations through the agency of Savings' Banks. The country was steadily growing more prosperous, as the National Debt went on increasing to six times the amount at the period when inevitable bankruptcy was predicted. It was six hundred millions at the peace of Amiens. The eighteenth century, deficient as it was in many social improvements which we now command, was a period of rapid progress in agriculture and manufactures; and with this progress came a greater command of food and clothing, better dwellings, less frequent and less fatal epidemics for the great bulk of the people. The loan of 1693 has furnished data for a remarkable inquiry into the prolongation of life in the eighteenth century, consequent upon the bettered condition, and therefore improved health, of the population. That loan was a tontine. Every contributor of 100*l.* might name a life, to receive a fixed dividend during the duration of that life. As the annuitants dropped, their shares of the dividends were also to be divided amongst the survivors, till the whole number of annuitants was reduced to seven. In 1790, during the ministry of Mr. Pitt, another tontine

was negociated. The comparative results, as exhibiting the probable duration of life at the two periods, have been worked out by Mr. Finlaison, upon the assumption that the 438 females and 594 males named in 1693, and the 3974 females and 4197 males named in 1790, were the youngest and the healthiest lives that the shareholders could select. Taking the dates at which the annuities of 1693 fell in, and estimating those of 1790 that had fallen or were still remaining in 1851, the calculation showed that in 1790 the expectation of life had increased one-fourth.*

In 1692, "An Act for continuing certain laws that are expired and near expiring" was passed, in which the Act of Charles II., continued by that of James II., "for preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed books and pamphlets, and for regulating printing and printing-presses," then about to expire, was continued to the 13th of February, 1692, and to the end of the next Session of Parliament. If that renewed Act should expire, the Press, exempted from the superintendence of a licenser, would to a great extent be freed; its real freedom would depend upon the law of libel, and its honest application. The licenser of the Stuarts, sir Roger Lestrange, was ejected from his office at the Revolution. "His sting is gone," says John Dunton. That worthy chronicler of publishers and authors sketches the characters of the successors of the Tory licenser, saying, very libellously, "he would wink at unlicensed books if the printer's wife" kept up to the example of too many wives of that age. He describes Mr. Fraser "commonly called Catalogue Fraser, from his skill in books;" Dr. Midgley, "no bigot;" Mr. Heron, with "an air of pleasantness in his countenance;" and "our last licenser, before the Act of Printing expired, Edmund Bohun, Esqre.," "a furious man against dissenters," and "a pretty author himself." † Edmund Bohun brought his own house down over his head. He carried his party feeling into his official occupation; but had very strange notions which his party would not avow. He was bitterly attacked by a writer of very questionable notoriety, Charles Blount; and was more effectually damaged by a scheme of the same person "to ensnare and ruin him." ‡ Blount wrote a pamphlet, which Bohun readily licensed—for it rested the rights of the sovereigns of the Revolution upon a principle which would confer upon them absolute power. On the 22nd of January, complaint was made to the Commons, that a pamphlet, entitled "King William and queen Mary Conquerors, contained matter of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberties of the subject, and to the peace of the kingdom." The House examined the matter; ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman; and prayed the Crown to remove from his office Mr. Edmund Bohun, the licenser, who had suffered the pamphlet to be printed. With the removal of this licenser the system of licensing came to an end. The Act for regulating Printing expired. The House was in a libel-burning mood, with regard to the same description of offence: "Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman, for an expression of the king's title by conquest, on a complaint of Joseph Howe, a member of parliament—little better than a madman." § Some were for impeaching the

* We gather these facts from a paper by Dr. Southwood Smith, read at Birmingham in 1857.
† Dunton's "Life and Errors," p. 351, edit. 1705. ‡ Macaulay.
§ Evelyn. "Diary," Feb. 4.

bishop. The Pastoral Letter in which the doctrine was held was written in 1689. There could be no impeachment; for there had been an Act of Grace in 1690. The House of Commons has never failed to rejoice in any exhibition of the power of some member to make a bad joke. At the cry of "Burn it, burn it," the book was sent to the flames at Charing Cross.

There were two attempts made in this Session to produce what may be called a Reform in Parliament. The Commons passed a Bill excluding all placemen from sitting in the House who should be elected after February, 1693. Men holding office of every kind, civil and military, were in Parliament. It was unwisely proposed to exclude all persons who should in future hold office under the Crown. It was prudently determined by the sitting members not to exclude themselves. They passed no "Self-denying Ordinance." The Lords rejected this measure by a very small majority. A Bill providing that the existing Parliament should end on the first of January, 1694, and that no Parliament should in future sit more than three years, was introduced to the House of Lords, by Shrewsbury, who represented the Whigs. It passed both Houses. On the last day of the Session, the king rejected the measure, in the words of Norman French which would now be the most fatal words ever spoken by a sovereign. The Constitution has worked itself clear of such contending powers. The use of the Veto was not then thought "an exercise of prerogative which no ordinary circumstances can reconcile either with prudence or a constitutional administration of government." * The Bill for triennial parliaments was passed in the next year, without opposition from the Crown. The most memorable circumstance connected with the Bill which William rejected was, that having asked the advice of sir William Temple, that advice, to pass the Bill, was communicated to the king by the humble friend of the retired statesman, his secretary, Jonathan Swift.

Slightly connected with the political transactions of the beginning of 1693 was a tragical event that occasioned great public scandal. "After five days' trial and extraordinary contest, the lord Mohun was acquitted by the lords of the murder of Mountfort, the player, notwithstanding the judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declared him guilty. But whether in consideration of his youth, being not eighteen years old, though exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason,—the king himself present some part, and satisfied, as they report, that he was culpable—sixty-nine acquitted him, only fourteen condemned him.†" The people cried out that when blood was shed by the great there was no justice for the poor. Members of the House of Commons rejoiced that, in the last Session, they had so strenuously opposed an extension of the privileges of the peers, who thus sheltered one of their own guilty members. William Mountfort, the player, according to Colley Cibber, was in tragedy the most affecting lover—in comedy, he gave the truest life to the fine gentleman. In 1694 he was in his thirty-third year—"tall, well-made, fair, and of an agreeable aspect." Nine years before, he was patronised by Jeffries, when at the height of his power; and at a lord mayor's feast the jovial chancellor made Mountfort "plead before him in a feigned cause, in which he aped all the great lawyers of the age in their

* Hallam. "Constitutional History," chap. xv. † Evelyn. "Diary," Feb. 4.

tone of voice, and in their action and gesture of body"—very much to the scandal of sir John Reresby, who records the fact. This accomplished actor was the favourite of the town. But Mrs. Anne Bracegirdle was "the darling of the theatre." She was "the universal passion," but she admitted no favourite. Amongst the rakes and fops who frequented the one theatre that now enjoyed the monopoly of the drama, it was a fashion "to have a taste of *tendre* for Mrs. Bracegirdle.*" Amongst those who toasted this lively brunette over their bumpers of claret, were a captain Hill, and his friend and admirer, the debauched young peer. The captain had addressed the actress in terms which she rejected with contempt. He became jealous, and his jealousy fixed upon Mountfort; for Hill had writhed at seeing the handsome actor in love scenes, when the lady smiled upon her admirer with all the semblance of real passion. Hill, with the assistance of his noble friend, determined to carry off Mrs. Bracegirdle. They also determined to have no more trouble with the presumptuous player. They forced the actress into a coach as she was coming out of a house with her mother; but she was rescued, and the courtly pair departed, vowing vengeance on Mountfort. They loitered about the player's house till midnight. As he approached his home lord Mohun met him in Norfolk-street, entering into friendly conversation. Hill came behind, struck Mountfort on the head, and then ran him through the body. The Grand Jury found a true bill against Mohun and Hill for the murder. Hill escaped. The judges, at the request of Carmarthen, who presided at the trial, had given the opinion upon the case to which Evelyn alludes.

* Cibber's "Apology."

The King and Court at Versailles

CHAPTER XI.

Ministerial Changes—Preparations for the Campaign—Louis and William with their Armies—Louis returns to Versailles—Battle of Landen—Naval Miscarriages—A Ministry formed—Government by Party—Preponderance of the Whigs—Financial difficulties—Establishment of the Bank of England—Expedition against Brest—Illness of the Queen—Her Death.

KING WILLIAM had closed the Session of the English Parliament on the 14th of March. He had made some important changes in official appointments. Sir John Somers had been promoted to the dignity of Keeper, the great seal having been so long in commission, that "all people were now grown weary" of the dilatory and expensive proceedings in Chancery.* Russell was removed from the command of the fleet; for, in consequence of fierce differences between him and Nottingham, the Secretary of State, they could

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 187.

not have held office together. At this juncture Burnet notices the formation of a party "that studied to cross and defeat every thing." One of the principal leaders of this party was sir Christopher Musgrave, who "upon many critical occasions gave up some important points, for which the king found it necessary to pay him very liberally." * The memory of this senator has been preserved from the utter oblivion to which such patriotism is best consigned, by four lines of the great satirist of the next reign :—

> "Once, we confess, beneath the patriot's cloak,
> From the crack'd bag the dropping guinea spoke,
> And jingling down the back-stairs told the crew
> Old Cato is as great a rogue as you." †

The amount of business done in this way was very considerable. The bribe at Kensington was too often found necessary to neutralise the bribe from Versailles. William grew more and more cynical and sullen under these degrading affairs of state-craft, and gladly rushed away to hunt in Holland or to fight in Belgium.

His Most Christian Majesty—"Jupiter en personne"—is again about to take the field. What privations he is now to undergo for the glory of France! He is fifty-seven years of age. He had been fifty-two years king; but his real sovereign power did not commence till the great minister, Mazarin, had closed his long career of intrigue. Then the magnificent sovereign burst forth in all the grandeur that can result from the implicit belief of one man that he is born to uncontrolled command, and that all that remains for millions of subject beings is to obey. The first maxim of government that Louis laid down was that kings are absolute lords; that all property was theirs; that the lives of their subjects were theirs also. He had the old feudal nobility of France at his feet. Their political power had burnt out in the wars of La Fronde. All that was left to them were their exclusive privileges, and their capacity of grinding the occupiers of land by every variety of exaction. They had nothing in common with the great body of the people; they had no common rights to maintain; they were no longer the protectors of the vassals from a greater tyranny than their own. All the miseries of feudalism remained, with none of its security. The great lords of the soil had all become the slaves of the court. They were yet, to a certain extent, brave and warlike. They fought in their embroidery at Steinkirk, as their fathers had fought in their armour at Agincourt. But their reckless gallantry had no higher principle for its support than that of the liveried menial whose bravery is founded upon the arrogance and ostentation of his master. Their adulation of their *grand monarque* was in some respects a trade. He was the fountain of all honour and all preferment; the grosser their flatteries the more certain their rewards. He was the sun that imparted life to all within its sphere. Where that sun did not shine, there was one universal thick darkness. But where did it not shine? It was the great central power that vivified all France. The sun rose upon France when the chief valet went forth from the royal bedchamber and said, "the king is awake." Then the princes of the blood, and the dukes and counts who were waiting in the antechamber, enter in solemn state, with the pages of the

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 190.

† Pope, "Epistle on the Use of Riches."

wardrobe, who bear the surtouts and the wigs, with other inferior habiliments that majesty may condescend to wear. As the sublime operations of shaving and hand-washing go forward, those who have the privilege of "la première entrée" gather round to behold how the Phœbus of France is gradually unfolding its beams. As that sun becomes more and more brilliant, "les grandes entrées" take place, and marshals and bishops look on with humble adoration while a duke hands Louis his shirt, and a marquis assists him to pull on his stockings. The waistcoat, the coat, the blue ribbon, and the sword, complete the courtly investiture of this more than mortal, who stands in the relation of Providence to France.* Such was the morning opening of the terrible routine day of Versailles—of its dreary etiquettes—its heartless splendours—its odious profligacies—the absolute king himself the merest slave of the artificial life which he enforced as the basis of his power. From such a monotony the king of France is about to seek relief in once more looking upon the pomp and circumstance of war. He departs from Versailles with his vast cavalcade of ladies, of cooks and valets, of actors and musicians. He puts himself at the head of the army of Boufflers, whilst Luxemburg with another army is near at hand.

On the 24th of March William left London to embark at Harwich. The wind was contrary, and he returned for a few days to Kensington. The court life of that suburban residence is as striking a contrast to the court life of Versailles, as the little villa is insignificant itself when compared with the proud palace of the French king. The Kensington which William bought of lord Nottingham was then surrounded with only twenty-six acres of plantations and gardens—"a patched building," says Evelyn. Another observer of the time says, "the walks and grass are very fine." Queen Mary directed the laying out of the gardens, and William rejoiced to watch the growth of the evergreens in which he delighted. It was a seat well suited for a king of simple tastes. Versailles was well suited for an ostentatious king, who counted it amongst his great works to have expended ten millions in subjugating nature by art—building a vast palace, and creating magnificent gardens, in a desert of sand and swamp.† A few days' quiet, and William is again hurrying with small retinue to the Hague. He has, as usual, to unite the discordant members of the confederacy; to soothe the rivalries of princes who each wanted some supreme command; to tempt some with money, some with promised honours. At the beginning of June Louis was with the army of Boufflers, who had taken up a position at Gembloux. The ladies of the court were left in safety within the walls of Namur. The other army commanded by Luxemburg was only half a league distant from that of Boufflers. William had entrenched himself near Louvain. He had thus posted himself to prevent an advance of the French upon Liège or upon Brussels. However inferior in numbers, he was resolved to hazard a battle if the enemy should advance. He took no sanguine view of his situation when such a mighty force was so near, having a perfect command of supplies. St. Simon, who was serving in this campaign as a captain of cavalry, says of William, "we have since known that he wrote several times to his intimate friend, the

* De Tocqueville says of the centralising system, "The French Government having thus assumed the place of Providence." † St. Simon.

prince de Vaudemont, that he was lost—that he could only escape by a miracle." Luxemburg urged Louis to advance. To the astonishment of the French armies the king announced his determination, on the 8th of June, to return to Versailles, and to send part of the great force into Germany. St. Simon attributes this resolution to the remembrance of the tears which Madame de Maintenon had shed at their parting, and to the letters in which she urged the return of her royal lover or husband. The same shrewd witness of what was clearly regarded as pusillanimity in the great king, describes the bursts of laughter amongst friends, the sneers, the whispered indignation, which even the most extravagant loyalty could not suppress. Louis retraced his steps to Namur, and on the 25th of June he arrived with his ladies at Versailles.

Boufflers had left the army of the Netherlands with the detached force sent to the Rhine. Luxemburg was now in the sole command of the French army, which was still superior to that of William. But this ablest of the generals of Louis by his skilful manœuvres contrived to weaken William's force. William had learnt that Luxemburg was advancing to lay siege to Liège, and he determined to detach a large body to assist in its defence, leaving his own entrenched camp near Louvain, and marching with his remaining fifty thousand men to a favourable position on the river Gette. The feint of Luxemburg was successful. He suddenly turned from the road to Liège; and on the 28th of July, William was aware that he had been deceived, and that the enemy was coming fast upon him with a greatly superior army. He would not retreat. All that could be done was to strengthen his position. In one night of incessant labour entrenchments had been thrown up; redoubts had been constructed; the hedges and mud walls of the two villages which the allies occupied had been converted into barricades. "It is incredible," says St. Simon, "that in so few hours, such an extent of regular defences could have been created." On the morning of the 29th of July, their value was to be tested.

When Luxemburg suddenly changed his apparent determination to move upon Liège, he ordered the fascines to be burnt, with which each battalion had been provided for the siege. By a rapid march of eight leagues he had reached a plain within hearing of the multitudinous sounds of William's camp. All the night these noises were heard, and "we began to fear," says St. Simon, "that the enemy was about to retreat." The sun had scarcely risen when the batteries of the allied army gave effectual proof that no flight was meditated. The French artillery could not be brought up till an hour afterwards. "We then began to see," says St. Simon, "that the affair would be difficult." The allies occupied the heights, and the two villages of Neerwinden and of Bas-Landen, one on the right and the other on the left. A long entrenchment, on the high ground, connected one village with the other. As the French cavalry advanced, the batteries from their commanding entrenchment did great execution. The great struggle was for the possession of these villages, especially of Neerwinden. The French infantry attacked with the impetuosity of their nation, and they were repulsed by the English characteristic obstinacy. At Neerwinden their general Montchevreul was killed, and the young duke of Berwick was taken prisoner. The French cavalry endeavoured to force the entrenchments, and were suffered to approach within

pistol-shot of the allied infantry, when, says St. Simon, "the enemy gave such a well-directed volley, that the horse wheeled round, and retired faster than they came." During four hours had this struggle been carried on. Twice had the French infantry been repulsed, and thrice the French cavalry. St. Simon relates how Luxemburg called the princes of the blood, and his fellow marshals, to a conference at a spot out of reach of the cannon of the allies, and there for half an hour earnestly debated what course should be adopted, under the circumstances of such obstinate resistance. A third time it was resolved to attack Neerwinden, but with such an overwhelming force as should carry the victory, if victory were to be won. The household troops of Louis, headed by the prince of Conti, attacked with irresistible fury. When they had carried the walled gardens and cleared the entrenched street, the carbineers and the cavalry poured in. The allies began to retreat as the French gained possession of Neerwinden, from the top of whose clock-tower the curé of the village looked down upon the terrible struggle. Suddenly William appeared at the head of his English guards; and the famous household troops of France, "until now invincible" says St. Simon, gave way before him. But all was in vain. The entrenchments of the main line could not be adequately defended, whilst the brunt of the conflict had to be borne in the two villages on the extreme right and left. The line was broken; a retreat was necessary; but it was not a disorderly retreat. William, according to the sober narrative of St. Simon, fought to the last, and he with the elector of Bavaria passed over the bridge which the allies had constructed over the Gette, when he saw that there was no reasonable hope in a further contest. A more enthusiastic relation thus paints the king: "Gallant mortal! This moment, now that all is lost, I see him galloping across me, corporal, to the left, to bring up the remains of the English horse along with him to support the right, and tear the laurel from Luxemburg's brows, if yet 'tis possible—I see him with the knot of his scarf just shot off, infusing fresh spirit into poor Galway's regiment—riding along the line—then wheeling about, and charging Conti at the head of it—Brave! brave by heaven! cried my uncle Toby,—he deserves a crown." It is the fire of genius which thus lights up the traditions of Sterne's boyhood. The daring of William, "when all was lost," was not "to tear the laurel from Luxemburg's brow," but to cover the retreat of his scattered forces, as they had to cross the temporary bridges, or plunge into the fords and climb the steep banks of the Gette. The exhausted victors remained upon the ground they had won. There had been twelve hours of fighting. Twenty thousand of both armies fell in that terrible battle-field, which the French call Neerwinden and the English call Landen. The victory of Luxemburg had no direct results. The retreat of William involved no greater disaster. He was not a fortunate general, but no one could deny his courage and his indomitable energy. He was one of those who possess the rare faculty of considering no misfortune, however severe, to be irretrievable. On the night of the battle he wrote a note to his friend Portland, in which he says, "These are great trials, which God has been pleased to send me in quick succession. I must try to submit to His pleasure without murmuring, and to deserve His anger less." In three weeks he had gathered all his forces around him at Brussels. The detachment that had been unfortunately sent to Liège had joined the head-quarters in safety.

The crisis, William said, had been terrible; but he thanked God it had ended no worse. The only successful result of the campaign in which Louis took the field with a hundred and forty thousand men, to sweep the allies from the Netherlands, was the taking of Charleroy, to which siege William offered no opposition. The biographer of James pours out his complaints that the court of France had not availed itself of the advantages gained over the Allies, especially "at the famous battle of Landen," to be zealous in the matter of his restoration to the crown of England; "for there never was greater hopes of terrifying the English into their duty than at this time." His Most Christian Majesty did not avail himself of the favourable occasion. James had published a Declaration in April, which promised all sorts of good things to his rebellious subjects, in which promises no one confided. The dream so long indulged of "terrifying the English into their duty" was the last hope; and that was doomed to disappointment. The French, says the biographer of James, "began to be so weary of the war, and were indeed so terrified themselves by the great scarcity which happened that year, that his Most Christian Majesty thought fit to make offers of peace, by mediation of the crown of Denmark." He adds, "It is not improbable but when the English saw the French so disheartened after such mighty advantages, that it allayed their apprehensions of the king's being forced upon them, and consequently their endeavours of restoring him themselves." *

During the absence of the king, England had undergone other disasters besides that of Landen. She saw the operation of the Allies unsuccessful in every quarter. The French army which had been detached from Gembloux crossed the Rhine, and enabled another French force to take Heidelberg, and repeat the ravages which had previously disgraced their arms in the Palatinate. Catalonia was invaded, and the fortress of Rosas was taken by the French. The duke of Savoy sustained a memorable defeat at Marsiglia. Worst of all, through the mismanagement of naval affairs, the rich Smyrna fleet of English and Dutch merchantmen, which was to be convoyed by English and Dutch men-of-war, was intercepted by Tourville, and captured, destroyed, or scattered. In the utter want of correct intelligence, the English admirals, Killigrew and Delaval, had thought the squadron safe when they had sailed to a certain point beyond Ushant; for they believed that Tourville was in Brest harbour. He had come out, and had joined the Toulon fleet. Rooke, against his remonstrances, was left with a very inadequate force, and the other admirals sailed homeward, ready to avert any attempt upon the English coasts. Off Cape St. Vincent Rooke learnt that a French fleet was in the bay of Lagos. He soon found himself in presence of an enemy of four times his strength. The Dutch fought bravely, while Rooke made all speed with part of his unfortunate convoy to Madeira. The loss to the mercantile interest of England and Holland was enormous. The suffering merchants of London sent a deputation to the queen, to pray for inquiry into the cause of this misfortune; and Mary's conciliatory reply disarmed some portion of the anger of the people. It was a time of great excitement. Violent pamphlets against the government were scattered abroad from secret presses. A printer named William Anderson was indicted

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 516.

for high treason, was convicted, and was executed. It requires a rather violent stretch of historical partisanship to affirm that such a conviction was legal, although the tracts inculcated a general insurrection, and the nation was exhorted to free itself from its tyrant. There was no proof of the printing of these tracts at the press of Anderson beyond what resulted from a comparison of the impressions of the types used with the types seized on his premises. Even if the proof of printing had been complete, we may conclude that there is "much danger in the construction which draws printed libels, unconnected with any conspiracy, within the pale of treason, and especially the treason of compassing the king's death, unless where they directly tended to his assassination." * The punishment of Anderson only increased the virulence of the Jacobite pamphleteers, as must ever be the case when extreme punishments are resorted to as the readiest means of prevention for political offences. The hanging of Anderson in London, and the torturing of Nevil Payne in Edinburgh,† did more injury to the cause of William than the defeats of Steinkirk or Landen. He came to put down the injustice and cruelty of arbitrary power; and yet, said his enemies with some truth, tyranny still walks abroad under the mask of freedom.

At the beginning of November William was again at Kensington. The Parliament was to meet on the 7th. A great change in the administrative system of England was about to take place. The king for five years had endeavoured to govern by choosing his ministers from each of the two great parties of the State; sometimes giving the preponderance to the Whigs, at other times to the Tories. These ministers carried on the public affairs of their several departments without very well defined principles of action, amidst personal hatreds and jealousies which were too often highly injurious to the national interests. An experiment was now to be made to substitute for this individual direction of public affairs the administration of a party. The heads of departments were to be united by some common consent upon political principles. "Party divisions," says Burke, "whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government." He held it to be a duty for public men "to act in party," with all the moderation consistent with vigour and fervency of spirit,‡—a duty not very easy at any time, and almost impossible in the earlier stages of representative government, when all were going through a sort of education in constitutional principles. William was about to change some of his ministers; at the same time to select new advisers from those who would "act in party;" who would submit their own wills to a general agreement; who would constitute what we now understand as a Ministry, whose possession of power under the authority of the sovereign, and with the command of a parliamentary majority, implied the superior influence of the general principles which constituted their bond of political union. William had become convinced that he could best carry on his government through the party which had mainly accomplished the Revolution. He would not compose his administration

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," chap. xv.

† We omitted to mention (*ante*, p. 131) that the warrant for the torture of Nevil Payn bears William's signature; a mere formal act, perhaps, but one which attaches obloquy to his memory.

‡ "Observations on a late State of the Nation."

exclusively of Whigs, but there should be such a preponderance of those who held Whig principles, that the Tory party, so closely bordering upon the Jacobite party, should be neutralised in what we may now call a Cabinet. The functions of the Privy Council had become merged in the Cabinet Council. In a debate in 1692, on Advice given to the king, one member exclaimed, "Cabinet Council is not a word to be found in our law-books. We knew it not before. We took it for a nickname." * Another member described what the Cabinet was: "The method is this; things are concerted in the Cabinet, and brought and put upon them for their assent, without showing any of the reasons. That has not been the method of England. If this method be, you will never know who gives advice." † The objectors to a Cabinet desired that every counsellor should, in the acts of Council, set his hand to assent or dissent. This was to secure individual responsibility for evil measures—a responsibility which has vanished in the united responsibility of a Ministry. However strong was the Parliamentary jealousy of a Cabinet, the exclusion of the Privy Council from the real business of the State became more and more established in the reign of William. But the jealousy remained. In a clause of the Statute of the 12 & 13 Will. III., "for the further Limitation of the Crown," it was enacted, that "all matters and things relating to the well-government of the kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council, by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there." This was a prospective clause, to take effect after the succession contemplated by the Act. It was repealed by the 4 & 5 of Anne, c. 20, where the clause is recited.‡ To make the supreme administration of affairs—the questions of armaments that required profound secresy, and of diplomacy whose success depended upon ministerial reserve—"properly cognizable in the Privy Council," has been impossible even if it had been salutary, since the power and influence of England gradually assumed the extension and proportions which began to characterise her policy subsequent to the Revolution. As representative government gradually compelled the sovereign to choose an administration founded upon the preponderance of a party, so this administration by party gradually broke up that unseemly division of the servants of the Crown into factions, which was occasionally manifested until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earl of Sunderland had become a confidential adviser of king William. "By his long experience," says Burnet, "and his knowledge of men and things, he had gained an ascendancy over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had." § Sunderland's "knowledge of men and things" had been acquired in a long course of shaping his opinions by his conviction of what he thought the most expedient and profitable system for his own advancement and security. He had publicly supported the most tyrannous actions of James, however he might have secretly opposed some of them. To please his master, he had declared himself a Papist. To make himself safe in the Revolution which he saw at hand, he had betrayed

* Waller, "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 731.

† Wharton, "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 733.

‡ Curiously enough, the clause does not appear in the Act of William, as given in the "Statutes of the Realm."

§ "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 215.

that master. He vanished from the scene of active politics when William became king, retired to Holland, and again declared himself a Protestant. He was excluded from William's Act of Grace as one of the chief instruments of the late tyranny. But he came back to England, and made himself a necessity for the new government. He had cut off all hope of being reconciled to the Jacobite party; he could be very useful to the party of the Revolution. "His long experience" made him master of all the complications of political action. He was the representative in 1693 of that class of unprincipled politicians of which Talleyrand was the representative when the Bourbons were restored to France. His advice was not to be despised, however the man might be odious. Speaker Onslow, in his Notes upon Burnet, says, "I remember to have heard from a great personage, that when the earl of Sunderland came afterwards to be in king William's confidence, and pressed him very much to trust and rely more upon the Whigs than he had done, the king said, he believed the Whigs loved him best, but they did not love monarchy; and though the Tories did not like him so well as the others, yet, as they were zealous for monarchy, he thought they would serve his government best. To which the earl replied, that it was very true that the Tories were better friends to monarchy than the Whigs were, but then his majesty was to consider that he was not their monarch." * Sunderland, out of his knowledge of men and things, knew that the republican party had ceased to exist; and William saw that Sunderland's distinction between the affection for monarchy, and the love of the monarch de facto, was a sound one. William did trust and rely more upon the Whigs than he had done. Somers had been made his Keeper of the Great Seal; the choice was wise. The attorney's son had rendered the highest service in that great crisis which was to establish the government of England upon the basis of law. He was the leader of his party, as much by his moderation as by his eloquence and learning. Russell, who had more than once been tempted to betray the government he served, but when the hour of trial came did his duty to his country, was restored to the command of the fleet. Thomas Wharton, the son of a puritan peer, had led a life of dissipation in the time of Charles the Second, and continued his course of profligacy under the sober régime of William. The man was hated, and yet he was popular. The hate with which he was regarded by the Tories was perhaps the result of his political consistency. When he died, a Tory wrote his elegy:—

> "Farewell, old bully of these impious times,
> True pattern of the Whigs, and of their crimes." †

With Somers, Russell, and Wharton was joined, in William's new ministry, Charles Montague. He had cast off the honours of a second-rate poet to become a first-class politician. His parliamentary eloquence was almost unrivalled. His financial abilities were more necessary to a government conducting a most expensive war, even than his eloquence. One more Whig was to be won, and he was Shrewsbury. He resigned the office of Secretary of State in 1690, when William favoured the Tories. He had been tampered with from St. Germains, and was faithless to his trust. But he had seen his

* Burnet, Oxford edition, vol. iv. p. 5.
† "The Lord Whiglove's Elegy," 1715.

error, and was now to be called back by William to a hearty allegiance. The seals were again offered to Shrewsbury. The king had a personal regard for him; but he refused to accept the office which Nottingham had relinquished. Before the meeting of Parliament a lady wrote to him, by the king's command: "He assured me," says her letter, "that when he valued any body as he did you, he could easily forget some mistakes." * Again Shrewsbury refused office. A female friend of this lady wrote to the coy earl, hinting that a dukedom would be the reward of his compliance. The ladies persevered for several months, and at last Shrewsbury yielded, and had his dukedom and the Garter. The chief female negotiator on the part of the king was Mrs. Villiers,—one whom the scandal of the time regards as his mistress—one of whom Burnet makes no direct mention, but to whom he is supposed to have alluded when he says of the prince of Orange and Mary, in 1686, that "the perfect union between them had of late been a little embroiled." Elizabeth Villiers, maid of honour to the princess of Orange—afterwards married to the earl of Orkney—was a woman of remarkable ability, with whom Swift delighted to talk for hours; who, in 1713, gave the great writer her picture; but who was not formed for the usual female conquests, however great her mental powers. "I think," writes Swift to Stella, "the devil was in it the other day when I talked to her of an ugly squinting cousin of hers, and the poor lady herself, you knows, squints like a dragon." †

The king and his new ministers did not shrink from demanding from the Parliament a larger supply than ever for carrying on the war. Eighty-three thousand troops were voted for the service of 1694; and the naval estimates were also largely increased. The Whig majority in the House of Commons was strong enough to bear down all unreasonable opposition. There were violent debates on the naval miscarriages, but no blame was thrown on the conduct of the late disastrous campaign. How to raise the large sums necessary to maintain the land and sea forces was a matter of anxious discussion. A land-tax, a poll-tax, stamp-duties, a tax on hackney coaches, and a lottery, were the expedients. High and low were the adventurers in this new system of state gambling, as Evelyn records: "In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, sir R. Haddock, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, had the greatest lot, 3000*l.*; my coachman, 40*l.*" But money was still wanting. The necessity gave birth to one of the greatest public establishments of this or any other country, the Bank of England.

The Statute under which this national institution was formed bears a very ambiguous title: "An Act for granting to their majesties several rates and duties upon tonnage of ships and vessels, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds towards the carrying on the war against France." ‡ The subscribers for the advance of a loan, upon the conditions set forth, were to be constituted a corporate body "by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England." The money really required to be advanced was twelve hundred thousand pounds. § The subscription list was filled in ten days. The trad-

* Coxe, "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 20.
‡ 5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. c. 20.
† "Journal to Stella," letter liv.
§ *Ante*, p. 40.

ing community had been sufficiently prepared for a right appreciation of the project which was carried in the House of Commons by the energy of Montague. The scheme of a Bank had been the subject of discussion for three years. William Paterson—a man whose name is associated with this most successful scheme of a great national bank for England, and with another most unfortunate project of a great national system of colonisation for Scotland—had in 1691 submitted proposals to the government somewhat similar to the plan which was carried out in 1694. His scheme was ably supported amongst commercial men by Michael Godfrey, an eminent London merchant; and when the government at last adopted it, Godfrey's influence in the city was as useful as Montague's eloquence in Parliament. The original plan of a national bank was met by every sort of objection. Some said it was a new thing, and they did not understand it. Others said the project came from Holland, and there were too many Dutch things already.* In 1694, "the men who were supposed to have most money opposed and appeared against it [the bank] with all their might, pretending it could not do without them, and they were resolved never to be concerned." † Tories said that a bank and a monarchy could not exist together. Whigs said that a bank and liberty were incompatible, for that the Crown would command the wealth of the bank. A clause was introduced in the Act, which prevented the Bank of England making loans to the government without authority of Parliament, which neutralised the Whig objection. With this restriction the Bank of England has yet, in all times, been a powerful ally of the government. The system of small loans came to an end, as thus described in a paper called "The Wednesday Club," written by Paterson himself, as his biographer affirms: "The state officers and privy counsellors of that time were brought to stoop so low as to become frequent solicitors to the Common Council of London, to borrow only £100,000 or £200,000 at a time, on the part payment of the land-tax, all payable within two years, and then to stipulate and receive guineas at 22*s.* per piece, besides still further securing allowances on such occasions, which one may suppose to have been considerable. As the state-officers deigned to become suitors to the Common Council, so were the particular Common Councilmen to the inhabitants of their respective wards, going from house to house, as our parish officers do in case of briefs for fire, for building and repairing churches, or the like." ‡

The king prorogued the Parliament on the 25th of April, and again set but for the Continent at the beginning of May. The campaign was in no degree remarkable for its gains or its losses. But the French had been arrested in their march to European dominion. They were held at bay. The naval plan of warfare was vigorously conceived in the cabinet of William, but it was defeated by what was once thought accident, but which is now proved to have been treachery. A great French fleet under Tourville had sailed from Brest to the Mediterranean. A portion of the allied fleet of English and Dutch under Russell was to look after Tourville, and another portion under Berkeley was to form a secret expedition. Troops commanded by Talmash were taken on board Berkeley's squadron. The two admirals parted company west of Cape Finisterre. Russell sailed to the Mediterranean; Berkeley to Brest,

* Bannister's "Life of William Paterson," p. 100. † *Ibid.* p. 96. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 97.

which it was supposed was left without adequate defence. Berkeley and Talmash would not credit the report of their own officer, that the French were prepared for their reception. Eight English vessels entered Camaret bay; and were received with the fire of many batteries. Talmash attempted to land his soldiers from boats; when strong bodies of cavalry and infantry appeared on the beach, and drove them back in confusion. The cannon of the fortifications that had been constructed in a few weeks, swept away more than a thousand brave English. Talmash himself was mortally wounded, but lived to reach Portsmouth, whither the armament had returned in all haste. The discomfiture was caused by the purpose of the expedition having become known to the French government. Vauban had been sent to Brest, and his science and promptitude had soon defended the entrance from the bay to the harbour with bombs and cannon, placed in the most commanding positions. William at the end of June wrote to Shrewsbury from the camp of Roseback, "You may easily conceive my vexation when I learnt the repulse our troops had experienced in the descent near Brest; and although the loss is very inconsiderable, yet in war it is always mortifying to undertake anything that does not succeed." * A few days later the king wrote: "I am indeed extremely affected with the loss of poor Talmash; for although I do not approve of his conduct, yet I am of opinion that his too ardent zeal to distinguish himself induced him to attempt what was impracticable." † It is asserted that the resolution to attack Brest was betrayed to James by Godolphin, and also by a letter from Marlborough.‡ Of Marlborough's treachery to his country there is the unquestionable evidence of a letter written by him to James on the 4th of May, in which he says, that it has that day come to his knowledge that the expedition preparing at Portsmouth, is to be commanded by Talmash, and designed to burn the harbour of Brest, and to destroy the men of war that are there. He then says, "This would be a great advantage to England; but no consideration ever can, or shall, hinder me from letting you know what I think may be for your service."§ That Marlborough had in view the destruction of a rival general, Talmash, is to load his memory with a charge of guilt even more atrocious than his systematic perfidy in affairs of state. Yet he did not lose a moment in soliciting a return to high employment when Talmash was no more. In a letter of Shrewsbury to the king, he says: "It is impossible to forget what is here become a very general discourse, the probability and conveniency of your majesty receiving my lord Marlborough into your favour. He has been with me since this news, to offer his service, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable." ‖ William gave a very short answer to the recommendation of his Secretary of State: "As to what you wrote in your last letter concerning lord Marlborough, I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to entrust him with the command of my troops." ¶ The failure at Brest was attempted to be retrieved by miserable expeditions against defenceless towns on the French coast. Dieppe, Havre, and Calais

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 45. † *Ibid.* p. 46.

‡ Dalrymple.

§ "Life of James," vol. ii. p. 522. Macpherson also prints the letter in his "Original Papers."

‖ "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 47. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 53.

were bombarded. This wretched mode of attack upon an enemy's harmless people, though begun by the French, was felt to be useless and exasperating —"a cruel and brutish way of making war,—an action totally adverse to humanity or Christianity." *

William returned from the Continent on the 9th of November. He had to learn, what is as damaging to a government as an unsuccessful attempt in war, that a State trial under a special commission at Manchester, of some Lancashire gentlemen accused of high treason, had resulted in an acquittal. The government was set on to this prosecution by one of those dangerous spies that always start up in unquiet times, and too often foment the conspiracies they are employed to discover. Before the trial, after swords and armour had been found in old houses, and arrests had been made, this Lancashire plot was turned into ridicule. At the trial the chief informer, when his brother spy had given evidence against the prisoners, swore that the alleged plot was an invention of their own. The counsel for the Crown threw up his brief; the prisoners were acquitted; and the presiding judges were hooted as they left Manchester.

The Parliament was opened by the king on the 12th of November. The Commons adjourned for a week. When they met for business, they applied themselves in earnest to vote the Supplies, and to discuss a Bill "for the more frequent meeting and calling of Parliament." This is the famous Triennial Bill which the king had rejected by his Veto in one Session of Parliament, and which the Commons had refused to pass in another Session. The Bill was now passed by both Houses without much opposition. On the 22nd of December, William came to Westminster. Great was the anxiety to know what words would now be uttered by the officer who spoke that voice of the Crown which confirmed or disallowed a measure of the two Houses. The words uttered were the old form of Assent, "Le roy et la royne le veulent." The king looked unhappy, but it was not a disquietude of state which moved him. Queen Mary was dangerously ill at Kensington.

Shilling of William and Mary.

"The small-pox raged this winter about London," writes Burnet. To comprehend at this time the significance of the word "raged," we must carry our minds back, far beyond the period when Jenner discovered vaccination—beyond even the period when Lady Mary Wortley Montague made inoculation fashionable. When Burnet adds, that "thousands" were dying of this fatal disease, we must understand him literally. When the small-pox entered a house, it was considered as terrible a visitation as the plague. William

* Evelyn.

went sorrowfully from the Parliament House to Kensington. Mary had been ill two days. She had never had the small-pox; but her regular physicians disputed about the symptoms. Ratcliffe, the most skilful "in all early and quick discovery of a distemper,"—but, "proud of his fame in his profession, which fed his natural haughtiness, and made him think himself above, and refuse the attending of the highest personages when he had taken any prejudice against them,"—declined at first to attend the queen when he was sent for.* He came at last, and pronounced the fatal word "small-pox." William was in despair. "He called me," says Burnet, "into his closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion. He burst out into tears, and cried out that there was no hope of the queen, and that from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature on earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage, he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself." Mary's fortitude and resignation were above all praise. The religious consolations which her faithful friend and counsellor, archbishop Tillotson, would have administered to the dying queen were to be bestowed by his successor, Tenison. Tillotson had died five weeks before. When Tenison made Mary aware of her danger, but with "some address not to surprise her too much," she was perfectly calm. "She thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour." Queen Mary died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. All parties agreed in acknowledging the beauties of her character. Burnet, the Whig, says, "She was the most universally lamented princess, and deserved the best to be so, of any in our age, or in our history." Evelyn, the Tory, writes: "She was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned queen Elizabeth." She had many arduous duties to perform in the repeated absences of the king; and not the least important was the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. With a deep sense of religion she marked her preference for those divines who were moderate in their opinions, and earnest in the proper discharge of their high functions. When there were state affairs to attend to, she never shrunk from the proper labours of the sovereign. Her tastes were simple and unostentatious; her morals of unblemished purity; her charity was universal. Her deep attachment to her husband was founded upon her admiration of his high qualities. William's grief for her loss "was greater," says Burnet, "than those who knew him best thought his temper was capable of; he went beyond all bounds in it. When she died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her." Queen Mary was sumptuously interred in Westminster Abbey, although, "on opening a cabinet, a paper was found, wherein she had desired that her body might not be opened, nor any extraordinary expense at her funeral, whenever she should die: this paper was not found in time to be observed."† The funeral cost fifty thousand pounds. A more worthy expenditure of public money in her honour took place when William determined to erect Greenwich Hospital,

* We find this character of Ratcliffe, and his refusal, in Onslow's Notes on Burnet.
† Evelyn. "Diary," March 8.

in compliance with that desire which she had expressed after the battle of La Hogue, to provide an asylum for disabled seamen. Mary, in following the fortunes of her husband and accepting with him the sovereign power of these kingdoms to the exclusion of her father, discharged a higher duty even than that of filial affection. But she was always solicitous for that father's personal safety. The paltriness of James's character was manifested upon his daughter's decease, in a manner which St. Simon thus records: "The king of England [James] prayed the king [Louis] that the Court should not wear mourning. All those who were related to the prince of Orange, including M. de Bouillon and M. de Duras, were forbidden to wear it. They obeyed and were silent; but this sort of revenge was considered very petty."

Costume of Queen Mary. From two Prints of the time

Great Seal of William III.

CHAPTER XII.

Extreme grief of William—Parliamentary Corruption—War in the Netherlands—Siege of Namur by the Allies—Namur taken—William's reception in England—State of the Currency—A new Parliament—Measures for a new Coinage—Trials for Treason regulated by Law—The Assassination Plot.

The death of the queen appears to have prostrated William. Shrewsbury could hardly approach him, till, a month after, in consequence of "the retired manner his majesty has lived in since his last great misfortune." * His "former application to business" had not yet returned with the healing power of strenuous occupation. His political correspondence with the Grand Pensionary of Holland was suspended. The general before whom he retreated at Landen was no more: the strange life of Luxemburg—the crook-backed voluptuary who appeared to have no higher object than sensual ease, but who on the battle-field was all fire and decision—came to an end. Louis thought that William would rejoice. William heeded not this important event; and expressed his belief that he himself was no longer fit for military command. The French court sent Harlay, the president of the Parliament of Paris, to sound the Dutch as to the possibility of a peace. Pale and very thin was the envoy. Are you a sample, said the rough republicans, of the wretched condition of France? Let me send for my wife, replied the clever lawyer, and she will give you a notion of our thriving state.† Harlay, who had no

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 218.

† St. Simon.

accredited mission, did not put the Dutch in good humour by his joke. There was still to be a struggle before peace was established.

William gradually recovered his serenity. The Houses of Parliament went on as usual with their labours. The proposed renewal of the Licensing Act was rejected without a division in the Commons. The press had been more than commonly bold, even seditious. But the representatives of the English people did not choose to interfere with that noble principle which, half a century before, had been proclaimed to all the civilised world by the most eloquent of freedom's advocates: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" *

The proceedings of this Session disclosed, what was no secret to men of all parties, the frightful corruption by which statesmen in power and statesmen in opposition were moved to support or to resist some measure in which large pecuniary interests were involved; or to screen some public delinquent. Guy, a member of Parliament and secretary of the Treasury, was sent to the Tower for receiving a bribe, in connection with some inquiries into the conduct of a colonel of a regiment, who had appropriated the money for which he ought to have paid the quarters of his troops. Trevor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was proved to have received a bribe of a thousand guineas from the Corporation of London, for assisting in passing "An Act for relief of the orphans and other creditors of the City of London" †—that Act under which, when a poor man buys a sack of coals in this winter of 1858, he has still to pay a tax to this long-tolerated phantom of a departed greatness. Trevor had to put the question from the Chair whether he himself was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor; and had to say, "The Ayes have it." He was expelled the House. The East India Company had spent a hundred and seven thousand pounds in secret service money, as an examination of their books had proved to a parliamentary committee. Eighty-seven thousand pounds had thus been distributed in 1693 and 1694. Sir Thomas Cook, the chairman of the Company, had the management of these delicate matters. He was member for Colchester. In his place in Parliament he refused to answer inquiries. The Commons then passed a bill compelling him to answer, under enormous penalties. Upon the bill going to the Upper House, the duke of Leeds—the earl of Danby of Charles II., the marquis of Carmarthen of 1689—spoke strongly against the bill, and laying his hand on his breast, protested that he was perfectly disinterested in the matter. The inquiries went on, implicating others; and the Commons finally impeached Thomas, duke of Leeds, President of the Council, for that he did, "in breach of the great trust reposed in him, by himself, his agents, or servants, corruptly and illegally treat, contract, and agree, with the merchants trading to the East Indies, for five thousand five hundred guineas, to procure their charter of confirmation." ‡ The duke had appeared at the bar of the House, and had to a certain extent acknowledged his delinquency, by admitting that

* Milton. "Areopagitica." † 5 & 6 Gul. and Mar., c. 10.
‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 937.

he had helped a friend to get the money. That friend was one Bales, who admitted that he had received the money to bribe the duke, and had given it to a Swiss, who was the confidential manager of the duke's private business. The Swiss fled; the Parliament was prorogued; and the impeachment fell to the ground. The king's personal friend, Portland, was found to have been proof against these temptations, having refused a bribe of fifty thousand pounds.

The king was no doubt rejoiced to get away from this tainted atmosphere to the bracing air of a campaign. He was first reconciled to the princess Anne, and then departed for the continent; having, when he prorogued the Parliament on the 3rd of May, said, "I will take care to place the administration of affairs, during my absence, in such persons on whose care and fidelity I can entirely depend." The duke of Leeds was not one of those persons. Burnet, writing in the reign of queen Anne, says of the princess, "now that he [William] was to go beyond sea, she was not set at the head of the councils, nor was there any care taken to oblige those about her." * The bishop no doubt alludes to Marlborough and his duchess; and adds, "this looks either like jealousy and distrust, or a coldness towards her." Lord Dartmouth, in a note upon this passage, says, "The princess was not only next to him in succession, but there was a party which might have made a claim for her against him. She was a very good woman, and not likely of herself to give in to it. But she was not of the strongest understanding, and always influenced by others, who might have found their account in it." Marlborough took the more prudent course. Shrewsbury writes to Russell that the princess Anne has lost no opportunity of showing her zeal to the king and the government; and that "our friend" [Marlborough] seemed resolved to encourage this union. "I do not see," adds Shrewsbury, "that he is likely at present to get much by it, not having yet kissed the king's hand, but his reversion is very fair and great." †

The energy and perseverance of William were at length to be crowned with success. It was a real advantage to him that Luxemburg was gone. It was a greater advantage that Louis had appointed as his successor an accomplished courtier but a feeble general, Villeroy; and that this sycophant of the great king entrusted an important command to the duke de Maine, the most favoured of the illegitimate children of Louis. But the numbers, and the high discipline, of the French armies would have probably interfered with any signal advantage on the part of the allies, if William had not exercised in this campaign many of the highest qualities of a great commander. The opening of the campaign, says St. Simon, was a beautiful game of chess; the prince of Orange, the elector of Bavaria, and the earl of Athlone moving in detached bodies; and Villeroy, Boufflers, Harcourt, and Montal regulating their own movements by those of their enemy which they saw, or by those which they expected. William, "who had well taken all his measures to cover his main design," suddenly turned his course towards Namur. The elector of Bavaria, and the Brandenburg army, arrived at the same point. That strongest fort of Europe was invested by this united force at the beginning of July. Vauban had materially strengthened the fortifications

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 261.

† "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 220.

since it had been taken by the French. The court of Louis thought William's attempt a rash one, and that it would signally fail. "I was of another opinion," writes St. Simon; "I persuaded myself that a man of the sagacity of the prince of Orange would not commence so important a siege without well seeing how he was to come out of it." William's movement had been so admirably planned and rapidly accomplished, that Boufflers had scarcely time to reinforce the garrison of Namur, and to take the command of the fifteen thousand men who were now within the walls. Villeroy expected to destroy that part of the allied army under Vaudemont which remained in Flanders, and then to relieve Namur. Vaudemont, by consummate prudence —aided by the incompetence and cowardice of the duke de Maine—effected a retreat to Ghent. Villeroy took two small fortresses, Dixmuyde and Deynse, sending their garrisons into France in violation of a convention for exchange of prisoners. He bombarded Brussels, effecting a tremendous destruction of private property, "in reprisal," says St. Simon, "of the attacks on our coasts." He then marched with eighty thousand men to attack the besieging army at Namur; but Vaudemont had joined his force to that already on the banks of the Meuse and Sambre. Meanwhile the siege had proceeded with a vigour almost unparalleled. The letters of William himself furnish the best materials for tracing the progress of the siege, without perplexing ourselves or our readers with "the differences and distinctions between the scarp and counterscarp, the glacis and covered way, the half-moon and ravelin," with which "my uncle Toby did ofttimes puzzle his visitors and sometimes himself too."* In a letter to Shrewsbury, on the 17th of June, the king imparts his design of besieging Namur, "a very great undertaking—God grant that it may succeed."† On the 1st of July, he says, "This night we propose to open the trenches at the gate of St. Nicholas." On the 9th, the English, Scotch, and Dutch battalions carried the lines "which the enemy had constructed to cover their works." On the 18th William writes, "Affairs here go on tolerably well, though not as expeditiously as I could wish. Yesterday, we made our lodgment in the counterscarp, and I now flatter myself that we shall soon be masters of the town. I cannot sufficiently applaud the firmness and valour of the troops. It is very grievous to lose so many brave men, but it cannot be avoided in a siege like this."‡ It was on this occasion that William exclaimed to the elector of Bavaria, who stood by his side, "See my brave English! See my brave English!" On the 28th of July the king writes to his Secretary of State: "Although you will doubtless have heard of the surrender of Namur before you receive this letter, yet I would not omit informing you myself, that we obtained possession of this place this afternoon. The day after to-morrow we shall open the trenches before the citadel, and I hope that God will also bless this enterprise; and that we shall soon be masters of it."§ On the 15th of August Portland writes to Shrewsbury: "The king having slept little last night, and been on horseback the whole day, has ordered me to tell you, sir, that it is impossible for him to write this evening. Affairs here are at a great crisis. The siege of the citadel advances rapidly; the breach begins to

* "Tristram Shandy," vol. i. c. xxvi.

† "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 90

‡ *Ibid.*, p 94.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

be practicable, and I think a little time will render us masters of it, unless the enemy succour it by gaining a battle, since they approach us with a very numerous army." The two armies, that of William and of Villeroy, stood for three days in presence of each other, whilst the siege was proceeding under an incessant bombardment. On the 19th of August, the French army retired. The elector of Bavaria had the immediate charge of the siege, whilst the king was watching Villeroy; and when it was known that the French had moved off, the storm of the citadel of Namur commenced. Portland had summoned Boufflers to surrender upon the retirement of Villeroy, but the French commander still held out. The assault was undertaken by the Bavarians, the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, and the English. The Brandenburgers had amongst their leaders, the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, a young man of nineteen, who afterwards had the honour of introducing important changes in military science. "He invented the iron ramrod; he invented the equal step; in fact, he is the inventor of modern military tactics."* The Dutch and Brandenburgers accomplished their duty with little difficulty. The Bavarians suffered severe loss. The English, under Cutts, were at first driven back; but their intrepid commander, though wounded, led them on again, and they carried a battery which had swept away many in its deadly fire. Two thousand men were sacrificed in this terrible assault. Boufflers demanded a truce to bury the dead. He also intimated a desire to capitulate, but asked for a delay of ten days, when he would yield if not relieved. This request was refused; another storm was threatened; but on the twentieth he agreed to surrender with the honours of war.† On the twenty-sixth of August, the French garrison, now reduced to five thousand men, marched out. But the brave marshal was detained a prisoner. William resolved to keep him till the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be restored. Louis sent full powers to Boufflers to comply; and he was released after ten days' detention. On the day after the surrender William wrote to Shrewsbury, to announce the capture of the citadel of Namur: "With all its circumstances it is assuredly a great event, and we cannot sufficiently offer up our thanks to God for this success, from which we shall doubtless derive considerable advantages."‡ On the same day Portland wrote to Shrewsbury: "The English have greatly signalised themselves in this siege, by their share in the vigorous actions which have occurred, in which they have been *too much* animated by the presence of the king himself. But, thank God, he is very well. The fatigue he has suffered is incredible, as well as the care and trouble he has undergone, and is able to support."§ When we contemplate this feeble-bodied man with the most heroic spirit, one day in the trenches; another day on horseback from morning till night, expecting a battle with Villeroy; we can understand the confidence which he had won, in spite of repeated miscarriages and disappointments. The English, who were never wanting in their estimate of personal bravery, would follow such a leader through every hazard of war.

* Carlyle, "History of Friedrich II.," vol. i. p. 395.

† The reader who compares modern historians will find, in the accounts of this siege, discrepancies as to dates. They proceed from the difference between the old and new styles. We follow in this instance the original narratives which give the old style.

‡ "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 103. § *Ibid.*, p. 104.

The coolness of this model of self-command was amongst his most valuable qualities. One day, when William was in the trenches, the deputy-governor of the Bank of England placed himself at his side. "Mr. Godfrey," said the king, "why do you expose yourself?" The Londoner replied, "Not being more exposed than your majesty, should I be excusable if I showed more concern?" William, who had an especial objection to men going beyond their commission, replied, "I am in my duty, and therefore have a more reasonable claim to preservation." A cannon-ball in a few minutes finished the career of the over-zealous amateur. But whilst we admire the resolution and perseverance of William, and the undaunted courage of all the troops of the allies, we must not forget that much of the success was due to the science of the engineer, Coehorn, the great rival of Vauban. When Namur was taken by the French in 1692, the forts which Coehorn had constructed for its defence could not resist the besiegers. He was now to devise the most scientific means of attack upon works which he had constructed, and which Vauban had perfected. He had the gratification of seeing this place of strength pass out of the hands of the power that had held it for three years.

The return of William to England was hailed by the popular enthusiasm which naturally attends success. The good man struggling with misfortune may be the noblest sight in the world, but it calls forth no huzzas or bell-ringings. The king reached Kensington through the illuminated streets on the night of the 10th of October, and immediately went to business. A Proclamation was issued for a new Parliament. In a week William set forth upon a most unusual mission, to propitiate the people by showing himself amongst them. He visited Newmarket; was entertained by the earl of Sunderland at Althorp, and by the duke of Newcastle at Welbeck. He hunted in Sherwood forest, amidst oaks which tradition associates with the memory of the courteous outlaw, who once reigned there by the title of his long-bow and his broad arrows. He looked upon those towers of Warwick, where the great king-maker gave law, at a time when the throne rested upon feudalism, and representative government was a dream. William was making this holiday tour, to incline those who had to choose representatives to send men well affected to the principles of liberty which had placed him upon the throne. At Oxford he had personally to feel that too often the seats of learning are the last to be illumined by the progressive spirit of a generation—the last to perceive that they are halting whilst the great body of a nation are moving onward. The record of Evelyn is quite sufficient to note this fact: "The king went a progress into the north, to show himself to the people against the elections, and was everywhere complimented, except at Oxford, where it was not as he expected; so that he hardly stopped an hour there, and having seen the Theatre, did not receive the banquet proposed." The elections generally were favourable to the government. The Whig party acquired a considerable accession of strength. The taxes were heavy; the currency of the kingdom was in a frightful state of depreciation; the price of grain was unusually high—and yet the nation manifested no alarming discontent. The Jacobites plotted; but they were as far from success as ever.

Looking at the depreciated state of the coinage in 1696, it is difficult to

say how far the high price of grain was the natural result of a succession of bad seasons. The years from 1692 to 1699 are known as "the seven barren years." In Scotland there was a dearth approaching to famine. Legislation might have had something to do with the high prices. A bounty upon importation was established in 1689, which might not have sufficiently stimulated production to meet the ordinary wants of the people under the extraordinary drain of the war. The average price of wheat from the Restoration to 1691 was about forty-eight shillings a quarter. From 1692 to 1699 the average price was about sixty-two shillings. A very factious member of Parliament, sir John Knight, made a speech in 1694, in which he complains that corn is sent out of the country "for the use of our Dutch allies, to enable them to live cheap, by making the same dear at home." He would have shown a better knowledge of the matter if he had said that the Dutch bought the corn cheaper than the natural rate, through the bounty, and then sold it in England again at a profit. The necessity, however, for feeding the armies abroad must have had a material influence on the market. But even the needful consumption and inevitable waste of four campaigns was not wholly without some compensating good: "In Norfolk and Suffolk, and in Lincolnshire, there was a wonderful improvement in husbandry and tillage; for the war was of great advantage to the farmers, who exported corn into Holland."*

The defective state of the coinage was now to be effectually redressed. The evil had become insupportable. The established prescription of the gallows was found to be no remedy for the disease. In July, 1694, we read, "many executed at London for clipping money, now done to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above half the nominal value." † A writer of the period, who speaks with full knowledge of his subject, says that "the almost fatal symptoms of the general corruption of the silver money, like covered flames or distracted torrents, universally broke out upon the nation, as it were at once. Guineas on a sudden rose to thirty shillings per piece; all currency of other money was stopped; hardly any had wherewith to pay; public securities sank to about a moiety of their original value, and buyers hard to be found even at these prices; no man knew what he was worth; the course of trade and correspondency almost universally stopped; the poorer sort of people plunged into inexpressible distress, and, as it were, left perishing, whilst even the richer had hardly wherewith to go to market for obtaining the common conveniences of life." This writer adds that "the intolerable corruption of the coin was alone sufficient to have provoked any nation on earth to extremities. . . . . Nevertheless, the remainder of gratitude in the people to their deliverer, king William, was even still such, that they bore these inexpressible afflictions with an inimitable temper and patience." ‡ It is difficult to understand these seemingly exaggerated phrases of "fatal symptoms," "inexpressible distress," "intolerable corruption of the coin," without some explanation. Those of us who lived in the latter years of George III. can recollect the time when there was not a sixpence, shilling, or half-crown, in circulation, that was not worn perfectly

* Cunningham. "History," vol. i. p. 153. † Evelyn.
‡ "Wednesday Club," 1717, quoted in Bannister's "Life of Paterson," p. 105.

smooth. These coins, which had originally come from the Royal Mint, were not counterfeits. They passed as counters. But their real value was not tested by their circulation in common with any new coinage. In 1695, of the various coinages of Elizabeth, of James I., and of Charles I., it was computed that five millions were in circulation, in common with about half-a-million of the new coinages of Charles II., James II., and William III. The old money, which had no milled edge, had been gradually clipped, so that at last the current silver coin had been diminished in weight nearly one-half. Of this clipped money four millions were considered to be in circulation; whilst one million six hundred thousand pounds of unclipped coin were hoarded, or only appeared occasionally in remote places.* As fast as new silver coins were issued from the Mint they disappeared. They were worth twice as much as the old clipped coin. Whilst a single unclipped shilling was circulating in the same town with the shilling that was not intrinsically worth more than sixpence, traders would perpetually demand the honest shilling from their customers, and not being able to get it would put a higher price upon their commodities to bear a proportion with the clipped shilling. The labourer who was paid his weekly wages in the depreciated coin could only obtain a small loaf instead of a large one. The dealer who had to make remittances in guineas, or in bills which represented guineas, was obliged to give at least thirty shillings to obtain the guinea. The money-changers and bankers were making large fortunes out of the perplexities of all those who had to sell or to buy. Evelyn grumbles that "Duncombe, not long since a mean goldsmith, had made a purchase of the late duke of Buckingham's estate at near 90,000*l.*, and reputed to have near as much in cash;"

> "And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
> Slides to a scrivener or a city knight." †

The new Parliament was opened on the 22nd of November. The most important part of the king's speech was that in which he said, "I must take notice of a great difficulty we lie under at this time, by reason of the ill state of the coin, the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the nation." How were these words to be interpreted? Was the nation to bear the great loss of converting four millions of money, intrinsically worth only two millions, into money of the true standand? Was the public to sustain a loss of two millions? The subject had been widely agitated. It had been proposed to issue money of less than the intrinsic value to replace the old—to make a ninepenny shilling that would pass for twelvepence. Though the great merchant, Dudley North, who was also a great political economist, opposed the plan that was ultimately carried, he saw that a coin could not be treated as if it were only a counter: "What is true may be remembered, which is, that money went to foreign markets, and would not, as at home, pass by a stamp or denomination, but must be weighty" ‡—must pass at its real weight. He had proclaimed the sound doctrine, "that

* "Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins, 1695," quoted in Tindal, vol. iii., p. 805
† Pope. "Imitations of Horace," Sat. ii.
‡ "Life of Dudley North," p. 172.

debasing the coin is defrauding one another." Locke demolished the theory of the little shilling in a masterly tract. His opinion was, that after a certain time the old money should only pass by weight, and that upon this principle it should be exchanged for a silver coinage of which a shilling should be worth twelvepence. By this plan the State would have effected the restoration of the currency without a national cost,—but at the price of what individual misery! When the House of Commons came to debate this important question, the resolutions proposed by Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were finally agreed to. A new coinage of intrinsic value was to be issued; the loss of the clipped money was to be borne by the public, for which a special fund was to be provided by a house-tax and a window-tax. This was something like a revival of the hearth-money, but cottages were exempt. Up to the 4th of May the clipped money would be received in payment of taxes. The old money had then mostly disappeared · but the

Sir Isaac Newton's House near Leicester Square.

mechanical resources of that time were not sufficient to produce the new money in sufficient quantity to carry on the exchanges of the people. The difficulty was in some measure relieved by the issue of Exchequer-bills. The difficulty was conquered when Newton was appointed Master of the Mint, and by vast exertions, connected with the establishment of provincial mints, gradually sent forth a supply of circulating medium equal to the demand. The distress and confusion had been enormous; but those who had thought the great change was ill-managed, at last said, "better and worse in the means is not to be reflected upon, when a great good is obtained in the end." *

On the day on which the Royal Assent was given to the Re-coinage

* "Life of Dudley North," p. 172.

Bill, the Bill "for regulating trials in cases of Treason and Misprision of Treason" also became law. This salutary measure had been repeatedly lost by the opposition of the Commons to a clause introduced by the Peers, with reference to trials of members of their own order.* The Commons no longer opposed the wishes of the Upper House. One of the most important of the clauses of this Statute, by which some of the injustice of the old modes of trial was obviated was, that prisoners should be admitted to make their defence by counsel learned in the law. History has properly recorded the effect produced by Anthony Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley, the author of the "Characteristics," in his maiden speech in the Commons. When he rose to speak, he hesitated, looked bewildered, was still silent amidst the encouraging cheers of the House, and at last said, "If I, sir, who rise only to give my opinion on the Bill now depending, am so confounded that I am unable to express the least of what I proposed to say, what must the condition of that man be, who, without any assistance, is pleading for his life, and under apprehensions of being deprived of it?" We need not ask whether this stroke of genius was premeditated. Very soon after the meeting of Parliament, an unpleasant question arose which affected the popularity of the king. The Commons, though the factious hostility to William had greatly abated, came to a Resolution to mark their dislike of some token of lavish favour which he had shown to his Dutch friends. He had ordered a grant to the earl of Portland of a magnificent estate in Denbighshire, being a part of the hereditary domain of the Crown. A sensible Address was carried unanimously, in which William was told, that the manors now intended to be granted had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the princes of Wales for their support; and that such grant was in diminution of the honour and interest of the Crown. The king answered the Commons who went up with the Address, "Gentlemen, I have a kindness for my lord Portland, which he has deserved of me by loving and faithful services, but I should not have given him these lands, if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned. I will therefore recal the grant, and find some other way of showing my favour to him." It was well that a constitutional king should learn a lesson which had never been taught to the Stuarts, when they alienated the domains of the Crown for the endowment of their minions and of their illegitimate children.

On the 24th of February the king went to the House of Peers, and told the assembled Lords and Commons, that he was come that day upon an extraordinary occasion: "I have received several concurring informations of a design to assassinate me; and that our enemies at the same time are very forward in their preparation for a sudden invasion of this kingdom." He had given orders, he said, regarding the fleet; he had sent for troops home; some of the conspirators were already in custody, and measures were taken for the apprehension of the rest. The Houses immediately determined upon a joint Address to the king; carried a Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and passed another Bill that the Parliament should not be dissolved by the death of William. It was then resolved in the Commons that the members should enter into an Association, testifying and declaring "that his present

* *Ante*, p. 146.

majesty king William is rightful and lawful king of these realms," and pledging themselves in the following words: "We do mutually promise to engage to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his majesty's most sacred person and government, against the late king James and all his adherents. And in case his majesty come to any violent or untimely death, which God forbid, we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies and their adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession of the Crown, according to an Act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled 'An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the Crown.'" A similar Association was formed by the Peers. But the words "rightful and lawful king of these realms" were changed to these—"That king William hath the right by law to the Crown of these realms; and that neither king James nor the pretended prince of Wales, nor any other person, hath any right whatsoever to the same." Some members of each House hesitated to sign; but they formed a small minority; and the nation generally entered with unwonted cordiality into a similar engagement. The project of the invasion of the kingdom and the concurrent assassination of the king, which thus roused the nation to rally round the throne, was a plot of no ordinary magnitude. There are ample materials for a connected narrative of this event, the most important in some respects of the reign of William; and those documents which recent years have brought to light render some aid in the solution of an interesting historical problem—Whether the atrocious scheme of assassinating his rival was suggested, or adopted, or encouraged directly or indirectly, by James himself.

The original auto-biographical Memoirs of James that touch upon this interesting period have been preserved.* He tells us that having been informed at the beginning of 1696 that the affairs of the prince of Orange did not wear so favourable an aspect as formerly—that the country party gave him trouble and vexation—his own friends, called Jacobites, thought it "a good occasion to blow the coals." These friends proposed that he should land in England with ten or twelve thousand men, when they were sure "the greatest part of the nation would rise and restore him." James communicated this "to His Most Christian Majesty," who promised the troops, but thought it would be best that these ardent Jacobites "should rise first." The narrative thus continues: "Upon this, the duke of Berwick was sent over to head them in case they could be persuaded to rise first; and about the same time several officers, and other persons who had served, desired leave to go over into England and Scotland upon their private concerns." These "gentlemen of the guard" and others, who went over to England upon their private concerns, "had directions to join themselves with any that should rise and declare for the king, being most of them men of experience." The duke of Berwick was the illegitimate son of James.

On the 27th of December, sir George Barclay, a Scot who had served under Dundee, received a Commission from James, which, he says, in his narrative published in the Life of James, "was exactly as follows: 'James R.

* "Life of James," vol. ii., p. 538.

Our will and pleasure is and we do hereby fully authorize, strictly require, and expressly command our loving subjects to rise in arms and make war upon the Prince of Orange the usurper of our throne and all his adherents, and to seize for our use all such forts, towns, strongholds within our dominion of England, as may serve to further our interest, and to do from time to time such other acts of hostility against the P^ce of Orange and his adherents as may conduce most to our service, We judging this the properest, justest, and most effectual means of procuring our restoration and their deliverance; and we do hereby indemnify them for what they shall act in pursuance of this our Royal command. Given at our Court of St. Germains en Laye, the 27th of December, 1695.'" On the 27th of December, Barclay says: "I parted from St. Germains, having none with me but major Holmes, and about the 27th old style [January 6] arrived in London." The narrative of Barclay, in some respects very important, in others very meagre, is to be satisfactorily pieced out by various evidence collected by the ministers of William. In Romney Marsh lived one Robert Hunt, who describes himself as yeoman. He had for some years "been employed by the party in all their correspondence with France." He deposed that Barclay and Holmes came over together some time in January, and about the same time sixteen or eighteen persons came over. At the beginning of February, "a tall young gentleman," who was particularly recommended by one Mr. Pigaut, at Calais, came over alone; and Hunt had heard since, and believed, this person was the duke of Berwick. After Barclay had received the hospitalities of the smuggler's cottage in Romney Marsh, came two men in company, Harris and Hare. Harris deposed that he had served king James in Ireland as an ensign of foot, and since in France. On the 4th of January (new style) king James sent for him, and Hare his comrade; said he should send them to England; he had ordered money for that journey, and they were to follow Barclay's orders. The king then went on to say they would find Barclay every Monday and Thursday evening, between six and seven o'clock, in Covent Garden Square, and might know him by a white handkerchief hanging out of his coat pocket. Looking over a list, James added that they were to go by the names of Jenkins and Guinneys while in England. Harris and Hare met Barclay in London. They were ordered to keep close till there was an occasion for their service, and were put on a sort of establishment at five shillings a day.

We have now traced Barclay to his great scene of action, and may revert to his own official narrative. He became acquainted, soon after his arrival, with Mr. Charnock, who complained to him that he and others had a design on foot which would have facilitated the return of king James, but that his majesty would never permit them to put it in execution. Sir William Parkyns, a few days after, explained what that design was. They wanted nothing but his majesty's leave. "It was to form a party to fall upon the prince of Orange." James, in his own Memoirs, states that in 1693 a proposal had been made to him "of seizing and bringing away the prince of Orange, and of making a rising in and about London"—but he "would not hear of it, looking upon the project as impracticable." It was again proposed, he says, and again rejected. In 1695 it was a third time proposed by one Crosbie, alias Clench, who came from another set of men, who "made no doubt of seizing the prince of Orange and carrying him off, but desired a warrant signed by his majesty to empower

them to do it." James, as he says, rejected this matter, and charged Crosbie not to meddle in it. This very "indiscreet and insolent man," as the Memoir goes on to say, went not only to his own club, but to several of another club, "as Mr. George Porter, Goodman, sir William Parkyns, and Charnock; engaged them to join with him; and, to gain the greater credit and reputation with them, assured them that an order would speedily be sent to him for the executing of it." When Charnock and Parkyns opened their design to Barclay "to fall upon the prince of Orange,"—something more intelligible than the delicate proposal of "seizing and bringing away the prince of Orange,"—Barclay says, "I did much approve of it, if it could be carried on with that secresy and conduct as a thing of that consequence ought to be; upon which I immediately asked them if it was possible to find so many good men as would be requisite, and would undertake a brave action without asking of questions." They were certain of it. Upon this, the confidential agent of king James produced his commission for "acts of hostility against the prince of Orange." He had parted with his master at St. Germains on the 27th of December, with eight hundred pounds put into his purse; he had no hesitation in interpreting the secrets of the royal mind; he was prompt

> "On the winking of authority,
> To understand a law; to know the meaning
> Of dangerous majesty;" *

and so, he says, "presuming, therefore, upon the commission I had from his majesty to make war upon the prince of Orange and all his adherents, I thought myself sufficiently authorized to engage with them to attack that prince when his guards were about him; upon which I showed them my commission, which they were much pleased with." Barclay, says James, "proposed to attack the prince of Orange with forty horse on the road as he went to or came from hunting at Richmond; whereas his commission imported no such thing."

> "It is the curse of kings to be attended
> By slaves that take their humours for a warrant,
> To break within the bloody house of life." †

In the Memoirs of James we find that "the day his majesty left St. Germains, being the 28th of February, he met at St. Denis a servant of the duke of Berwick, with a letter from his master to the earl of Middleton, which gave an account of his being come back. . . . By some expressions in his letter, it was plain he had not succeeded in it [his negotiation] as expected." According to the deposition of Hunt, "the tall young gentleman" who arrived at Romney Marsh at the beginning of February returned from London within a week. The transport ships of Louis were to rendezvous at Calais on the 25th of February; and on that day Louis sent a message to James to let him know that "he thought it fit his majesty should go down forthwith to the sea-side, but not to let the men embark till

* "King John," Act iv., sc. 3. † *Ibid.*

he was sure the Jacobites were up in England." Why did James go down to the sea-side, when it was plain the duke of Berwick had not succeeded in raising the Jacobites in England? Barclay was in London with his commission. James saw the duke of Berwick, and heard from him in "what condition he had left things in England." And still "he continued his own journey to Calais." We hear little more in the words of James himself. The compiler of his life says, "He still hoped something might happen, on which he could raise a request to let the troops embark first, and for that reason continued his journey to Calais; where he was no sooner arrived, but, according to his usual good fortune, found himself at the end of his expectation, by meeting the news of several gentlemen being seized on account of an attempt upon the prince of Orange's person." It was, of course, necessary for the friends of James to deny his complicity in a scheme of assassination. He himself says that he, "finding nothing more was to be done, returned to St. Germains, longing to see sir George Barclay, to know what he could say for himself, seeing his power for levying war was in general terms only." * Berwick was himself perfectly well aware how Barclay and his friends had interpreted this general power.

The incidents of the discovery of the plot for taking the life of William furnish a signal instance, in addition to other evidences in English history, of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of many persons being associated in a conspiracy of so momentous a nature without detection. Barclay says in his narrative, that he had learnt that one captain Fisher, who lived in King Street, Westminster, had made several proposals for raising men for the service of king James; that Barclay, disguised, saw him; and that Fisher proposed "to attack the prince of Orange between the two gates as he passed from Hyde Park to St. James's Park." Barclay says that he heard this, and other proposals, but never let Fisher know of any design he had on foot; but asked him "to give me notice when the prince of Orange went a hunting, pretending I had a mind to see him hunt." On the 11th of February, Fisher was in communication with the earl of Portland. He told him there was a design against the king's life. What details he gave are not very clear. In a subsequent deposition he said that he was introduced to sir George Barclay by one Johnson, alias Harrison, a monk, at a public house in Bow Street, where the scheme of the attack at Hyde Park gate was proposed; and that on the 5th they discoursed about seizing the king at Kensington House in the night, by scaling the garden wall. On the 13th Fisher went again to Portland. The cautious friend of William was not forward in giving credit to such statements; or he thought it more prudent to say nothing till his information was more distinct. On the evening of the 14th Portland, on entering his lodgings at Whitehall, found an unknown person in the antechamber, who begged to speak with him in private. "My lord," he said, "persuade the king to stay at home to-morrow; for if he go abroad to hunt he will be assassinated." Portland went to the king, and persuaded him, with great difficulty, to remain at home. Barclay, in his narrative, shows that he had not been idle since he opened his commission to Charnock and Parkyns: "I was at Kensington itself, and major Holmes with me; and

* "Life of James," vol. ii. p. 558.

everywhere else about London where that prince [William] used to go, both to know the ground, and what judgment I could make of it, in case any occasion should offer." The place fixed upon was Turnham Green. He describes this convenient spot where the king was expected to pass, as "something narrow with hedges and ditches on each hand, so that a coach and six horses cannot easily turn, at least on a sudden; and at the very entrance of the green there were some little shrubs and bushes, which would put men under some sort of cover." The king would take this road to the water-side, where he usually took boat to cross to the Surrey side of the Thames. The 15th was the day planned for the attack with blunderbusses, musquetoons, and well sharpened swords. The reluctant resolve of William to forego his hunt disconcerted the arrangement. Parkyns had provided his five men well mounted; Porter and Charnock their five each; Barclay had given money to Holmes and Charnock to buy twenty horses and their furniture; the men he had ready under pay, with a list of their lodgings.* The king stayed at home; but on the following Saturday he would be made sure of.

Between the 15th of February and the 22nd, another of the conspirators was closeted with Portland. His name was De la Rue. There were now three persons who had given warning of the plot. Two had furnished a somewhat circumstantial account. On the evening of the 21st, the man who had exhorted Portland to warn the king to stay at home was brought before William himself. Cutts was present, in his office of captain of the guards. Portland was there also. The man was a Roman Catholic named Pendergrass. For a long time he refused to give the names of any of the conspirators. He was not threatened, but exhorted. He at last required an assurance that his evidence should not be used against any of the criminals, and William gave his word of honour that it should not be so employed except with his own consent. He then wrote down a list of names. He especially desired to screen his friend Porter; and Porter himself, though one of the foremost in the scheme, was subsequently admitted as evidence. Barclay was recommended to Porter by Charnock and Parkyns; but he hesitated about trusting him; "not," says he, "that I mistrusted his loyalty, but that I heard he was much given to drink, and open minded." On Saturday morning, the 22nd, the conspirators assembled at Porter's lodgings; Pendergrass was amongst the number. They were in high glee. Their spies at the palace sent word that the king would certainly hunt that day—that the coaches had gone from the Mews at Charing Cross to take him to Kew ferry; that the guards had gone to Richmond. They were taking a parting glass at the Blue Posts in Spring Gardens, before starting separately, so as not to attract attention, when Keyes, one of their number, formerly a trumpeter in the Blues, who had been in constant communication with some of his old comrades, came to say that the coaches and the guards were come back. They hurriedly dispersed. The next day twenty prisoners were arrested. Barclay escaped.

A special commission was issued for the trial of the prisoners. The first tried were Charnock, Keyes, and King, on the 11th of March. Charnock—

* Barclay's "Narrative."

who had been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, when James took his arbitrary measures against that society, and then became its popish vice-president,—was an indefatigable agent of the Jacobites. He defended himself with ability; for the Act which allowed prisoners counsel, and gave them other advantages under a charge of high treason, was not to come into operation till the 25th of March. It was unjust and impolitic in the government to press on the trials under this circumstance. The convictions of the accused would unquestionably have been as certain if the privileges of counsel, of a copy of the indictment, and of a list of witnesses, had been allowed them. Their crime was proved beyond a doubt by the evidence of Pendergrass, and of their more guilty accomplices. Their executions followed quickly upon the verdict of the jury. Burnet relates that lord Somers told him that Charnock sent an offer to the king to disclose all he knew of the consultations and designs of the Jacobites, if his life were spared, but that William "was afraid to have such a scene opened, and would not accept of this offer." According to Dalrymple, Charnock said "he would disclose the names of all those who had employed him in England, if his punishment was changed from death into perpetual imprisonment. The king generously answered, 'I desire not to know them.'" Charnock on the scaffold delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he denied that James had authorised assassination by any commission. But in a letter to a friend he justified the assassination of such an usurper as Cromwell or as William. "He thought either of them might be treated as one would do a thief or a robber, whom it is lawful in one's own defence to attack, and kill too, if nothing else will do." He quotes the authority of Grotius, that a subject of a dispossessed prince might lawfully kill the usurper of the supreme power. We take this doctrine of Charnock from an abstract in the "Life of James;" but the right of a subject to kill an usurper is thus qualified—"that indeed he requires the legal proprietor's commission, which Mr. Charnock said they had in general terms."* The original paper in the Bodleian Library is abstracted by Lord Macaulay, who gives the following sentence from it in a note: "Nobody that believes his majesty to be lawful king of England can doubt but that in virtue of his commission to levy war against the prince of Orange and his adherents, the setting upon his person is justifiable, as well by the laws of the land, duly interpreted and explained, as by the law of God." †

There were five other trials connected with this formidable conspiracy. Sir John Friend, a rich London trader, had not taken part in the Assassination Plot, although he knew of it; but he had made large preparations for assisting in a foreign invasion. Sir William Parkyns, as we have seen, was an active participator in the design to kill the king. Three other conspirators, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried. They were all convicted, and all suffered the death of traitors.

The effect upon the temper of the nation of the discovery of this Jacobite Plot is forcibly expressed in the "Diary" of Evelyn: "Though many did formerly pity king James' condition, this design of assassination, and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was likely to produce a more perfect establishment of king William."

* "Life of James," vol. ii. p. 556.

† "History," vol. iv., p. 675.

The complete discomfiture of the plans of St. Germains is thus mentioned by the compiler of the Life of James: "This intended attempt being thus discovered, it raised such a ferment in the nation as put an end to the king's real design of landing, by making it impossible for his friends to assemble, they having enough to do to secure themselves from the strict and universal search which this discovery occasioned." No one who looks carefully at the evidence in this affair can doubt that "the king's real design of landing" came to an end when he knew that sir George Barclay had not been able to carry out his commission "to make war upon the prince of Orange," by stopping that prince's coach as it was dragged through the miry and narrow lane at Turnham Green, and with his eight good men, armed with pistols and "strong pushing swords," putting to death the hated usurper who was unlawfully called king of England.

Shilling of King William III.

BOLINGBROKE.
OXFORD.
ATTERBURY

Hampton Court Palace. (From a Print of the time.)

CHAPTER XIII.

William in the Netherlands—His Financial Embarrassments—Great Crisis of Commercial Difficulty—Revival of Credit—The New Currency established—Attainder of Sir John Fenwick—Negotiations for Peace—The Peace of Ryswick—Opening of St. Paul's Cathedral—Parliament—Reduction of the Army—Dangers of an insufficient Force—The East India Company—Statute against Socinians—Reformation of Manners—Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel—Licentiousness of the Stage—Embassy to France—French Embassy to England—Czar of Muscovy in England.

After these harassing events had taken their course, William departed for the continent, to encounter dangers and difficulties far more oppressive than the risks of a battle—more insupportable to such a man than any dread of the assassin's knife. He left London in the very crisis of the monetary change, and was in Holland on the 7th of May. On the 22nd of May the king wrote to Shrewsbury from the Hague. He informed his Secretary of State that the French army had first taken the field; that the allied troops assemble as well as they can, but find it difficult to join, as the enemy had far advanced in great force. There was another reason, he said. The troops "in Flanders are so much in want of money, that they can scarcely move; and if the Treasury do not find prompt means to furnish supplies, I

know not how I can possibly act."* On the 25th of May, Shrewsbury wrote to William in great alarm: "We discoursed this morning with several of the most eminent goldsmiths, and with some of the Bank, and had the dismallest accounts from them of the state of credit in this town, and of the effect it would soon have upon all the traders in money; none of them being able to propose a remedy, except letting the Parliament sit in June, and enacting the clipped money to go again,—the very hope of which locks up all the gold and good money, and would be to undo all that has been done."† The Lords Justices, who had the charge of affairs in William's absence, were to a great extent helpless. They saw clearly what locked up all the gold and good money; but to retrace their steps would have been fatal. Their position was one of extreme difficulty. Public clamour was loud in its demand "that clipped money should be current again; that the standard should be advanced, and the price of guineas improved." Temporary aid which they expected had failed the government. An Act had been passed in the previous session for establishing a national Land Bank—a bank which was to lend money on mortgages, and to lend also to the State. Land and Trade were two rival interests. Trade, or the moneyed interest, would not subscribe any portion of the two millions and a half that were required to establish the Land Bank; and Land was looking for aid to the new scheme, in the shape of loans, and had no cash to spare in the shape of subscriptions. The scheme utterly broke down; and, at the same time, through the difficulties connected with the re-coinage, the Bank of England could not pay its notes in specie. There was one universal panic throughout the land. There was a bold issue of small exchequer-bills, of which there was considerable distrust. The Bank of England endorsed their notes with a promise to pay in the new money when it came forth, and meanwhile to pay interest at the rate of 15 per cent. Merchants and smaller traders exchanged their promissory notes. But in spite of every expedient the nation was quickly coming to the condition of semi-civilization—barter. Of all the sufferers in this crisis it is impossible to conceive a man placed in a more distressing condition than the sovereign who was to fight the battles of his country at the head of a great European confederation. "In the name of God, determine quickly to find some credit for the troops here, or we are ruined," he writes on June 4th. "We are here reduced to greater extremities than ever, for want of money; and if we do not soon receive some remittances the army will be disbanded," is his language on the 23rd of July. On the 30th, he says, "The letter from the Lords Justices has quite overcome me; and I know not where I am, since at present I see no resource which can prevent the army from mutiny or total desertion." The king then adds a most remarkable sentence: "If you cannot devise expedients to send contributions, or procure credit, all is lost, and I must go to the Indies." From such a man these words cannot be regarded as the mere impatience of disappointment. The army, whose mutiny or total desertion was imminent, stood between Louis of France and the subjugation of Holland. If Holland became a province of France, England would soon be in the same condition, with a Stuart viceroy under the conquering Bourbon. What then remained? To found a great

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 114. † *Ibid.* p. 116.

maritime and commercial empire in the Dutch settlements—to call up the spirit of colonial freedom to balance the despotism of the old world. On the 31st the king sends Portland to England to arrange about assembling Parliament: "Rather than perish all must be risked." Shrewsbury wrote a desponding answer to Portland's communications; and then William in his reply expressed that noble sentiment which every Englishman ought to bear in mind in the day of public calamity and fear,—"May God relieve us from our present embarrassment, for I cannot suppose that it is His will to suffer a nation to perish which He has so often almost miraculously saved, though we have too well deserved it."* The heroic confidence of William had revived. "He was a man that knew how to meet adversity. His life had been one continued struggle with difficulties; but it had been the fixed rule of that life to encounter them with an unshaken fortitude, and a rigid adherence to what he considered to be right." † He would not "go to the Indies." The nation that God had "so often almost miraculously saved" would be saved again, even in the dire extremity of this time. It has been said with great truth, "the vessel of our commonwealth has never been so close to shipwreck as in this period." ‡

On the 15th of August there was a great meeting of the General Court of the Bank of England to discuss an earnest appeal that had been made to them by the king's ministers, for an advance of two hundred thousand pounds. Very reluctantly had this application been made. Shrewsbury was in despair. He wrote to the king, "a loan from the city is much doubted, by the incapacity which has appeared in many to discharge the bills which have been drawn upon them from all parts. If the application to the Bank should not succeed, God knows what can be done." But he adds, "yet anything must be tried and ventured, rather than lie down and die." § The application to the Bank did succeed. Immediate relief to the necessities of William, however small, was obtained. But he was not in a condition to carry on the campaign with any vigour. His difficulties were set forth with considerable exaggeration by the French. The Jacobites were everywhere rejoicing. But time was working that change, from temporary financial distress to growing ease and eventual relief, which is almost certain when the resources of industry are not exhausted, and the great body of the people are not alienated from a government. The embarrassments of the English had induced the duke of Savoy to make a separate peace with France. Everywhere there were signs of a defection from the alliance of which William was the heart and soul. He came home at the beginning of October. He met the Parliament on the 20th of that month. In him the indomitable resolution with which he had encountered so many adverse contingencies spoke out, when he said, "It is fit for me to acquaint you that some overtures have been made, in order to the entering upon a negotiation for a general Peace; but I am sure we shall agree in opinion, that the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands; and that we can have no reason to expect a safe and honourable peace, but by showing ourselves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual war." This was not the language of a bankrupt

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," pp. 119, 127, 129, 130, 132.
† Mr. Huskisson's Speech, June 11, 1822. ‡ Hallam, chap. xv.
§ "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 135.

king; it was not addressed to a bankrupt nation. There were evident symptoms that the great difficulty of the currency was in some degree passing away. Had the government evinced the slightest disposition to recede from the measure of re-coinage; to reduce the standard; to raise the denomination of the coin, the evil would never have been cured. The very first measure of the Commons was to pass this resolution—"That they would not alter the standard of the gold and silver, in fineness, weight, or denomination; and that they will make good all parliamentary funds since his majesty's accession to the Crown, that have been made credits for loans from the subject." The effect of this true statesmanship, for which the honour is mainly due to Montague, was instantaneous. The expectations of those who hoarded guineas in the belief that a guinea would pass for thirty shillings,—of those who hoarded crowns in the belief that what was worth five shillings would exchange for commodities at the value of seven shillings and sixpence,—were at an end. The true money flowed into circulation. Trade revived. The financial and commercial crisis was past. The nation was solvent. A hundred and twenty-six years afterwards, one of the ablest of English statesmen, in resisting a motion against the Resumption of Cash Payments on the ground of agricultural distress, rested his most powerful arguments on the great historical precedent of 1696, and concluded his convincing speech, by moving, in the very words of Montague's resolution, "That this House will not alter the standard of gold and silver, in fineness, weight, or denomination." * England fought through the great currency change of 1822 as England had thrown off the far heavier weight, looking at the nation's comparative resources, of the change in 1696. The same spirit of the people was manifested at each crisis. A financier of the earlier period thus speaks of his contemporaries: "While our neighbouring nations expected we should sink under this burden, and some were even prepared to receive us as a province, the strength of mind, constancy, and magnanimity of our people overcame it all." †

The two houses of Parliament were occupied, during this session, with the extraordinary proceedings under a Bill of Attainder against sir John Fenwick. The historical narratives of this event are, for the most part, as lengthy as the parliamentary debates. A very slight summary is all that we can attempt to give of an affair which has far more to do with the history of party than with the history of the nation; and of which the only thing of any real importance, after an interval of more than a century and a half, is the constitutional question of procedure by attainder.

In the deposition of Goodman, one of the witnesses for the Crown in the Assassination Plot, he implicated sir John Fenwick, as being, in conjunction with Friend, Parkyns, and others, in correspondence with James upon a projected invasion, and that Fenwick used to send over a list of the forces in England, and of their disposition. Porter, another of the conspirators, gave his testimony to a similar effect. Fenwick attempted to fly into France, under the assumed name of Thomas Ward; but in June he was apprehended at New Romney, in Kent. Fenwick was highly connected; he was a baronet

* Huskisson's "Speeches," vol. ii. p. 166.
† "Wednesday Club," quoted in "Life of Paterson," p. 108.

of an ancient family. A letter which he had addressed to his wife, upon his apprehension, was intercepted. He exhorted her to make all friends. "I know nothing," he said, "can save my life, but my lord Carlisle's going over to him, [king William], backed by the rest of the family of the Howards, to beg it." In another passage, he says, "I cannot think what else to say, but the great care must be the jury. If two or three could be got that would starve the rest, that, or nothing can save me." Fenwick, being ordered for trial, offered to give evidence of great importance; and was visited in prison by the duke of Devonshire, at the king's desire. In a written paper he implicated Shrewsbury and Godolphin, Marlborough and Russell, as having been in communication with James at various times. The paper was transmitted to William; who probably knew as much of these general treacheries as Fenwick could tell him. He transmitted the paper to Shrewsbury, saying, "You may judge of my astonishment at his effrontery in accusing you. . . . You will observe the sincerity of this honest man who only accuses those in my service, and not one of his own party."* William was desirous that Fenwick should be brought to trial before the public affairs demanded his own return to England. There was a difficulty. Goodman had been tampered with, and could nowhere be discovered. Fenwick, in his letter to his wife, had said, "Money, I know, would do it; but alas, that is not to be had." The indefatigable aunt of the earl of Carlisle did accomplish the means of preventing the evidence of Goodman before a jury. Two witnesses were required by law in cases of treason; one only was forthcoming. It was resolved to proceed against Fenwick by Bill of Attainder, in which the deficient legal evidence could be supplied by the previous deposition of Goodman before the Privy Council, and by the evidence of two grand jurymen as to what he had sworn when the Bill of Indictment was found by them. This proceeding was altogether irregular, although the crime of Fenwick was conclusively established. The most prolonged and violent discussions therefore ensued, both in the Lords and Commons, as to the passing of this Bill. In the Commons the majority for the Bill was only thirty-three; in the Lords only seven. "The debates," says Burnet, "were the hottest, and held the longest, of any that I ever knew." Fenwick, previous to the Bill being moved in the Commons, had been brought to the bar, and persisted in refusing to make any further confession. Lord Hardwicke, in a note on Burnet, says, "The king, before the session, had sir J. Fenwick brought to the Cabinet Council, where he was present himself. But sir John would not explain his paper."† In another note he says: "My father was told by the duke of Newcastle, that his father, the first lord Pelham, then a lord of the Treasury, and a staunch Whig, voted against the Bill, because he thought it hard to put a man to death, who, on compulsion, that is, to save his life, had told disagreeable truths. And the management of party was such, that sir J. Fenwick was prevented from speaking out, lest he should exasperate the great men on both sides, who knew he could tell tales, The consequence was, that he was afraid to affirm his own tale, and lost his life."‡ He suffered death on the 28th of January. The proceeding by

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 145. † Oxford edit., vol. iv. p. 323.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 324.

Attainder is a blot upon the reputation of the Whigs, as defenders of public liberty. The conversion of such a solemn act into a revengeful party proceeding, is disgraceful to many of the statesmen of that time. "It is now well known that Fenwick's discoveries went not a step beyond the truth."*

The king closed the Session of Parliament on the 16th of April, 1697, and on the 26th embarked for Holland. He had promoted Somers to be Lord Chancellor, instead of Keeper of the Great Seal, and had created him a Peer. Russell was created earl of Orford. Montague obtained the higher office of First Lord of the Treasury. The campaign in the Netherlands was distinguished only by one considerable event—William rescued Brussels from a second bombardment. He outmarched the French generals by a rapid night movement over the plain of Waterloo, and through the forest of Soignies, and encamping near Brussels, entrenched himself, and saved the city.

In his speech at the close of the Session of Parliament, the king had alluded, though not in very decided terms, to the possibility that an honourable peace might be agreed to. The difficulty of concluding a general pacification was less on the part of France than on the part of some of the allies. Spain was haughty and intractable, though she had rendered little assistance in the war. The emperor of Germany wanted the war prolonged, with a view to his own interest in the succession to the crown of Spain. Plenipotentiaries were appointed by the several powers to discuss the terms of a treaty with the ministers of France. They disputed long as to the place of meeting. At last it was agreed that their conferences should be held at Newburg House, a palace belonging to William in the village of Ryswick, between the Hague and Delft. The earl of Pembroke, and others on the part of England; Harlay as the representative of France; the accredited agents of Spain, of the Emperor, of Sweden and of other minor powers—these met twice a week with solemn bows and ceremonial speeches. At the end of June they had concluded nothing, with their infinitude of protocols. The French and English armies were facing each other in the neighbourhood of Brussels. This state neither of peace nor war was not suited to the decisive temper of William. In each of the armies there was a man who could interpret in a straightforward manner the wishes of their respective sovereigns. Portland was thoroughly in the confidence of William. He sent a message to Boufflers, who had been his prisoner for a few days after the capture of Namur, when they formed that sort of intimacy that often springs up between generous enemies. Portland desired half an hour's private conversation with Boufflers, at some place between the two armies. Boufflers asked the consent of his sovereign, and received it, with the condition that he should repair "to this rendezvous with all the dignity becoming a marshal of France, who commands one of my armies."† He was to speak as little as possible, and to draw from Portland all he could—a very general rule in that mysterious science called diplomacy. They met on the 8th of July at the village of Brucom, a short distance from Halle; standing apart from their attendants in an orchard. They had four subsequent discussions in open places, where walls could tell no secrets. Portland was authorized to say at the first interview, that William, on the part of England and of the States General, was

* Hallam, chap. xv. † Grimblot, vol. i. p. 5.

satisfied with the terms of territorial arrangement that Louis had proposed, provided satisfaction should be given upon points which concerned himself personally. At the sixth and last interview they met in a small house, and the points of the negotiation were put into writing. William demanded that Louis should sanction no attempt to disturb the existing order of things in England, by James and his friends; and that the Stuart exiles should remove from France. There is the show of magnanimity in the answer of Louis, that his honour was wounded—"wounded by the proposal that has been made to me to name expressly in the treaty, and to engage to remove from my kingdom, a king who has found no asylum except with me, and no alleviation of his misfortunes except in the manner in which I have received him." As to the objection that whilst James was in France, the secret practices of his party would be encouraged, even against the wishes of Louis, the great king answers in the tone that only absolute power can assume: "All Europe is sufficiently aware of the obedience and submission of my people; and when I shall please to hinder my subjects from assisting the king of England—as I engage to do, by promising not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the prince of Orange, without any exception—there is no reason to apprehend that he will find any assistance in my kingdom." * Portland waived the point that James should be mentioned by name, provided that Louis agreed not to favour rebellions and intrigues in England, when William would give the like assurance with regard to any factions or rebellions in France. The high-blown pride of Louis was signally manifested at this presumption of William. He writes to Boufflers: "You shall answer to this proposal that this equality of condition cannot take place; and that the submission of my subjects, and the tranquillity of my kingdom, give me no reason to fear either faction or rebellion." † William, however, succeeded in carrying the reciprocal condition. He refused the demand of Louis that a general amnesty should be granted to all the adherents of James. He would pardon offences of men who would live quietly, but he would not consent to such a stipulation on the part of a foreign power. The treaty of Ryswick was concluded between France, England, the States General, and Spain, on the 22nd of September. An extended term was given to the Emperor of Germany to accede to the treaty.

On the 26th of November (N.S.) William made his entry into London. Never was public joy more manifest. The evil times had passed away; there was now hope that the nation would go forward in a career of prosperity under a stable government. On that night of universal gratulation, whilst fireworks were displayed, and pitch barrels were blazing, in every open place of London, William wrote from Kensington to his friend Heinsius, "I arrived here this evening, after having passed through the city amidst the lively acclamations of the people. I do not recollect having ever seen so great an assemblage of well-dressed people. It is impossible to conceive what joy the peace causes here." Well might England rejoice. Her constitutional king was acknowledged by the proud monarch who had so long treated him only as the prince of Orange. He had vindicated the choice of the nation, by nine years of incessant struggle against difficulties

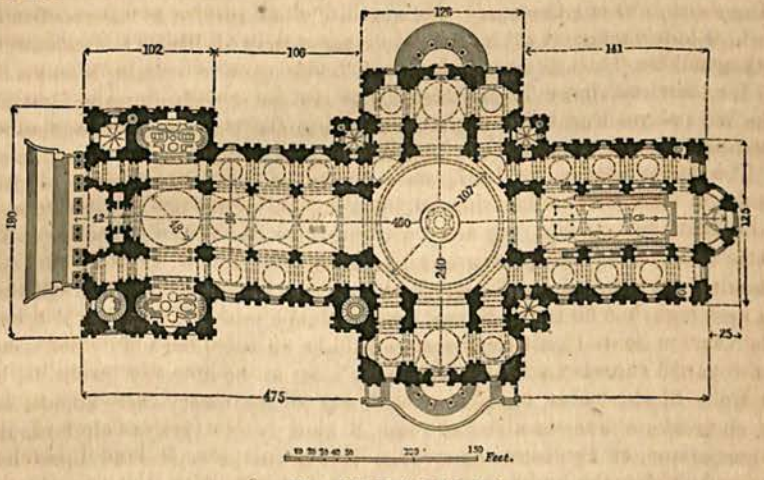
* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 21. † *Ibid.* p. 36.

which would have crushed any common man. He had established the freedom and independence of the country which had chosen him as its head. When the negotiations were going forward, James issued what he termed a solemn protestation against "all whatsoever that may be treated of, regulated, or stipulated, with the usurper of our kingdoms," and "against all the proceedings of his pretended Parliament, and whatever tends to the subversion of the fundamental laws of our kingdom, particularly to those relating to the succession to our Crowns." He urged upon all princes and potentates to consider how dangerous the precedent of peace with an usurper would prove to themselves; "and since ours is the common cause of all Sovereigns, we call for their assistance in the recovery of our kingdoms." * The unhappy man had not yet learnt that there is something higher than "the cause of all Sovereigns"—the cause of their People.

The 2nd of December, 1697, was a memorable day in England. It was the day of General Thanksgiving for the Peace. It was especially memorable in London; for on that day the new Cathedral of Saint Paul's, which, for twenty-two years, had been gradually rising out of the ashes of the old Cathedral, was opened for divine worship. The king was to have attended this opening; but he heard Burnet preach at Whitehall, for he was told that if he went to Saint Paul's the streets would be so filled with spectators that all the parish churches would be forsaken. No crowd was assembled within the walls of the noble temple on that day of national thanksgiving; for the choir alone was constructed with a view to the performance of the ordinary ritual of Protestant worship. There, Compton, bishop of London, preached; there, the lord-mayor and aldermen represented the commonalty of London. Great public occasions have been since, when the vast spaces beyond that choir have been filled with multitudes. There is one annual solemnity when the voices of thousands of children unite here in hymns of adoration. But not till a hundred and sixty-one years had gone by, since the magnificent fabric of Wren had been opened for divine service, was the experiment made of assembling a vast congregation beyond the comparatively narrow limits of the choir, to join in the chaunts of our noble liturgy,—to listen to the preacher who was now to speak to such an assemblage as were once spoken to by the preachers of the Reformation at Paul's Cross. To the mind of the great architect the notion could never have presented itself, that three thousand people would have been seated in attendance on the evening service of each Sunday night of a cold and wet winter—the greater number in the area where the choir, the nave, and the transepts join. Wren could not have imagined that, above those piers which carry the majestic concave to which no one ever looked up without a sense of its grandeur, the vast circle of the dome would be illuminated with many hundreds of jets of flame—brilliant as stars, shedding down a light as of noon-day—produced by an invention unknown to his age of scientific discovery. On those Sunday nights of December, 1858, whilst the simplest chaunts of the cathedral service, and the commonest hymns of a rural congregation, were sung by a choral band of unusual number and skill, the voices of the vast assembly swelled louder than the organ-peal, as if they felt that, for the first time, the

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 572.

colossal fane which rises sublimely over the smoke and mists of London had been applied to its proper uses; that the decent solemnities of the Anglican Church had now acquired a grandeur which, could the pure-minded philosopher who sleeps in the crypt below the dome have foreseen this change, he would have thought that a far nobler destination for the great monument of his genius had been reached than all the pomp of Saint Peter's on its highest festivals.



Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral.

The Parliament was opened by William on the 3rd of December. The most important passage in the royal speech was this: "The circumstances of affairs abroad are such, that I think myself obliged to tell you my opinion, that, for the present, England cannot be safe without a land-force; and I hope we shall not give those who mean us ill the opportunity of effecting that, under the notion of a peace, which they could not bring to pass by a war." He spoke the language of the sovereign of a free nation when he said, "That which I most delight in, and am best pleased to own, is, that I have all the proofs of my people's affection that a prince can desire; and I take this occasion to give them the most solemn assurance that, as I never had, so I never will nor can have, any interest separate from theirs." The House of Commons behaved with becoming gratitude to William, in fixing the royal revenue at a liberal amount for his life. They were somewhat precipitate, greatly to his annoyance, in their determination to reduce the army to ten thousand horse and foot. Before the opening of Parliament the question of maintaining an army during peace had been warmly canvassed. The king wrote to Heinsius: "The members who have come from the provinces seem to be strongly prejudiced against this measure, and infinite pains are taken to discredit it in the eyes of the public by speeches and by pamphlets."* In January, the Commons limited the vote for the maintenance of troops for the current year to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. William again wrote to Heinsius to say how greatly he was embarrassed: "You cannot

* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 139.

form an idea of the indifference with which all foreign affairs are now considered. People here only busy themselves about a fanciful liberty, while they are forced to acknowledge that they were never so free, and have nothing to apprehend from me." * In alluding to the clamour for what he calls "a fanciful liberty," William has reference to that popular jealousy of a standing army, which burst out the instant that the army abroad had done its work. The notion then set forth in very able tracts that "a standing army is inconsistent with a free government, and absolutely destructive to the constitution of the English monarchy," has long since passed away. But "the indifference with which foreign affairs are considered" has, again and again, been a cause of deep anxiety, not only to lavish ministers but to disinterested patriots. The arguments that were urged in 1697 against leaving the kingdom in a defenceless state may be applied, with little change, to our own times. "If," says the author of a Letter once attributed to Somers, "we were in the same condition that we and our neighbours were an age ago, I should reject the proposition of a standing army with horror. But the case is altered. The whole world, more particularly our neighbours, have now got into the mistaken notion of keeping up a mighty force; and the powerfullest of all these happens to be our next neighbour, who will very probably keep great armies. We may appear too inviting, if we are in such an open and unguarded condition that the success of an attempt may seem to be not only probable, but certain. England is an open country, full of plenty, everywhere able to subsist an army; our towns and cities are all open; our rivers are all fordable; no passes nor strong places can stop an enemy that should land upon us." The writer then contrasts the secresy and despatch with which an absolute government can carry forward its designs, whilst the measures of a free government must be contrived and executed without the same promptitude and the same concealment. This is good sense at any period; nor is the writer less sound when he points out the essential difference "between troops that have been long trained, who have learned the art and are accustomed to the discipline of war, and the best bodies of raw and undisciplined troops." † These arguments were of little avail. William, with his accustomed imperturbability, wrote to Heinsius,—"I shall get on as well as I can. It is fortunate, however, that they have resolved to give half-pay to all the officers who shall be disbanded. I estimate their number at fifteen hundred, or nearly so; so that, if we could afford it, we should have the means of forming again a considerable army." ‡

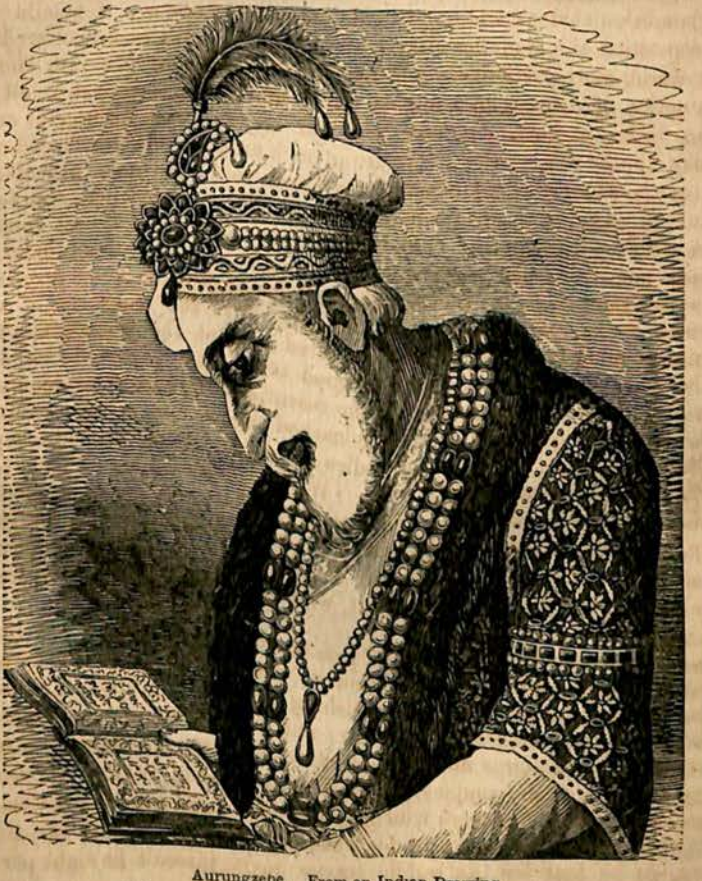
The most important proceeding of this Session of Parliament was the Bill for settling the long-disputed question of continuing the monopoly of the old East India Company or for establishing a new Company. Fierce were the disputes between these rival traders; and these disputes took that form of party advocacy which is most violent when pecuniary interests are involved. The government, then composed almost exclusively of Whigs, favoured the pretensions of the adventurers who desired to be formed into a new Company, for they had promised to set on foot subscriptions for raising two millions sterling, to be lent for the public service upon interest at eight per cent.

* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 148.

† "A Letter balancing the necessity of keeping a land-force, with the dangers that may follow on it."

‡ Grimblot, vol. i. p. 150.

The old East India Company had offered to advance seven hundred thousand pounds, at four per cent. The necessities of the time made the offer of the highest sum most acceptable. The Whigs carried the New Company against the Tories, who supported the Old Company. The favoured adventurers were to be called "the English Company." The body which had been chartered by queen Elizabeth, and called "the London Company," was to cease trading in three years. But the Old Company had obtained territorial possessions of small extent, and had now made an important acquisition by the purchase of Calcutta, where they had built a stronghold, known as Fort William. The New Company had provided in this Bill for the charge of sending ambassadors from the Crown to the potentates of the East. They proposed that the king should now send an ambassador extraordinary to the Great Mogul, in whose dominions the original traders had their chief factories



Aurungzebe. From an Indian Drawing.

and settlements, to desire his favour for the New Company. Sir William Norris, member for Liverpool, accordingly set forth with ample allowance for

his dignity. But Aurungzebe was not propitiated by the professions of the representative of the merchants who came to rival those to whom he had already granted his sublime protection. The ambassador was unable to contend against the prescriptive privileges which had been bestowed upon Englishmen a century before, and which had been confirmed by the successors of Jehangir. The great "Alemgir," or "Conqueror of the World," ordered the ambassador to depart from Agra. The discomfited envoy had no choice but to obey, and he died on his way home. In four more years the rival Companies were united.* From that period we may date the gradual extension of the power of the one East India Company, which was ultimately to win for England an empire in Hindustan far more extensive than that of the Mogul conquerors in the height of their grandeur.

In his speech on the opening of Parliament the king said, "I esteem it one of the greatest advantages of the peace that I shall now have leisure to rectify such corruptions or abuses as may have crept into any part of the administration during the war; and effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality." Two months after, the Commons went up with an Address to the king, praying that he would issue his proclamation commanding all magistrates to put in execution the laws against such profaneness and immorality; and they added a request that he would take measures "for suppressing all pernicious books and pamphlets, which contain in them impious doctrines against the Holy Trinity, and other fundamental articles of our faith." As the king intimated in his answer, that it was necessary to make some more effectual provision for suppressing the pernicious books and pamphlets to which the Address alluded, an Act was passed, by which it was provided that if any person who had been educated in the Christian religion, or had made profession of the same, should by writing, printing, or teaching, deny the Holy Trinity, or deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority, he should, for the first offence be disqualified for any office; for the second, be rendered incapable of bringing any action, of purchasing lands, or of being guardian, executor, or legatee. He was moreover to be subject to three years' imprisonment.† That portion of the Statute which related to persons denying the doctrine of the Trinity was repealed by the Act of 53 George III. The law of 1698, with this exception, still remains unrepealed or unmodified. But it is perfectly clear that any attempt to enforce it would be wholly opposed to the spirit of this age,—not that we are less earnest in religious feeling than the generation that passed this Statute, but that we have learnt that opinions are not to be put down by indictments, as long as they are not disgustingly obtruded upon society as an insult to its decencies. In the attack made by the Act of William upon "blasphemous and impious opinions" regarding the doctrine of the Trinity, the difficulty, if not impossibility, was involved of so accurately measuring the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy as to enable plain men to decide upon points upon which divines themselves were disputing. Thomas Firmin, a London citizen, was one of the leading advocates of the popular schemes of that day, "for setting the poor to work,"—that is, by providing the labour out of a common public stock which could not be provided by

* See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 346.

† 9 Gul. III. c. 35 (c. 32 in the common printed editions.)

commercial enterprise, and thus increasing production without reference to the demand of the consumers, or making more poor by underselling the producers who were previously in the market. Firmin was, however, a man of real benevolence, and though his schemes upon any large scale would be impracticable, his exertions rescued many poor children from idleness and starvation. "He was in great esteem," says Burnet, "for promoting many charitable designs; for looking after the poor of the city and setting them to work; for raising great sums for schools and hospitals, and indeed for charities of all sorts, public and private." This practical Christian was the friend of Tillotson; "he was called a Socinian, but was really an Arian." He was as diligent in propagating his theological tenets as in his less questionable labours. According to Burnet, those who were at work to undermine the government "raised a great outcry against Socinianism, and gave it out that it was likely to overrun all; for archbishop Tillotson and some of the bishops had lived in great friendship with Mr. Firmin, whose charitable temper they thought it became them to encourage." The Clergy themselves came to dispute amongst themselves, and thus to be divided by their adversaries into "real and nominal Trinitarians." The spirit of controversy that was again called forth "made the bishops move the king to set out injunctions, requiring them to see to the repressing of error and heresy, with all possible zeal, more particularly in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith: and to watch against and hinder the use of new terms or new explanations in these matters. This put a stop to these debates, as Mr. Firmin's death put a stop to the printing and spreading of Socinian books." * How far the Statute which immediately followed Mr. Firmin's death was conducive to the repression of infidelity, may be sufficiently estimated by its progress in the next two reigns, when the test of wit and wisdom, of refinement and taste, was to be a free-thinker after the fashion of Shaftesbury or Bolingbroke.

The Socinian books might have vanished; but the profaneness and immorality, which could not so readily be touched by Act of Parliament, had to be combated by an organization very peculiar to this country. The principle of Association was to come to the aid of the government. Societies for the Reformation of Manners had for some time been in activity. They originated with the Puritans. They were encouraged by Dissenters after the Revolution; and they gradually embraced men of various modes of worship. Their business was to lay informations before the magistrates, of swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, and other offenders, and to appropriate that portion of the fines which were earned by common informers, to purposes of charity. The objection which ever was, and ever will be, against the most honest exertions of such Societies is—that they are not impartial in their visitations. Defoe indignantly attacked the unequal distribution of punishment "in the commonwealth of vice," and boldly said, "till the nobility, gentry, justices of the peace, and clergy, will be pleased either to reform their own manners, or find out some method and power impartially to punish themselves when guilty, we humbly crave leave to object against setting any poor man in the stocks, or sending him to the house of correction for

* Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 382.

immoralities, as the most unjust and unequal way of proceeding in the world." *

Whatever were the immoralities of the upper classes,—whatever was the laxity of some of the clergy,—there was a spirit growing up which is the best proof of an extending sense of Christian obligation. When the influential members of a community have come to recognize the duty of association, for objects of benevolence of a wider range than their own parish, town, county, or kingdom, there is a principle stirring within them which, if not exaggerated into false enthusiasm, will make them more regardful even of the wants at their own doors. Such an Association was that of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;" such was the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;" both established about this period. These Societies were chiefly created and brought into a condition of practical utility by the efforts of one man. A Society had been formed in 1649 under an Act of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, "for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." It subsisted till after the Restoration; but in that period—one of the decline of genuine Christianity—it fell into disuse. Thomas Bray, a native of Shropshire, born in 1656, was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford. Whilst he held the benefice of Sheldon he published a very useful work, "Catechetical Lectures." The Governor and Assembly of the Colony of Maryland, having established a legal maintenance for ministers of the church, Dr. Bray was appointed a Commissary, or general Superintendent. One of his first labours, after selecting proper persons to be sent, was to provide Libraries for their use. Another of his valuable designs was to establish lending Libraries in England and Wales for the use of the clergy. He was truly the founder of those Parochial Libraries, established by Act of Parliament in 1708, which, if they had been carried forward with corresponding energy, would have tended to dissipate some of that ignorance amongst the people generally which it has been a main object in our own time to remove. To this admirable man was mainly owing the establishment of the two great and venerable Societies which still maintain their utility in connexion with the Church of England.

With a clergy even more zealous and united than the churchmen of the end of the seventeenth century—a clergy learned, logical, argumentative, but rarely touching the hearts of their hearers—the counteracting influences to such a Society as that for promoting Christian Knowledge were very great. Not the least of these opposing influences was the licentiousness of the Stage. In 1697, Sunderland, as Lord Chamberlain, had issued an order to prevent the profaneness and immorality of the acted drama. In 1699, the Master of the Revels represented that the actors did not leave out such profane and indecent expressions as he had ordered to be omitted. The king therefore issued his command that nothing hereafter should be acted contrary to religion and good manners. How this command was obeyed let Congreve, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh inform us. The Master of the Revels might refuse "to license any plays containing irreligious or immoral expressions," as he was commanded; but the Master of the Revels

* "The Poor Man's Plea against all the Proclamations, or Acts of Parliament, for Reformation."

probably made no attempt to remonstrate against performances in which the phraseology might be tolerably decent, but of which the whole structure of the action was to represent chastity as the thin disguise of scheming women, and the pursuit of adultery as the proper business of refined gentlemen; to make the sober citizen the butt of the profligates who invaded his domestic hearth; to exhibit the triumphs of intellect in the schemes of venal lacqueys to aid the intrigues of their masters, and of odious waiting-maids to surround their mistresses with opportunities of temptation. Was this a true picture of Society? We believe not. None of these writers, with all their wit and vivacity, ever looked beyond the periwigs and point laces, the stomachers and towering caps, that they saw in the side boxes. The great middle class was wholly unknown to them—that class which, although it had cast aside some of those severities of puritanism which confounded innocent gaiety with vice, was not inclined to adopt the principle inculcated by the dramatists that stupidity and decency were inseparable. There was an earnest public in England that disliked the Stage because it was corrupting. Defoe was of this number, and he wrote against the drama with little of his usual discrimination. Jeremy Collier took a bolder course, and smote down the individual writers who made plays "the greatest debauchers of the nation," as Burnet says. He had even Dryden at his feet, when the great poet acknowledges, "In many things he has taxed me justly. . . . It becomes not me to draw my pen in defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one." Dryden maintains, however, that Fletcher's "Custom of the Country" is more offensive than any of the plays then acted. "Are the times," he asks, "so much more reformed now, than they were five and twenty years ago?" * Unquestionably they were more reformed. But the morality of the age of the Restoration still tainted the Stage of the Revolution. Charles the Second brought to England the manners of the Court of France in the days of its worst profligacy. Since then, the Court of France had grown devout and decent. Burnet says, "It is a shame to our nation and religion to see the stage so reformed in France, and so polluted still in England." † The Court of William and Mary, in its seclusion at Kensington, had little influence upon the world of fashion; and thus there was no perceptible effect upon manners in the decorous example of the highest in the land. Burnet was pretty right in his antithesis—"The stage is the great corrupter of the town, and the bad people of the town have been the chief corrupters of the stage." ‡

The Court of Louis the Fourteenth was now to be brought into intimate acquaintance with the Court of William the Third. As the Parliament had interfered to prevent the king of England emulating, even for purposes of national defence, the great armies of the king of France, William, with a pardonable ostentation, resolved that his ambassador to Versailles should not go without the trappings of a magnificent royalty. He could scarcely afford this most expensive outlay, especially as five days before Portland, the ambassador, set forth with his sumptuous retinue on this friendly mission, Whitehall had been burnt down. The Banqueting House was saved with

* Preface to the "Fables."

† "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 263.

‡ *Ibid.*

great difficulty. William wrote to Heinsius that the principal portion of the palace was in ashes. "The loss is considerable, but we have no remedy, and we have nothing left but to pray God to preserve us in future from such accidents," writes the equal-minded king.* Portland was received in France with extraordinary courtesy. At every town through which he passed from Calais to Paris, guards of honour attended upon him, and salutes were fired from every citadel. Early in February, he had his private audience of Louis at Versailles. Saint-Simon has described the superb suite of Portland—his horses, his liveries, his equipages, his hospitable table. He appeared, says this careful observer, with a politeness, with the air of a court, with a gallantry and grace, that were surprising. The French were charmed with him; it became the fashion to see him, to fête him, to attend his parties. And yet this envoy of William exhibited a warmth on one occasion which was scarcely in unison with the habitual calmness of his friend and master. He writes to the king on the 16th of February, "Marshal Boufflers has taken an opportunity of speaking to me of the surprise and indignation which I had expressed, rather publicly, at seeing the duke of Berwick and others at Versailles; on which occasion I had said that the blood boiled in my veins at their approach, and that I hoped there was no intention of accustoming me to see the assassins of the king my master. He attempted to soften this in a way which led me to infer that my words had been reported, and that he spoke to me by command. For this reason I deemed it necessary to state still more fully what I thought of the residence of king James in France, and of their tolerating and maintaining in this country villains who had attempted your life." † To Louis himself Portland spoke out in the same blunt manner, especially about those he calls "the assassins;" to whom the great king replied, with regal suavity, that "he was not perfectly acquainted with this affair," and that he would never take the step of obliging king James to withdraw from France. William took this matter very quietly. He was not surprised at the reply which Portland had drawn from the king. "It would have been more desirable if you had received such a refusal at the close of your negotiations rather than at the commencement, for it may cause you a good deal of embarrassment throughout, and especially in regard to the most important point of all, the Spanish Succession." ‡ Upon this "most important point of all," as William clearly saw, would the future destinies of Europe depend. The death of the king of Spain was then expected; and to avert a war with France, if that event took place, or to find the means of carrying on a war, was the great anxiety of William's life for his few coming years.

Portland made his public entry into Paris on the 9th of March. His letter to William, describing some circumstances of the ceremonial, is very curious. His disputes with the "conductor of ambassadors," about matters of etiquette, are highly amusing. "In my case," he says, "difficulties have been raised on every conceivable point; and as I do not understand the ceremonial, I am embarrassed by them, and can only meet them with obstinacy, which is here rather indispensable." Comedy cannot imagine a richer scene

* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 144.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 163.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 181.

than the burly Dutchman refusing to come down from the top of his staircase, to meet the representative of the duchess of Burgundy, who refused to go more than half way up, "messengers passing backwards and forwards between us."* When the English ambassador's carriage was at last fairly on its way to the Louvre, Portland was surprised to see the windows and balconies filled with "all the people of quality in the city," and the crowd on the Pont Neuf expressing their wonder at the solemn reception of the representative of a monarch whose effigy they had been burning for eight years on the same bridge. At last he got into the sublime presence of Louis. The king spoke first. The courtiers said "he was never seen to speak to an ambassador first, or in so familiar a manner;" and they were perfectly astonished that Portland was not embarrassed at the sight of the gorgeous assemblage that surrounded the great potentate.†

Whilst this parade was going forward in the most magnificent court of Europe, count Tallard had arrived in London, to be introduced to William in the humble cabinet at Kensington. The correspondence of this ambassador with his master shows how narrowly every political movement in this country was watched; what anxiety there was to propitiate the ministers of the king, and the leaders of the opposition; how every indication of popular feeling was observed and noted down. The French government had active agents in England, as in every other country, whose business it was to transmit the most detailed reports of all the political matters that came within their view,—to record the whispers of the drawing-room and the mutterings of the coffee-house. Such an agent was at work in England to prepare the way for Tallard. The "Memorandum on the Affairs of England," written by the Abbé Renaudet, in February, 1698, contains some curious notices of the government and the people, which are not without a permanent interest.‡ He thinks that the country will be more difficult to govern during peace than it was during the war. He measures the political disposition of the aristocracy by a very different standard than that prevailing at Versailles. "An English noble does not much mind being on bad terms with the Court, inasmuch as he is able to support himself by joining the popular party." He thinks the existing ministry will fall, and therefore it will be necessary for the interests of the French king, "to discover, as far as possible, what are the feelings of the two Houses on this subject," lest too much confidence should be placed in men who are in an unsafe position. He says that this precaution is the more necessary, as "the English nobility were never more discontented than they are at present with those who possess the entire confidence of the master whom they have set over them. They are all convinced that they have no share in his confidence. They see with indignation the Dutch loaded with wealth and honours, especially the last favourite, who is a young man of great insolence and dissipation."§ The sagacious Abbé, holding that, "among the Peers, there is a party formed against the Court," nevertheless recommends the greatest caution in all transactions with discontented persons, lest "the jealousy of the nation should be

* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 220.

† *Ibid.* p. 225.

‡ Printed in Grimblot, vol. i. p. 228.

§ Arnold Jost Keppel, earl of Albemarle, was of an ancient noble family of Guelderland, and came over with William as page of honour. He was now twenty-eight years of age.

roused," to suspect designs "against religion and liberty." Flatter the pride of the nobles, by all kinds of attentions; take their part in trivial matters; strive to gain the friendship of those who are in credit; and do nothing except through a third party, in all that may affect interests hostile to the Court,—such are the means by which France was to keep up its influence in England—far more dangerous as an intriguing friend than as an open enemy. His last recommendation is the most insidious: "Too much esteem and respect cannot be shown to the prelates of the Anglican Church, several of whom entertain sentiments favourable to king James."

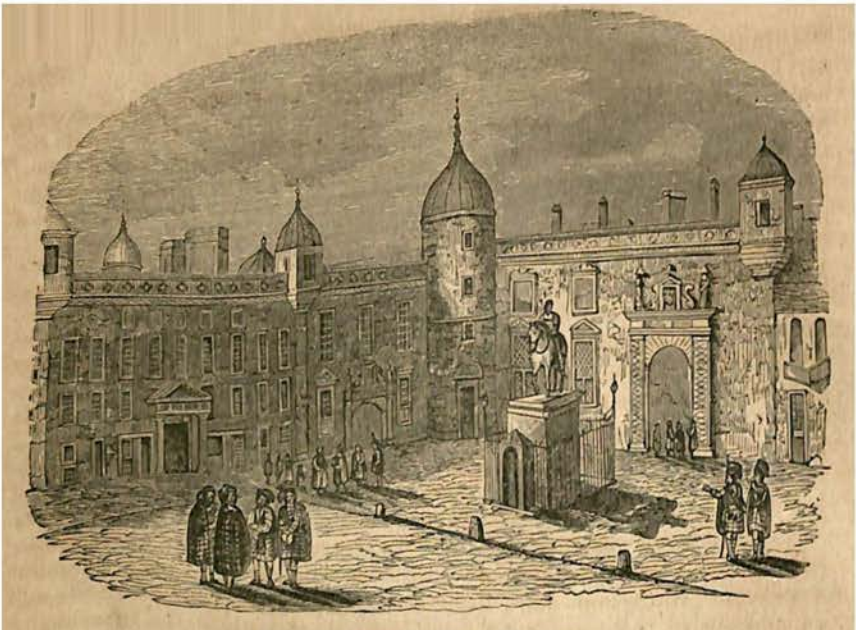
The "Instructions of count Tallard, his majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the king of England," are conceived in the same spirit of concealed dislike to the government of William, and inculcate the same watchfulness over every manifestation of party hostility or popular discontent. The knowledge displayed of the English political system, and of the temper of the Parliament, shows the range and accuracy of the statesmanship of France. The advantage of having access to the accounts of income and expenditure, of commerce, of the state of the army and navy, of the Crown revenues, of all that relates to finances, is pointed out. These, being laid before Parliament, "are not kept secret; we may, therefore, judge, to a certainty, by their contents, of the real state of England." It is evidently a matter of great satisfaction to France that the Parliament has exhibited "much less submission" to the king; "that the reduction of the army, of the navy, and of the subsidies, disables him from undertaking anything in future without the consent of the nation;" and that, probably, "the difficulties will be found greater in future Parliaments." William had already tasted of the bitter cup which was preparing for him. At the beginning of March, he wrote to Portland, "I cannot conceal from you that I have never been more vexed and melancholy in all my life than I am now." * He was vexed and melancholy to witness the rash haste with which the Parliament resolved to leave the kingdom almost wholly defenceless. A week later, he again wrote to his ambassador at the court of Louis. "I confess that I have so heartfelt a desire to see no more of war during the short period I yet may have to live, that I will not omit anything, which in honour and conscience I can do, to prevent it." He instructed Portland to say for him, that he so ardently desired the preservation of peace that he "was not averse from listening to any proposal calculated to ensure its continuance, even in the event of the demise of the king of Spain"—an occurrence which he feared, with the prescience of a sound statesman, might "again plunge all Europe in war." In the same month,—when there was a general report that the king of Spain was so enfeebled "that the slightest accident might carry him off in a moment," —William, in a letter to Heinsius, said, "I shudder when I think of the unprepared state of the allies to begin a war, and of the dilapidated state of Spain. It is certain that France is in a condition to take possession of that monarchy, before we shall be able to concert the slightest measures to oppose it. Such is the state of matters here, that I shall be able to contribute little towards the land forces." Rouse the allies, on all sides, to the necessity of remaining armed, was the earnest exhortation of William to the Grand

* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 219.

Pensionary of Holland. "I wish I could be armed too," he sighed, "but I see little appearance of it." *

The lapse of a century and a-half produces mighty changes in the political aspects of the world. There was a sovereign in 1698 in England, who had no voice in the Congress of the Hague—no interests to assert at the peace of Ryswick. He came here in very humble guise — by no means like a ruler who was to found a mighty empire, whose growth has been the terror of Western Europe. "He is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship-carpenter than a great prince. . . . . He is resolute, but understands little of war. . . . . He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion." † Moreover, he is given to brandy drinking, and is subject to convulsive motions all over his body. This was Peter I., Czar of Muscovy, who, whatever Bishop Burnet might have thought, had really some notions of government and war—a tall man, with a taint of something savage in his handsome countenance — but one who knew what curbing savages meant. He was a very incomprehensible monarch to the English people. William hired Mr. Evelyn's house at Sayes Court for the czar, that he might see the building of ships in the dockyards at Deptford and Woolwich. Mr. Evelyn's servant writes to his master, "There is a house full of people, and right nasty. . . . . The king is expected here this day. The best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in." William paid his visit. "The czar had a favourite monkey, which sat down upon the back of his chair. As soon as the king was set down, the monkey jumped upon him in some wrath, which discomposed the whole ceremonial." ‡ Peter ruined Mr. Evelyn's holly-hedge; and after his day's work as a carpenter at Rotherhithe, upon a ship that was building for him, recreated himself with beer and brandy, and smoked his pipe, at an alehouse on Tower Hill. Burnet writes, "After I had seen him often, and conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the Providence of God that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over a great part of the world." Pieter Timmerman, who worked for wages at Saardam, and cooked his own dinner, became, through his extraordinary process of self-education, the instrument of working out designs of Providence of which we are yet far from seeing the full development.

* Grimblot, vol. i. pp. 307-313. † Burnet, vol. iv. p. 396.
‡ Dartmouth's Note on Burnet, vol. iv. p. 396.



Parliament House and Square, Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XIV.

Commercial Policy of England—System of Prohibition—Restrictions upon the trade of Ireland—Restrictions upon the trade of Scotland—Scotch spirit of Commercial Adventure—African and Indian Company—Scotch Colony at Darien.

In the commercial policy of England, at the period of which we are now treating, there were two words of magical power, which represented the system upon which all industrial operations were conducted. These words were, Prevention—Encouragement. We open the Statute Book. At one page we find "An Act to prevent." We turn a few leaves, and we find "An Act to encourage." There is some home manufacture to be supported; there is some foreign product to be prohibited. To carry out these Statutes required a vigilance of no ordinary nature. Officers of the government were constantly scouring over the sands and marshes of the coast, to embarrass the operations of a most indefatigable race, known by the name of smugglers, with which we are still familiar, and by the name of owlers, which has lost its place in our language. Owling and smuggling were carried on upon a large scale, by considerable capitalists. In the Session of 1698, the Parliament proceeded against some dozen of opulent merchants with foreign names, by impeaching them of high crimes and misdemeanours, for fraudulently importing foreign alamodes and lustrings, and for illegally exporting native wool. They carried on this traffic in vessels regularly passing between France and the English coast, where the smugglers were waiting to bear away the

silks to the interior, and the owlers were at hand with a return cargo of wool for Picardy. The delinquent merchants pleaded guilty at the bar of the Lords. One was fined ten thousand pounds; one, three thousand pounds; two, fifteen hundred pounds each; three, a thousand pounds each; and one, five hundred pounds. These sums were applied to the building of Greenwich Hospital.

If the paternal system of prohibition, which all governments are so unwilling to relinquish, had been confined to countries then regarded as natural rivals, if not as natural enemies, a century and a-half might have elapsed before even well-informed Englishmen would have regarded the principle as fallacious, and injurious to the real interests of a country. Not half a century has passed since those who advocated a contrary opinion were denounced as hard-hearted political economists. Logicians of this character still linger in a few provincial towns; and even a grave historian dates the certain ruin of our people from the establishment of commercial freedom. Great States in our own day look upon the vast extension of the trade of these islands, but make very small advances to accomplish the same ends by the same means. The most despotic government in Europe dares not encounter the monopolists of iron. The transatlantic government, that claims to be at the head of free institutions, clings to its exclusive tariff. Nations have their infancy as well as individuals. "When I was a child," says the Apostle of the Gentiles, "I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man I put away childish things." Nations, in their apparent manhood, do not readily "put away childish things." The go-cart is still necessary to keep their feet from falling. They still delight to play with straws and feathers.

There is probably no manifestation of commercial jealousy more absurd than the interference of England, after the Restoration of Charles II., with the free course of the industry of Ireland and Scotland. The rural interests of England had prevented the importation of Irish cattle. In the Statute of Charles II. such cattle were called "a nuisance." The Irish farmers took to breeding sheep; and wool being abundant, woollen manufactures were set up. In 1698, the Commons went up with an Address to the king, in which they expressed their great trouble that "Ireland should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture;" and they implored his majesty "that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland—except imported hither—and for discouraging the woollen, and encouraging the linen, manufacture in Ireland." Upon this representation, William wrote to the earl of Galway, "The chief thing that must be tried to be prevented is, that the Irish Parliament takes no notice of what has passed in this, here; and that you make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and discourage, as far as possible, the woollen." In their Address to the king, the Commons implored him to "find means to secure the trade of England, by making his subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interests of both kingdoms." We can now understand how these joint interests would have been better promoted, by leaving the productive industry and the commercial intercourse of both countries perfectly free. The reason which the Commons expressed, as to the necessity of the paternal compulsion of the king to make Ireland

understand her true interest, was, that the Irish were "dependent on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have."

The king of England was also king of Scotland. But he was king of the Scots, with a distinct Parliament, with a distinct Church, with a people not only indignant at the notion of submission to England, but thoroughly convinced that the day was not yet gone by for a contest for dominion, if the opportunity should arise. Fletcher of Saltoun, who held the necessity of subjecting the indigent and lawless population of Scotland to a condition of feudal slavery, yet believed that England had reached the culminating point of her prosperity; that there was a hardy race in Scotland whose energy would soon outstrip the luxurious nation that had become corrupted by riches. A federal union, between the degenerate race that had nearly run its course, and the vigorous breed that were pressing forward to a nobler goal, was all that the patriotic Scot could consent to—a perfect equality in their several nationalities, but no joint interests. Such were the doctrines that the pride of Scotland eagerly listened to, and which led her to dream of coming struggles with the haughty English for the commerce of the seas and the wealth of colonization. Yet Fletcher had been perfectly right, if he could have gone a step farther, and could have contemplated the period when the "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum" should have entered with England into a career of sympathy instead of antipathy. When, having ceased to manifest her peculiar social tendencies by hanging a boy for blasphemy, as she hanged the victim of religious intolerance, Thomas Aikenhead, in 1696,—and by putting twenty-two witches upon trial for their lives, as the Scotch Privy Council commanded, at the same period—she had carried forward the enlightenment of her system of parochial school education into the development of her people, to form the most intelligent, the most industrious, and the most accumulating members of a British community. We had each a great deal to learn, and a great deal to endure, before that consummation of the united destinies of two countries, so formed for successful amalgamation out of their very differences, could be accomplished. There is nothing more instructive in the history of the human race than the complete union of England and Scotland into one Great Britain. The most remarkable occurrence of the period before the legislative union of the two countries is that conflict for separate interests, which saw the king of England, certainly wishing well to the prosperity of both the kingdoms that he had been called upon to govern, hesitating between the jealousies of the one kingdom and the rash assertion of an impossible independence in the other—which saw William embarrassed, even to the point of resigning his great scheme of policy to neutralize the dangerous ambition of France, by a national enthusiasm which utterly set at nought the dangers and difficulties which it involved for him as the sovereign of two disunited realms. Those who have regarded William as the callous enemy, or the cold friend, of Scotland, in the transactions which we associate with the name of Darien, have scarcely made allowance for the peculiar position of the head of this very divided empire. Those who lived in the time of the events which saw Scotland impoverished and humiliated by the results of an enterprise which was rashly undertaken, ignorantly conducted, and ending fatally, were led to the verge of a civil war, by obstinately looking only at one side of a very complicated question.

About six or eight years before the close of the seventeenth century a spirit of commercial activity seems to have sprung up in Scotland, and to have taken a direction somewhat remarkable in a country possessing very little superfluous capital. Yet this direction may be satisfactorily explained. The natural commerce of Scotland was labouring under great disadvantages. The ancient intercourse with France was cut off by the war with Louis XIV. The exchange of commodities with England was interrupted by prohibitions and heavy duties. The trade with the English colonies was absolutely forbidden. The most serious impediment to the commercial progress of Scotland was the Navigation Act of Charles II.—distinctly opposed to the policy of Cromwell, by whose ordinance all goods passing from England to Scotland, from Scotland to England, or from Scotland to any of the English foreign dominions, were to be treated exactly the same as goods passing from port to port in England. The two countries were then regarded essentially as one kingdom in those matters of trade in which the prosperity of each country was involved. Scotland, in the time of William III., could not advantageously trade with the East Indies, in consequence of the monopoly of the East India Company. Nevertheless, it was not legally cut off from that trade, as were English adventurers. It could not trade with the American Plantations, in consequence of the Navigation Act. It is not surprising, therefore, that a kingdom which was beginning to feel the benefits of peaceful industry—a kingdom containing a most energetic and industrious population—should desire to seek new fields of enterprise, under the jealousies which prevented their fully participating in the commerce of its richer neighbour. This national desire was manifested in the Act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1693 "for encouraging foreign trade." It declares that nothing has been found more effectual for the improvement and enlargement of trade "than the erecting and encouraging of companies, whereby the same may be carried on by undertakings to the remotest parts, which it is not possible for single persons to undergo." It accordingly provides that merchants may enter into societies for carrying on trade to any kingdoms or parts of the world, not being at war with our sovereign Lord and Lady. The East Indies were not excepted.* The general powers of this Statute seem to have excited little alarm amongst the jealous merchants and party legislators of England. They probably knew nothing of this attempt to legislate for rival interests. English statesmen were too much accustomed to look with contempt upon the poverty of Scotland to entertain much dread of her commercial competition. It is recorded that Sir Edward Seymour, in a debate in Parliament which touched upon a union with Scotland, applied a coarse proverbial saying about marrying a beggar.†

But at the end of 1695, the favour with which a Scottish commercial project had been received in England stirred up all the national jealousy of the House of Commons. A Scot, who was well known as the originator of the scheme of the Bank of England, had been in London, and under the authority of a Scottish Act of Parliament, passed in the previous June, had in a few days obtained subscriptions to the amount of three hundred thousand

* "Acts of Parliament of Scotland," 1693, vol. ix. p. 314.
† See Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 264.

pounds, for constituting a Company "for trading from Scotland to Africa and the Indies." This success was secured by the energy of William Paterson, when the English government was in great financial difficulties. The supporters in London of the project for a Scottish trading company were apprehensive of a parliamentary opposition to the scheme. "They think," wrote Paterson, on the 9th of July, to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, "that we ought to keep private and close for some months, that no occasion may be given for the Parliament of England, directly or indirectly, to take notice of it in the ensuing Session, which might be of ill consequences, especially when a great many considerable persons are already alarmed at it." *

A new Parliament met in November, and in December the Lords and Commons went up with an Address to the king, to represent that an Act which had lately received his royal assent in his kingdom of Scotland, "for erecting a Company trading to Africa and the Indies, was likely to bring many great prejudices and mischiefs to all his majesty's subjects who were concerned in the wealth or trade of this nation." The answer of William was perhaps the only one that he could have given with any regard to prudence: "He had been ill-served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from this Act." † "He had been ill-served in Scotland." Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, had been his principal servant; and for his share in the affair of Glencoe the Scottish Parliament had requested the king to signify his disapprobation at this very period. He had promoted the scheme of the Company trading to Africa and the Indies. When sir Walter Scott affirms that Dalrymple was deprived of his office of Secretary of State to William, not for his share "in the bloody deed of Glencoe," but for "attempting to serve his country in the most innocent and laudable manner, by extending her trade and national importance," ‡ he uses the privileges of the novelist. William had been "ill-served" in both these matters. The House of Commons went farther than the king. They resolved that the directors of the Scottish Company, naming the lord Belhaven, William Paterson, and others, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, upon the ground that under colour of a Scotch Act of Parliament these directors had levied money, and had done other corporate acts in England, which could not be legally done without the sanction of the English Parliament.

With every symptom of a national jealousy unworthy of a people that was becoming commercially great, it could scarcely be expected that in England the very sweeping powers of the "Company trading to Africa and the Indies" should not have excited considerable alarm. The ships of the favoured Company were to be free from all dues; the Company were to be privileged to fit out vessels of war; they were authorized to make settlements and build forts in any uninhabited places in Asia, Africa, or America; they might make alliances with sovereign powers; all other Scotsmen were prohibited from trading within their range, without licence from them. But the English jealousy of commercial rivalry once roused, there could be no com

* Bannister's "Life of Paterson," p. 133.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 975. ‡ "Tales of a Grandfather."

promise which would make the speculation safe for the London capitalists. They forfeited their first instalments upon their shares. The angry mood of the English legislature had also roused the public spirit of Scotland; and by a general consent it was resolved that a great opportunity of asserting the national independence should not be lost. In six months from the opening of the subscription books, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was subscribed. This subscription was not accomplished by a few large capitalists, such as those who had come forward in London. "The subscription book is an interesting analysis, as it were, of the realised wealth of Scotland, at a time when it was more difficult to raise five pounds than it is now to raise a hundred." There were a few large subscriptions from the nobility and the higher mercantile classes; but the majority of the subscribers were professional men and shopkeepers. The list "affords little indication of that quiet and comfortable class, deposited in a long-enriched social system like the Britons of the present day, who are seeking a sure investment for disengaged capital." * The available funds of Scotland were devoted to the romantic adventure of founding a great Scottish Colony, in some favoured spot of the new world which was yet shrouded in mysterious anticipations. Not Cortez,—

"Silent upon a peak in Darien." †

stared at the Pacific with more eagle eyes than those entrusted with Paterson's secret. The concealed destination of the Colony was the famous Isthmus of Panama. A Scottish merchant, named Douglas, shrewdly guessed Paterson's design, in September, 1696; and he exposed the perils and uncertainties of the enterprise. This acute reasoner held the amount proposed to be raised as insufficient for the project, and predicted that the Company would have to encounter the determined hostility of the Spainards. "He" [Paterson] "deceives the Company, and imposes upon them—and indeed the nation, which is generally concerned in it—in that he puts them upon attempting so hazardous and costly an undertaking with so little stock. Whereas it is reasonable to believe that, if they were able at last to accomplish it, after a long war with the Spaniards, and to make themselves masters of both seas, it may cost more millions than they have hundreds of thousands.‡ Nevertheless the national enthusiasm was at its height, filled with dreams of gold and rubies and copper-mines—of untaxed trade, and the mighty power of joint stocks. "Trade's Release" was the theme of an "excellent new ballad":—

"Come, rouse up your hearts, come rouse up anon!
Think of the wisdom of old Solomon;
And heartily join with our own Paterson,
To fetch home Indian treasures." §

The four hundred thousand pounds which, on the 1st of August, appeared to have been subscribed, were, to some extent, made up "by a method of fictitious support well known in the stock market." The ledgers of the Company, which still exist, show that some large subscribers were guaranteed by the directors.‖ Twenty-five per cent. upon the subscriptions was, how-

* Burton, vol. i. p. 294.
† Keats.
‡ Bannister, p. 148 to p. 158.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 48.
‖ Burton, vol. i. p. 297

ever, paid up within the year, or very nearly so. With this amount in hand, somewhat less than a hundred thousand pounds, the Company began to engage in magnificent undertakings. They did not leave the trade of Scotland to adapt itself to their enterprise of finding new markets for a profitable exchange, but made contracts in various small seats of manufacture, for iron goods and cutlery, for stockings and gloves, for hats, shoes, linen, periwigs, and tobacco-pipes. The Highlands even were stimulated into the production of home-woven tartan. They issued bank notes; and with this device, and with the general confidence in their credit, they collected stores and built warehouses. But their means were still found inadequate to their ambition. They attempted to dispose of stock at Hamburg, but were interfered with by the English resident. Remonstrances were made to king William, but he afforded no redress to the complaints of his Scottish lieges. "Whether from wisdom," says Mr. Burton, "or the obduracy of his Dutch nature, he long effectively baffled every attempt to extract from him either an act or an opinion." We are inclined to think that if the king had followed the higher wisdom of pointing out to the Scottish legislature that they had sanctioned and stimulated an enterprise fraught with peril, and likely to cause his government serious embarrassment in the difficult and delicate position in which it stood in relation to foreign affairs, he would have brought down upon himself even a greater amount of indignation than was the result of his cold reserve. On the other hand, had he encouraged the project, which many sensible men proclaimed as fallacious, and which the jealousy of his English Parliament had denounced, he would have risked a rupture with that Parliament, which he scrupulously avoided even under the severest mortifications personal to himself. It was more than difficult for him to steer a just and prudent course as the sovereign of two kingdoms having such conflicting interests in their unnatural separation. The embarrassments arising out of the Darien scheme, without doubt gave a stronger impulse to his ardent wish for the union of England and Scotland.

On the 26th of July, 1698, three vessels, purchased from the Dutch, and armed as ships of war, sailed from Leith, with twelve hundred men on board. "The whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith, to see the colony depart, amidst the tears, and prayers, and praises of relations and friends.*" The destination of the adventurers was unknown to them. Paterson was on board one of the vessels, the Saint Andrew, but in no responsible position. He addressed a Report of his proceedings at the end of the next year to the Court of Directors of the Company. At the first, when he suggested that a Council should be held to inquire how the vessel was provided for the voyage, he was told by the captain not to interfere with business for which there were ample instructions. The passengers were soon reduced to short allowance. Throughout the voyage the projector of the Colony was at issue with the officers of the ship and the Council appointed by the Directors. The sealed orders were opened at Madeira, and then the destination of the twelve hundred colonists ceased to be a secret. On the 4th of November, they landed at a point in the Gulf of Darien. In a letter which Paterson wrote to a friend in Boston, we find that his sanguine

* Dalrymple.

spirit had overcome all the unpleasant circumstances of the voyage. "Our situation is about two leagues to the southward of Golden Island (by the Spaniards called Guarda), in one of the best and most defensible harbours, perhaps, in the world. The country is healthful to a wonder, insomuch that our own sick, that were many when we arrived, are now generally cured. The country is exceedingly fertile, and the weather temperate." The riches of the country, he says, are far beyond what he ever thought or conceived. The natives, for fifty leagues on either side, are in entire friendship. The Spaniards, indeed, are much surprised and alarmed,—the news of the arrival of the colony has come like a thunder-clap upon them. "We have written to the President of Panama, giving him account of our good and peaceable intentions, and to procure a good understanding and correspondence. If this is not condescended to, *we are ready for what else he pleases.*" * The spot where the colonists landed was a peninsula united to the mainland, and capable at its narrower junction of being fortified. The colony was to be settled on that mainland, which was to be called New Caledonia. Seven gentlemen had been appointed for the government of the settlement. They were thoroughly ignorant of what they ought to do for the management and profitable employ of twelve hundred men, some of whom were of the old buccaneering stamp, and far readier for plunder than for labour or traffic. It had been ostentatiously proclaimed that the Scottish Colony was to be the great emporium of free commerce; that the ships of all nations were to exchange in its favoured ports without restriction. The projectors were before their time in their doctrine, as set forth in some verses of the day—

"that trade by sea
Needs little more support than being free."

The adventurers had little acquaintance with the difficulties of colonization, and knew not the obstacles that would prevent a body of private men, unsupported by the strong arm of a government, from planting themselves on the Isthmus of Panama, and becoming the medium of commercial intercourse between the Atlantic and the Pacific. There had been terrible visitors there before the Scots,—ruffians who had carried desolation into the Spanish possessions on the Isthmus—robbers and murderers who hoisted the black flag—the remembrance of whose atrocities was still fresh. The colonists sent civil messages to the governors of the neighbouring Spanish settlements. Their overtures were rejected with disdain. Soon they got into conflict with the Spaniards, in taking part in a dispute between them and some friendly Indians. At Carthagena a vessel of the Company, armed with fourteen guns, running into the bay, the captain and crew were seized and condemned to death as pirates. The English resident interfered and saved the men. The authorities of the Colony now declared war against Spain; attacked the ships of that power; and turned very readily to the same sort of exploits for which captain Morgan, the great buccaneer, had been distinguished. The Court of Spain, by its ambassador, made a formal representation to the government in London, that its territory had been invaded by the subjects of king William. In our narrative of the remaining events of William's reign it will be seen

* "Life of Paterson," p. 209.

how indispensable a right understanding with Spain was, for the great objects of England's foreign policy. The proceedings in the Gulf of Darien had alarmed the English government previous to this remonstrance; and notice had been sent to the governors of English colonies in the West Indies, and in America, that the objects of the expedition had been unknown to the king, and that the proceedings of the adventurers had not his sanction. The colonists soon found how improvident had been the arrangements for their establishment. They began severely to feel the want of food. No supply from home had reached them, for Scotland itself was suffering from a fearful deficiency of harvest. The Directors of the Company wrote to the unfortunate men, who relied upon a sympathy and foresight that would have left nothing wanting, "We have had scarcity of corn and provisions here since your departure hence, even to dearth, and poverty of course occasioned thereby; which, to our regret, hath necessarily retarded us in our designs of sending you such recruits as our inclination did prompt us unto." * By "recruits" they do not mean men, which Scotland would have been glad to have shipped off, but provisions that the Company had not the means to purchase. They had wherewithal to exchange for food, thought the Directors of the Company: their cargoes of axes and knives, of shoes and linen, would easily command the necessaries of life. The unhappy settlers could find no exchangers amongst the Indians. They had sent in vain to Jamaica, to obtain supplies. In the huts which they had built pestilence found its seat, side by side with famine. The spring came. Those who remained alive resolved to abandon the land to which they had gone with such eager hopes. They sailed away, sick and feeble, in their three vessels, two of which arrived at New York and one at Jamaica, with the remnant of the colonists in a state of indescribable wretchedness. Paterson, who had opposed the departure, was amongst their number. "I desired them," says he, "not to design, or so much as talk of, going away." The immediate cause of their despair is thus related by Paterson: "Upon the 3rd day of May we despatched the sloop brought in by Pilkington and Sands, to Jamaica, with money and other effects, in order to purchase provisions and necessaries for the colony. . . . . Then we began to expect these two sloops; viz., that of Pilkington's and this from Jamaica; also that other supplies would be dropping in, till a reinforcement should come from our country. When, instead thereof, a periagua of ours returned from the coast of Carthagena, which had met with a Jamaica sloop, by whom she had the surprising news that proclamations were published against us in Jamaica, wherein it was declared that, by our settlement at Darien, we had broken the peace entered into with his majesty's allies, and therefore prohibited all his majesty's subjects from supplying, or holding any sort of correspondence with us, upon the severest penalties. And it seems the governor of Jamaica had been so hasty and precipitant in this matter, that these proclamations were published upon the Sabbath day (the like whereof had not been formerly known). But it was to prevent the going out of two sloops bound out next morning, and fraughted with provisions for Caledonia." † Certainly, a severe measure. But Defoe states, in the most unqualified terms, that "whoever has the least knowledge of the affairs of

* Burton. Note, vol. i. p. 317.

† "Life of Paterson," p. 195.

that country, and of the trade of the English colonies, must needs know that, had the Scots Company, who had placed themselves at Darien, been furnished either with money, or letters of credit, they had never wanted provisions, or come to any other disaster, notwithstanding the proclamations of the English against correspondence." * The whole affair has some resemblance to the expedition of Raleigh to Guiana; more resemblance to the filibustering adventures of our own day. "They," says Scott, "who thus perished for the want of the provisions for which they were willing to pay, were as much murdered by king William's government as if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." We are not inclined to retort uncourteously upon this ebullition of nationality, but we can scarcely avoid inquiring whether the Court of Directors in the city of Edinburgh,—who had sent out twelve hundred men to a barren country with insufficient supplies, and in reply to their demands for aid had said, "We have had scarcity of corn and provisions here since your departure," which has prevented us doing "what our inclination did prompt us unto"—were not partakers in the alleged murder? †

In the spring and summer of 1699 the Company in Scotland were enabled to do something for their colonists beyond imparting to them their kind intentions. Two vessels with provisions were sent out in May. On the 5th of June Paterson was attacked with the fever of that pestilential region. By the 10th, he says, "all the counsellors and most of the officers were on board the several ships, and I left alone on shore in a weak state." By the 18th of June the fort was abandoned, and the haste to sail away was such that the vigilance of one of the captains alone prevented the guns being left behind. But another expedition had been organized; and in September, thirteen hundred men, ignorant of the unhappy fate of those who had gone before them, set sail from Leith. When the truth became known in Scotland, of their lamentable failure in the scheme which had raised the hopes of the nation to an extravagant height, the Directors assumed the warlike attitude of injured princes; sent out another squadron under military command; and ordered their officers to pay no respect to any authority but that of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Those who had embarked in May arrived at Darien in the rainy or winter season, to find a scene of desolation where they expected abundance. The expedition which had left in September arrived in the latter part of the winter, when the rains were passing away: the opening of the new year is the beginning of summer, in that climate. This numerous body of men, who had come with ardent expectations, but without any well-defined purpose, found themselves wanting in the immediate means of preserving life, on the barren spot where so many of their countrymen had perished. They, as well as those who had

* "History of the Union," p. 67.

† Mr. Burton's narrative of the Darien affair, in his excellent "History of Scotland, from the Revolution," is the most candid and impartial account of these transactions that has been given by any Scottish writer; and though, in our view, he scarcely makes adequate allowance for the tremendous difficulties under which William was placed, his account is not coloured by that intense nationality which renders the relation of this unhappy business by sir Walter Scott and others, necessary to be received with a cautious regard to the general politics of that time, and to the condition of society in both kingdoms. Mr. Burton had the advantage of consulting the original documents "connected with this ill-fated company."

preceded them, had been insufficiently provided with a stock of food. For the most part they kept on board the vessels, quarrelling with each other, and ready for any act of mutiny. Accounts at last reached them, that the Spaniards were preparing to attack the Scottish settlement with an overwhelming force. Then the old spirit of many a foray, and of many a battle, was roused. Campbell of Finab, who had come out with the warlike instructions of the Company, led two hundred men, by a wearisome march of three days, across the Isthmus; and finding a Spanish force on the river Santa Maria, took the post by storm. The Spaniards fled from this fierce onslaught; and Campbell and his band marched triumphantly back with their spoils of war. During their absence five Spanish men of war had arrived. The settlement was blockaded by an overpowering naval squadron. It was surrounded by large bodies of troops by land. A surrender was inevitable. On the 18th of March the settlement was abandoned, upon terms of capitulation which had been agreed upon with the governor of Carthagena.

The incidents which illustrate this text of Burnet—"the nation was roused into a sort of fury upon it"—would be painful, and almost revolting, to look back upon, if we were not sure that such an event as the Darien scheme could never happen again, and if the very calamity had not been productive of the greatest blessing to Scotland and England, their political, commercial, and social union. When the Scottish Parliament took up the whole course of the Darien transactions in a revengeful mood—making no allowance for those trade jealousies which were as rife in Scotland as in England—looking at the position of the king as if he could govern England with his right arm upon one course of policy, and govern Scotland with his left arm upon a totally opposite course,—utterly rejecting the notion that anything in the world could be of more paramount importance than the interests of a body of shareholders who had paid up two hundred thousand pounds capital, to carry forward plans which sober-judging merchants and disinterested politicians considered as symptoms of insanity,—we can scarcely conceive any more effectual remedy for the national fever than the cold reserve of William. The wrongs of the Indian and African Company were echoed from the English border to the remotest North. The Jacobites were active in proclaiming the iniquity of a king who had sacrificed Scotland to preserve the Dutch possessions in the West Indies. Associations were formed to forbid the consumption of articles of English production. The Scottish Parliament was not propitiated by a temperate and conciliatory message from the king, that it had been to him a deep regret that he could not agree to the assertion of the right of the Company's Colony in Darien; that he was fully satisfied that his yielding in this matter would have infallibly disturbed the general peace of Christendom, and have brought on a heavy war, in which he could expect no assistance. The Parliament agreed to a series of resolutions, in which the national grievances of Darien were recapitulated, as if Scotland rejected all considerations of the general peace of Christendom, and stood isolated amongst the nations, proud and defiant. Whoever defended the king was a libeller of the nation; and to the fire of the common hangman were committed the few printed attempts to induce charity and forbearance. Such a fierce crackling of the thorns under the pot was of course soon at an end. The king appears to have been the only one who could see something bright

beyond the passing smoke. The House of Lords addressed him in terms of strong condemnation of the proceedings of the colonists at Darien, and of approbation of the means adopted by the colonial governor to discourage and injure them. William, in his reply, declared that "he cannot but have a great concern and tenderness for his kingdom of Scotland, and a desire to advance their welfare and prosperity; and is very sensibly touched with the loss his subjects of that kingdom have sustained by their late unhappy expeditions, in order to a settlement at Darien. His majesty does apprehend that difficulties may too often arise with respect to the different interests of trade between his two kingdoms, unless some way be found out to unite them more nearly and completely, and therefore his majesty takes this opportunity of putting the House of Peers in mind of what he recommended to his Parliament soon after his accession to the throne, that they would consider of an Union between the two kingdoms."

Six or seven years passed over, during which the Darien affair was a constant source of irritation in Scotland against the English government and the English people. The East India Company had become prosperous beyond expectation, in the amalgamation of the New Company with the Old. The more prosperous that great association, the more jealous and angry were the Scots, who believed that their Company, unless ruined by the tyranny of king William, might have opened the whole commerce of the East to their favoured nation. In the negotiations for the Union in 1706, the Scots Commissioners clung firmly to the principle that the charters, rights, and privileges of the African and Indian Company should be maintained. The English Commissioners as firmly resolved, that the condition of free intercourse, which was the basis of the Union, should not result in "a perfect laying open the East India trade, or at least erecting a new East India Company in Britain." * A compromise was effected, in a manner which smoothed many of the difficulties which the Darien affair presented to the establishment of cordiality between Scotland and England. The Lords Commissioners for England,—"being sensible that the misfortunes of that Company have been the occasion of misunderstandings and unkindnesses between the two kingdoms, and thinking it above all things desirable that upon the union of the kingdoms the subjects of both may be entirely united in affection,"—agreed to purchase the shares of the particular members of that Company. The stock "had been a dead weight upon many families; the sums paid were given over as utterly sunk and lost; and after all this, to find the whole money should come in again, with interest for the time, was a happy surprise to a great many families, and took off the edge of the opposition which some people would otherwise have made to the Union in general." †

The patriotic aspirations of king William, in the largest sense of patriotism, for the removal of the difficulties with respect to "the different interests of trade in his two kingdoms," were slowly realised. A way was found out "to unite them more nearly and completely." In less than a quarter of a century the fatal rivalries were completely at an end. The merchants of Glasgow and the merchants of Liverpool traded upon equal terms. The two kingdoms, thus united, went forward in a career of

* "History of the Union," p. 178. † *Ibid.*, p. 180.

prosperity beyond the hopes of the most ardent imagination. In a century and a-half, when Great Britain had planted new colonies in regions known only as the lands of savages; when the North American Plantations had amalgamated into a great republic; when the gold discoveries of California and Australia had given a new impulse to the commerce of the world;—over that Isthmus of Panama where Scotland vainly attempted to establish a settlement amidst the hostility of the Spanish claimants of its territory, was constructed a railway, by which the great highways of North and South America were connected by the wonder-working powers of Science, devoted to the magnificent object of gradually making the human race one great family.

Halfpenny of William III.

CHAPTER XV.

Question of the Succession to the Crown of Spain—The Partition Treaties—Negotiations at Loo—Correspondence of the king with his ministers—First Partition Treaty signed—The new Parliament—The troops disbanded—William's mortification—A rash resolve, and a calmer judgment—The Dutch guards dismissed—Penal law against Catholics—Portland and Albemarle—Admiral Rooke in the Baltic—Policy of Louis the Fourteenth.

In 1698, Charles II., the son of Philip IV., had been for thirty-four years king of Spain and the Indies. He had become the head of that corrupt and decaying monarchy when a child of four years of age. His early life had been spent under the tutelage of his mother, and of his illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria. He had one glimpse of happiness in his affection for his young wife, the princess Louisa of Orleans, whom he soon lost. Under his second wife, a princess related to the emperor, he was governed as in his childish days. His body and mind were equally enfeebled. In June, 1698, Stanhope, the English ambassador, wrote from Madrid, "The name the doctors give to the disease of the king is *alfereyn insensata*, which sounds, in English, a stupid epilepsy." Charles had no issue. The question of the succession was very complicated. Louis XIV. had married Charles's eldest sister; but, upon their marriage, the Infanta of Spain, by a solemn contract, had renounced for herself and her successors all claim to the Spanish Crown. The emperor Leopold had married a younger sister, and she had made a similar renunciation. Her daughter had married the Elector of Bavaria, and their son, the electoral prince, was the inheritor of whatever claim his mother might have upon the Spanish Crown; for her renunciation was considered of none effect from not having been confirmed by the Cortes, as the renunciation of the elder sister had been. The emperor himself was a claimant to the succession in his own person, for he was the grandson of Philip III. of Spain, and first cousin to Charles II. Thus the legitimate heir, the dauphin of France, was barred by that renunciation of his mother which was considered valid. The next in order of inheritance, the electoral prince of Bavaria, had a less doubtful claim, for his mother's renunciation was held invalid. The emperor, who was farthest removed in blood, was not fettered by any contracts.

We can readily understand how, with this complication of interests, the question of the Spanish succession influenced the political combinations of Europe. We can also understand the deep anxiety which William felt, when he saw what an opening would be presented by the death of the king of Spain to the realization of the most ambitious projects of France. This was no chimerical dread, in which William stood apart from the people he governed. His most anxious hours had been given to discussions with Tallard, the French ambassador, of the terms of a treaty which would reconcile these conflicting claims. But in May, 1698, Tallard wrote to Louis that the English nation "consider the partition of the succession of the king of Spain as something in which they must take a part * * * * They conceive that their commerce and its interests are at stake, and that it would be ruined if your Majesty were in possession of the Indies and Cadiz * * * * You may rely upon it that they would resolve on a war, if it were suggested to them that your Majesty desires to render yourself master of the countries which I have just named, and if the king of Spain were to die before a treaty had been made." * Although William readily went into negotiations with France for a Partition Treaty, he had a deep conviction that the question of succession would not be decided by diplomacy. He said to Tallard, "that it was much to be feared that it would be necessary to have recourse to the sword before it could be settled." He desired peace, he added; he was old and worn out; he should be very glad to enjoy repose. But France was alone to be feared, and he could be guided by no other rule than the interests of the kingdoms which he governed.†

The scheme of a partition of the vast dominions of the crown of Spain unquestionably originated with the Court of France. It had been hinted to Heinsius by the French ambassadors, before the beginning of 1698. It was formally proposed to Portland soon after his arrival in Paris, as "a thing of the greatest importance, and which demanded the greatest secresy." The truth of history is not substantially violated by the humourist, who has so capitally described the compact between Lewis Baboon, John Bull, and Nic Frog: "My worthy friends, quoth Louis, henceforth let us live neighbourly. I am as peaceable and quiet as a lamb of my own temper, but it has been my misfortune to live among quarrelsome neighbours. There is but one thing can make us fall out, and that is the inheritance of Lord Strutt's estate. I am content, for peace sake, to waive my right, and submit to any expedient to prevent a lawsuit. I think an equal division will be the fairest way." ‡ John Bull, then represented by "a little long-nosed thin man," thought Louis an honest fellow who would stand by his bargain. It would be scarcely worth while here to pursue the story of treaties that were broken through like cobwebs, if the negotiations only exhibited the folly and danger of that diplomacy which attempts to settle the destinies of peoples by regard alone to the interests of crowns. "It was the fashion to do such things," says the satirist.§. The fashion, unhappily, is not quite obsolete. But there was one essential difference between the Partition Treaties which William negotiated with Louis, and later Treaties, in which the word Partition is another term for robbery:—"an equal division" had no reference to the especial

* Grimblot, vol. i. p. 508.
† *Ibid.*, p. 365.
‡ Arbuthnot, "History of John Bull," part ii., chap. vi.
§ *Ibid.*

advantage of England or the States General, beyond their protection against the first imminent danger of a vast addition to the power of France, or the secondary danger of a similar addition to the power of Austria. William, as king of England and as Stadtholder, negotiated these treaties upon purely defensive principles. "I have had the honour," says Defoe, "to hear his majesty speak of these things at large; and I appeal to all those noble persons now living, who were near the king at that time, who I believe often heard him express himself with great caution as to the giving too much to the empire, as equally dangerous to the public peace with giving it to France."* The Partition Treaties are associated with the subsequent policy of Europe; and they require a little more consideration to understand the objects with which William entered upon them, than is necessary to pronounce that "a more infamous proceeding is not recorded in history."†

As the summer of 1698 was approaching, the king contemplated his usual journey to Holland. Tallard wrote to Louis that this intention gave much uneasiness to the nation. The French ambassador saw clearly the difficulties with which William was surrounded: "The king of England is very far from being master here. . . . So much is certain, that the situation of the king is still very precarious, and that the moment which has given repose to all the world has been but the beginning of troubles to this prince."‡ William went to the country where he was venerated: "His countenance was expressive of the joy which he felt at going to Holland. He took no pains whatever to conceal it from the English; and, to say the truth, they speak very openly about it."§ Tallard was invited to follow the king, and the negotiations were resumed at Loo. On the 24th of August, they were arrived at such maturity, that Portland was authorized by the king to write to Mr. Secretary Vernon, to impart to him the proposed conditions of a treaty: "You may speak to my Lord Chancellor about it, to whom the king himself writes by this post, that he would likewise talk about it with those he thinks he may trust with the secret, which it is of the highest importance to keep with the utmost care." In the letter of the king to Somers he refers to the fact that the Chancellor had been previously apprised by him of the inclination that had been expressed by the court of France "to come to an agreement with us concerning the succession of the king of Spain." Since that time count Tallard had made certain propositions which Portland had communicated to Vernon, for the purpose of Somers deciding to whom else they should be imparted, "to the end," says the king, "that I might know your opinion upon so important an affair, and which requires the greatest secresy." William then adds, "If it be fit this negotiation should be carried on, there is no time to be lost, and you will send me the full powers, under the great seal, with the names in blank, to treat with count Tallard."‖ Vernon, the Secretary of State, in reply to Portland, rejoices that there is a prospect of avoiding a war when we are in so ill a condition at present for entering into it again. At this present time, August 20, Orford, one of the ministers, wrote to Shrewsbury: "Here is no news, but that we daily expect to hear the king of Spain is dead. What

* "Review," quoted in Wilson, vol. iii. p. 230.
† Alison's "Life of Marlborough," p. 29.
‡ Grimblot, vol. i. p. 466.
§ Tallard to Louis. Grimblot, vol. ii. p. 91.
‖ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 121.

will become of us then, God knows. I do not see the king has made any provision for such an accident." * The king had been labouring for months to make such provision. Somers was in ill health at Tunbridge Wells, when these important despatches arrived from Loo. By his direction their contents were communicated to Shrewsbury, Orford, and Montague. On the 8th of September, Somers wrote to the king an elaborate letter, conveying their joint opinions. They thought that the proposal would be attended with ill consequences, "if the French did not act a sincere part." But they were fully assured that the king "would not act but with the utmost nicety in an affair wherein the glory and safety of Europe were so highly concerned." They thought that there was little hope of preventing France taking possession of Spain, "before any other prince could be able to make a stand," in case nothing was done to provide against the accident of the death of the king of Spain, "which seemed probably to be so very near." They were convinced that the nation was "not at all disposed to the thought of entering into a new war, and that they seem to be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections." They had doubts upon some of the points of the proposed treaty; but they could not expect that France would "quit its pretences to so great a succession without considerable advantages." Their last conviction is very characteristic of a humbler policy than William contemplated: "If it could be brought to pass that England might be in some way a gainer by this transaction,—whether it was by the elector of Bavaria (who is gainer by your majesty's interposition in this treaty), coming to an agreement to let us in to some trade to the Spanish plantations, or in any other manner, it would wonderfully endear your majesty to your English subjects." The Lord Chancellor makes not the slightest objection to sending the king a blank commission. "I should be extremely troubled if my absence from London has delayed the despatch of the commission one day." He adds in a postscript: "The commission is wrote by Mr. Secretary; and I have had it sealed in such a manner, that no creature has the least knowledge of the thing, besides the persons named." Before this commission arrived, William had signed the draft of the treaty, with a note at the foot, "in which he declares it to be converted into a treaty, *if the king of Spain should die before the exchange of the ratifications.*" So writes Tallard to Louis on the 9th of September, stating that the treaty itself would not be signed till the 20th of that month, partly because the full powers had not arrived, on account of the absence of the Chancellor from London. Tallard conjectured that the most essential reason for the delay was, that the king "would not have it known by a date, either in England or in the Hague, that a treaty had been signed before they (William's ministers) had been consulted." † Doubtless the king acted unconstitutionally in concluding the terms of a treaty without waiting for the advice of responsible ministers; although it was only a temporary measure. Doubtless, also, the Chancellor acted unconstitutionally in sending a blank commission under the Great Seal, for the appointment of commissioners to conclude a treaty upon the king's sole authority. Lord Campbell states these facts in terms which are scarcely too strong to be employed by

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 552. † Grimblot, vol. ii. p. 149.

a constitutional lawyer of the nineteenth century. But we cannot think that the learned historian of the Chancellors is warranted in saying that "Lord Somers so far acted properly, that he immediately communicated this letter to four of his colleagues, and they all agreeing with him as to the inexpediency of the treaty, he sent their explicit opinion to the king, with the reasons on which it is founded." We have given an abstract of that "explicit opinion," which is very far from setting forth the "inexpediency of the treaty." When Somers tells the king that the people of England will not sanction a war, and that, knowing this fact, "your majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken," he clearly sanctions a negotiation whose sole purpose was to avert a war. When he tells the king "we are all assured your majesty will reduce the terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as possible in the present circumstances of things, such as may be some foundation for the future quiet of Christendom," he distinctly sanctions the general expediency of such a treaty. The whole tone of the despatch is to the effect that the king was a better judge of such matters than the advisers of his domestic policy. He had always been his own minister for foreign affairs; and the urgency of the case furnishes in some degree an excuse for his unconstitutional rejection of ministerial responsibility. Lord Campbell, we venture to think, is more rhetorical than just when he asks, "If the government was to be carried on by the sovereign's personal exercise of the prerogative, what had been gained by the Revolution?"* Two years and a half later the constitutional question was more fully raised in the impeachment of Somers. This treaty, known as the First Partition Treaty, was definitively signed at the Hague on the 11th of October by the earl of Portland and sir Joseph Williamson, as the two Commissioners whose names were inserted in the blank space of the commission sent by Somers. Without entering into minute details, it may be sufficient to state that in the Treaty was stipulated that the kingdom of Spain, with the Indies and the Netherlands, should be assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; that Naples and Sicily should belong to the dauphin of France; and that the duchy of Milan should be allotted to the archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor. These territorial arrangements were rendered in great part nugatory by an event which occurred only four months after the first Partition Treaty had been signed. The electoral prince of Bavaria, then in his eighth year, died on the 5th of February, 1699. He had been named by the king of Spain as his successor, by a will made in 1698, with a condition that the vast Spanish dominions should not be dissevered. The Partition Treaty had become known. William, upon the death of the young prince, keenly felt the embarrassment of his position. He had been persuaded not to communicate the treaty to Spain or to the emperor. On the 10th of February he wrote to Heinsius, "I cannot comprehend how we shall ever be able to declare our having intended the succession to the monarchy for the elector of Bavaria, and still less to communicate it to the imperial court; so that we are in no small labyrinth, and may it please God to help us out of it." The mode of getting out of the labyrinth was to construct a new labyrinth. The plan of construction was somewhat less complex than the first design. There were

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. iv. p. 142.

now only two claimants to the succession, whose interests had to be accommodated. The Second Partition Treaty, which was concluded in 1700, gave Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands to the archduke Charles. The Bourbons were now to have the Milanese, or an equivalent territory, in addition to the arrangements of the former treaty. When Somers in his letter to the king said that the entertaining the proposal of the first Treaty "seems to be attended with very many ill consequences if the French did not act a sincere part," he gave a warning which William did not then heed, but which was ultimately found to contain something of prophetic wisdom. When Louis, upon the death of the king of Spain, broke through the whole spirit of the two treaties by seizing the Spanish crown for his grandson, William, with an honest candour, wrote to Heinsius, "We must confess we are dupes; but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man."* But at any rate those who acted for England and Holland were honest dupes. They sought no personal gain; they sought no national acquisition. They endeavoured to prevent by negotiation what it required years of warfare less effectually to prevent—the union of Spain to the crown of France. Upon the authority of a modern French writer, one who ought to aim at historical accuracy has ventured to say, "By secret articles attached to this treaty, the Spanish Colonies beyond seas were to be divided between England and Holland." † Had even the commerce with the Spanish Colonies been secured by the Partition Treaties to England and Holland, the Commons, who in their impeachment of Somers declared that the "Treaties were evidently destructive to the trade of this realm," would have hailed the king and his chancellor as the saviours of the country.

The new Parliament—chosen, as Somers said in his letter on the Partition Treaty, under a state of public opinion which showed "a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally"—assembled on the 6th of December, 1698. William only arrived in England two days earlier; and before he delivered his speech he wrote to Heinsius, "It is impossible to foresee what will be the upshot of this Session; but notwithstanding the short time I have been here I clearly perceive that my greatest difficulty will be in retaining the troops." Nevertheless he did not shrink from repeating the idea which he had constantly endeavoured to enforce since the peace of Ryswick, that it was dangerous wholly to disarm. In his speech to the House he now said, "I have no doubt that you are met together with hearts fully disposed to do what is necessary for the safety, honour, and happiness of the kingdom; and that is all I have to ask of you." They had to consider what strength ought to be maintained at sea, and what force kept up on land for this year. "The flourishing of trade, the supporting of credit, and the quiet of people's minds at home, will depend upon the opinion they have of their security; and to preserve to England the weight and influence it has at present in the councils and affairs abroad, it will be requisite that Europe should see you are not wanting to yourselves." Edmund Burke, in quoting this last sentence, describes it as proceeding from a ruler "full of the idea of preserving, not only a local civil

* Grimblot, vol. ii. p. 477.

† Sir Archibald Alison quotes a passage from Capefigue, "Histoire de Louis XIV.," upon which he relies for this monstrous assertion: "Par des articles joints du traité, les colonies Espagnoles etoient cédées à la Grande Bretagne et à la Hollande."—Life of Marlborough, p. 28.

liberty united with order, to our country, but to embody it in the political liberty, the order, and the independence of nations united under a natural head."* The predominant idea of William, in the view of the same philosophical statesman was, at this very time, "to compose, to reconcile, to unite, and to discipline all Europe against the growth of France."† This factious and prejudiced Parliament could not comprehend the high aims of the man who had delivered England from the degradation which has been so truly described by an illustrious Frenchman. "Whilst Charles II. and James II. reigned, England had belonged [*avait appartenu*] to Louis the XIVth."‡ The Commons met William's exhortations with unusual discourtesy. They voted no address in answer to the speech from the throne; and they passed a resolution that all the land forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith paid and disbanded; that the seven thousand should consist of natural born subjects; and that all the forces exceeding twelve thousand men in Ireland, these also natural born subjects, should be paid and disbanded. This resolution was carried on the 16th of December, on a motion made by Harley, the leader of the Tory party. The Whig ministry made a very feeble attempt to resist it; and the king had the bitter mortification of beholding himself humiliated in the eyes of Europe, and of being personally outraged by being deprived of his Dutch guard, and of the faithful Huguenots—both the companions of his toils and dangers during a war of nine years. Truly has it been said, these troops "had claims which a generous and grateful people should not have forgotten: they were many of them the chivalry of Protestantism, the Huguenot gentlemen who had lost all but their swords in a cause which we deemed our own; they were the men who terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance which, to speak plainly, we had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves."§ The bill for disbanding the troops was carried through with unusual rapidity. Tallard, who had come to England, wrote to Louis, "The House of Commons has acted as in a fury." The agony of mind which the king endured overthrew, for once in that troubled life entirely, his wonderful command of temper, and self-sacrificing discretion. He came to the resolution of abandoning the government of England, and of declaring the same to the Parliament. Somers, in a letter to Shrewsbury, says, "When he first mentioned this to me, I treated the notion as the most extravagant and absurd that ever was entertained, and begged of him to speak of it to nobody, for his own honour. . . . The last time I saw him, he would not suffer me to argue with him, telling me plainly he saw we should never agree, and he was resolved. I told him I hoped he would take the seal from me, before he did it; that I had it from him, when he was king, and desired he would receive it from me whilst he was so."‖ Somers at first thought the threat of William was "as an appearance only, and to provoke us to exert ourselves." There is ample confirmation that he was thoroughly in earnest, in a passage of a letter to Heinsius: "I am so chagrined at what passes in the Lower House with regard to the troops, that I can scarce turn my thoughts to any

* "Letters on a Regicide Peace." † *Ibid.*
‡ Guizot, "Civilisation en Europe," Leçon xiii.
§ Hallam. "Constitutional History," chap. xv.
‖ "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 573.

other matter. I foresee that I shall be obliged to come to resolutions of extremity, and that I shall see you in Holland sooner than I thought." In the British Museum there is a document of singular interest—a speech written in William's own hand in French, which he intended to deliver to the Parliament.* The following is a translation of the plain words of this characteristic address:

"My lords and gentlemen, I came to this kingdom, at the desire of this nation, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, your laws, and liberties; and for that end I have been obliged to maintain a long and burdensome war for this kingdom; which, by the grace of God, and the bravery of this nation, is at present ended in a good peace; under which you may live happily and in quiet, provided you will contribute to your own security, in the manner I had recommended to you at the opening of the Session. But seeing, to the contrary, that you have so little regard to my advice, and that you take no manner of care of your own security, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin, by divesting yourselves of the only means for your defence, it would not be just nor reasonable that I should be witness of your ruin, not being able to do anything of myself to avoid it, it not being in my power to defend and protect you, which was the only view I had in coming into this country. Therefore, I am obliged to recommend to you to choose and name to me such persons as you shall judge most proper, to whom I may leave the administration of the government in my absence; assuring you, that, though I am at present forced to withdraw myself out of the kingdom, I shall always preserve the same inclination to its advantages and prosperity. And when I can judge that my presence will be necessary for your defence, I shall be ready to return, and hazard myself for your security, as I have formerly done; beseeching the good God to bless your deliberations, and to inspire you with all that is necessary for the good and welfare of the kingdom."

The equal mind soon came back to this extraordinary man. In a few weeks Portland told Tallard that the king "preferred calmness and mildness to what appeared best for his own interest." The king of France, who was shrewdly suspected of having stimulated some of this factious fury in the Commons by the old system of bribes, looked upon the fray with very much of the spirit attributed to the great tempter of evil. In the French archives there is a despatch of Louis to Tallard, in which the crafty king, reverting to his practices when England was under the Stuarts, says—"In this conjunction it might be proper to assist him [William] to do without the help of his people; and I would do so with pleasure, if, by such means, it were possible to induce that prince to treat with me for the sum which I should give him for the principality of Orange. . . . He would secure his authority in England, and consequently the happiness and tranquillity of his life, by finding means to do without the assistance of Parliament." † There is no evidence that this atrocious temptation was offered to William at the time when he said, "matters in Parliament are taking a turn which drives me mad," nor at any other time. Tallard had a better knowledge of William's character than his presumptuous master possessed. "He is honourable in all he does; his con-

* Printed in the Collections of Letters, &c., by Sir H. Ellis.

† Grimblot, vol. ii., p. 242. This extraordinary proposition is struck out of the original; but M. Grimblot prints it, "as faithfully expressing the sentiments of Louis XIV."

duct is sincere; he is proud, none can be more so, though with a modest manner." Such were the terms in which the ambassador spoke of William. He would not have dared to insult this proud and honourable man with a proposal to sell himself to France, that he might become a despot in England. The "calmness and mildness" which the king had resolved to pursue were so signally displayed, that his conduct towards the Parliament has been called "the meanest act of his reign," and "below his greatness."* He gave his assent to the Disbanding Bill in these words: "I am come to pass the Bill for disbanding the army as soon as I understood it was ready for me. Though, in our present circumstances, there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of troops; and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion that nothing can be so fatal to us as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people." Secretary Vernon sent a copy of the Speech to Shrewsbury, and said, "Many people seemed moved with it, and express an inclination to gratify the king in continuing the Dutch guards." On the 18th of March William sent this message to the Commons: "His majesty is pleased to let the House know that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him into England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." The House would not even appoint a Committee to consider the message, but drew up an address which William, in a letter to Heinsius, called "very impertinent." The king was bluntly told "that nothing conduces more to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom than an entire confidence between his majesty and his people, which could no way be so firmly established as by intrusting his sacred person with his own subjects." The king's answer to this address was a model of forbearance: "I came hither to restore the ancient Constitution of this government. I have had all possible regard to it since my coming, and I am resolved through the course of my reign to preserve it entire in all the parts of it." The House of Commons had the power under the Constitution of determining the amount of the army by limiting the supplies for its maintenance; and the constitutional king accepted its decision. Mr. Hallam judiciously rejects what he calls "the vulgar story which that retailer of all gossip, Dalrymple, calls a well-authenticated tradition, that the king walked furiously round his room exclaiming, 'if I had a son, by God the guards should not leave me.'" His real temper was far more characteristically displayed in a letter to Galway, in which he says, "I am afraid the good God will punish the ingratitude of this nation." A rash man, with a despotic tendency, might have provoked another civil war, by retaining the Dutch guards, and by bringing over other Dutch guards. William was wiser. He said to the Commons, in his reply to their insulting address, in the hour in which his health and spirit sank under the indignity offered him, "It shall be my study to the utmost of my power to perform the part of a just and a good king; and as

* Onslow's Note on Burnet. Oxford edit., vol. iv. p. 391

I will ever be strictly and nicely careful of observing my promise to my subjects, so I will not doubt of their tender regards to me."

The Commons had carried their jealousy of a standing army, and their hatred of foreigners, to the very verge of political disorganization. The kingdom was left almost entirely without military force. Credit was destroyed by no sum being voted for the discharge of debt; for it was in vain that William had said at the opening of the session, "I think an English Parliament can never make such a mistake as not to hold sacred all parliamentary engagements." The political machine had come to a dead lock. Tallard wrote to Louis, "Till the session of Parliament is closed there is no hope of being able to advance a step in anything that is wanted to be done, of what nature soever." Nevertheless,—setting aside the obvious conclusion that patriotism had a great deal less to do with the temper of the Commons towards the king than the blindness of faction, perfectly reckless in its opposition to his policy of preserving to England its weight and influence in foreign affairs,—there was a deep substratum of English spirit beneath all this violence. Tallard had the sense to perceive how deceived Louis would be if he fancied these dissensions opened to him any prospect of bringing back the nation to its old subjection to his will: "Though the affairs of this country are in this state, I must warn your majesty that if the least circumstance should occur which inspired them with jealousy, and if means should be found to persuade them that they ought to be on their guard, the same spirit of liberty and of fickleness which induces them to do all that I have had the honour to intimate to your majesty, would determine them to give their last penny for their defence, or to prevent what they should believe to be injurious to them." * Unchanged and unchangeable England!

The Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of May, after having passed a Bill which had a personal bearing on the king's exercise of the prerogative. It was to appoint a Commission to inquire into the extent of Irish forfeitures of estates, "in order to their being applied in ease of the subjects of England." This measure was tacked to a money-bill, so that it could not be discussed in the House of Lords or rejected by the Crown. The king had granted some of these estates to Portland, Albemarle, and other favourites, and a very natural and proper jealousy was excited. In previous Parliaments a measure for the public appropriation of the lands had been successfully resisted. Nine years before this Session, the king had undertaken to make no grants till the principle of the application of forfeitures had been determined. But the interference of Parliament having ceased, the lands were granted to various persons; "it being an undoubted branch of the royal prerogative, that all confiscations accrued to the Crown, and might be granted away at the pleasure of the king." This is the doctrine held by Burnet. In the next Session of Parliament, which commenced on the 16th of November, 1699, the Commissioners of Inquiry presented their report. The grants made by the king, in spite of the exaggerations of the Report, were very enormous. A Bill of Resumption was brought in, by which the whole of the Irish forfeitures were to be applied to the public uses. In a measure which the Lords had rejected eight years before, one-third was to be reserved for the disposal of the king.

* Grimblot, vol. ii. p. 292.

The present measure was certain to be carried by the Tory majority in the Commons. The Whigs moved an amendment, to resume all grants of lands and revenues of the Crown made since the 6th of February, 1684—the date of the accession of James II. This was a much more sweeping resumption than the opponents of William contemplated. But they had the decency not to resist its adoption. The Commons again tacked the Resumption Bill to a money-bill; and fierce disputes ensued between the two Houses. The king, though bitterly mortified by the measure itself, saw the extreme peril of any conflict upon such a question, and exerted himself to get the Bill passed by the Lords. He gave his assent to it, and immediately prorogued the Parliament. The Commons were preparing a Resolution that an Address should be presented to the king, "that no person, not a native, except the Prince of Denmark, should be admitted to his councils in England or Ireland." The prorogation prevented this last personal affront. Somers, the only one of the Whig ministers that William had retained, now quitted office. The triumphant Tories succeeded in effecting his removal, although they could not succeed in blackening his character by a vote of the House of Commons.

This House, so furious in its hostility to the Crown, passed the most disgraceful law of this reign. The tolerant disposition of William had in England made the old penal laws against papists in many respects a dead letter. Tallard wrote to his court in 1698 that the Catholic religion "is here tolerated more openly than it was even in the time of king Charles II.; and it seems evident that the king of England has determined to leave it in peace, in order to secure his own." The "Act for the further preventing the growth of Popery" recites, that there has been a greater resort into this kingdom than formerly, of Popish bishops, priests, and Jesuits. Any person apprehending and prosecuting to conviction any such bishop, priest, or Jesuit, for saying mass, or exercising any priestly function, is to receive a reward of a hundred pounds. The punishment for such convicted persons, or for a papist keeping a school, is to be perpetual imprisonment. Every person educated in the Popish religion, upon attaining the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, and in default of such oath and subscription is declared incapable of purchasing lands, or of inheriting lands under any devise or limitation, the next of kin, being a Protestant, to enjoy such devised lands during life.* Many old and wealthy Catholic land-owners would necessarily come under the penalties of this atrocious law. But it is satisfactory to know that the chief object of the statute, which was to drive out these proprietors, was defeated, in most cases, by the more liberal spirit of the time. "The judges," says Mr. Hallam, "put such constructions upon the clause of forfeiture as eluded its efficacy; and, I believe, there were scarce any instances of a loss of property under this law."

To be governed by favourites is the most dangerous position in which a sovereign can be placed. To lavish gifts upon favourites is almost as dangerous even to a sovereign like William, who was not very likely to be governed by any man. The resumption of the Irish grants was a severe lesson to the king. It was very quickly followed by such a manifestation of

* 2 Gul. III. c. 4.

the jealousy of Portland towards Albemarle, as must have taught William that it is scarcely safe for the very highest in station to have any absorbing friendships, such as private men may indulge in. Burnet says that Portland observed the favour of the king for Albemarle with great uneasiness. "He could not bear the visible superiority in favour that the other was grown up to; so he took occasion, from a small preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own post, as groom of the stole; and upon it withdrew from court, and laid down all his employments." The letters of William to Portland, written about the time of the termination of the stormy Session of 1699, exhibit a warmth of feeling very different from the supposed coldness of his nature: "Not to enter into a long dispute with you, on the subject of your retirement, I will say nothing to you about it, but I cannot help expressing my extreme grief at it, which is greater than you can imagine; and I am convinced if you felt half as much, you would soon change your resolution. . . . I conjure you to come and see me as often as you can, which will be a great consolation to me, in the affliction which you cause me, not being able to help loving you most tenderly as before." William succeeded, after much importunity, in obtaining the consent of Portland to continue the negotiations for the Second Partition Treaty: "I cannot help telling you that the welfare and the repose of all Europe may depend upon the negotiation which you have in hand with count Tallard."

Earl of Albemarle. (From Kneller.)

The passing of the Act for disbanding the army, and the reduction of the navy by a Vote of the Commons, left England in a very weakened condition for internal defence, or for preserving to England its weight and influence in affairs abroad. Yet the king did not abate one jot of his resolution to maintain the attitude before Europe that belonged to the states which he governed. England and Holland were under treaties of alliance with Sweden, and were bound to render her assistance should she be attacked. The king,

Charles the Twelfth, was only in his eighteenth year, and it seemed a favourable opportunity for the king of Denmark, the elector of Saxony and king of Poland, and the czar of Russia, to form a league against him for the dismemberment of Sweden. The young hero threw himself into the affray with that characteristic energy which afterwards astonished the world; and he called upon England and Holland to assist him. The king of Denmark had insolently declared that now the king of England was unsupported by his Parliament: he would be able to do little in Europe. "I will teach the king of Denmark," said William, "that I can yet do something." He would ask for no vote from Parliament: he "apprehended," says Burnet, "that some of them might endeavour to put an affront upon him, and oppose the sending a fleet into the Sound." He did do something. He sent an armament of English and Dutch ships into the Baltic, under the command of sir George Rooke, when his remonstrances to Denmark and the other powers were unheeded. Rooke formed a junction with the Swedish fleet, and they drove the Danish navy into Copenhagen. Charles exerted himself with wonderful spirit, and prepared with his allies for a siege of the Danish capital. Frederick IV. of Denmark now professed his willingness to accept the mediation of England and Holland; and a treaty of peace was signed under their guarantee. "The king's conduct on this whole matter was highly applauded. He effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reasonable terms of peace." * The king of England, with his eight thousand soldiers and his seven thousand sailors, had manifested a spirit which was probably as impressive upon the minds of European statesmen as the ostentatious array of sixty thousand troops in the camp of Compiègne by the king of France. St Simon has described this wonderful pageant as he alone could describe the prodigal ostentation of the court of Louis. He resolved to show all Europe, which believed that his resources were exhausted by a long war, that in the midst of profound peace he was as fully prepared as ever for arms. "He wanted to convince the world," says the compiler of the "Life of James II.," that he had concluded the peace "more out of a Christian motive than the want of money." To present a superb spectacle to Madame de Maintenon he announced that he counted upon seeing the troops look their best. The officers vied with each other in the finery of their dresses, and the magnificence of their banquets. The temporary houses were furnished with all the splendour of the Parisian saloons. Marshal Boufflers kept open table at all hours. Every luxury which the epicures of France could desire was brought to the camp by unnumbered express carriages. The king showered gratuities of hundreds and thousands of francs upon the officers, according to their several degrees. These gifts were a very small compensation for the extravagant expenditure which the king had stimulated. "There was not a single regiment, officers and men, that was not ruined for several years." Twenty years afterwards, says St. Simon, some of the regiments were still in difficulties from this cause. "Truly did the king astonish Europe. But at what a cost!" When sovereigns, as well as private men, rush into prodigal expenditure to convince the world that they have no "want of money," the real want is pretty sure to overtake them. Louis had to endure

* Burnet.

this bitter experience in his subsequent humiliation. His suffering people had to endure such poverty and privations as never can be the lot of an active and industrious nation, but through misgovernment and false ambition.

There can be little doubt that at this time, when Louis was carrying on the solemn farce of negotiating a second Treaty with William for securing the peace of Europe, he was organizing that system of intrigue in Spain which had for its object to make himself the virtual head of two great monarchies, and as such the powerful enemy of that Protestantism which it had been the chief object of his recent years to subject to the most atrocious persecution in his own realms. He had passed from a life of profligacy to a life of the most ostentatious piety. When, as Saint Simon records, the officers of Compiègne looked on with wonder as he walked with the most profound reverence at the side of the sedan-chair of Madame de Maintenon, he was testifying his homage to the devout widow of Scarron, who had become the keeper of his conscience. He had no qualms when he committed the atrocity of the revocation of the edict of Nantes; for his ambition was to destroy Heresy, and compel all his subjects to return to the bosom of the Church. The massacres, the imprisonments, the banishments, that attended this frightful persecution, touched not his heart, for he was manifesting his devotion to the great cause of Catholicism. He contemplated with no nice sense of honour the probable issue of intrigues which would lead him to break his faith to England and Holland; for were they not Protestant countries, and was not the head of them a heretic, who kept out the rightful Catholic king. It was the great monarch who set the fashion in all things,—in religion as in dress. He fancied that it was for him to make the court and the nation devout; and the mask was put on for a time by the court and nation. Addison writes to Halifax from Paris, in October, 1699, "As for the present state of learning, there is nothing published here which has not in it an air of devotion. Dacier has been forced to prove his Plato a very good Christian before he ventures to translate him, and has so far complied with the taste of the age that his whole book is overrun with texts of Scripture, and the notion of pre-existence supposed to be stolen from two verses out of the Prophets. Nay, the humour is grown so universal, that 'tis got among the poets, who are every day publishing legends and lives of saints in rhyme." * After this sacred literature came Voltaire; after this courtly holiness came the Regency.

* Kemble's 'State Papers and Letters,' p. 237.

William III.

CHAPTER XVI.

A Tory administration—Death of the duke of Gloucester—The electress Sophia of Hanover—Death of the king of Spain—Will of Charles, which Louis accepts—The new Parliament—The king asks assistance for the States—The Act of Settlement—Impeachment of Somers and other Whigs—The Kentish Petition—The Legion Memorial—The Great Alliance formed by William—Death of king James—Louis declares the son of James king of England—William opens his last Parliament—His accident—His message on the Union—Death of William the Third—*Note:* The Act of Settlement.

AFTER the prorogation of Parliament in April, the king, contrary to his usual custom, passed three months in England. He had gone through what he described as "the most dismal Session I ever had;" and he had no resource but to aim at the neutralization of the violence of the Tory party by opening to them most of the chief employments of the State. But it is evident that there was a great unwillingness in the minds of reflecting men to deem such arrangements likely to be permanent. No lawyer of eminence would accept the Great Seal; and after a month's delay it was given to Serjeant Wright, as Lord Keeper. Secretary Vernon wrote to the duke of Shrewsbury, that "when the serjeant took the Seals, he did it with a foresight that he should not hold them long, and therefore intended to move his majesty that his compliance might not turn to his prejudice by any change." * Sunderland was labouring,—whether honestly, or in his old intriguing spirit, it would be difficult to say,—to effect the return of Somers to the high office which he had so ably filled. Montague wrote to Somers that according to the report of Vernon, "lord Sunderland has found out a method, whereby the Seal may again be put in your hands." But he adds, "this seems only like a shift of lord Sunderland to lessen the odium"—that is, the odium excited by the dismissal of Somers.† The violent hatreds of the rival factions rendered it very difficult for the king to conduct the government upon any settled principles. William quaintly observes in one of his letters, "We must always say here,

* Vernon Letters, vol. iii. p. 59. † Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 436.

like the newspapers, 'Time will show.'" But these rivalries also made the most able and honest of the king's advisers shrink from the responsibility of office. Shrewsbury, during the next Parliament, when the violence of party had reached its climax, wrote to Somers, "I wonder that a man can be found in England, who has bread, that will be concerned in public business. Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman." *

The summer and autumn of 1700 were productive of events of the greatest importance to the future of England. On the 30th of July, the duke of Gloucester, the only one remaining of the seventeen children of the princess Anne, died at Windsor, after a short illness. He had just entered upon his twelfth year, his birth-day having been celebrated six days previous to his decease. Burnet had been the preceptor of the young prince for two years. The king sent a message to the princess "that he put the whole management of her son's household into her hands, but that he owed the care of his education to himself and his people, and therefore would name the persons for that purpose." † When he named Burnet as preceptor to the prince, he also named Marlborough as his governor. Burnet has recorded the system of education which he pursued. He "read over the Psalms, Proverbs, and Gospels with him," and gave copious explanation; so that he "came to understand things relating to religion beyond imagination." To Divinity the bishop added Geography; forms of government in every country; the interests and trade of each nation; the history of "all the great revolutions that had been in the world;" and the explanation of "the Gothic constitution and the beneficiary and feudal laws." Burnet says the prince "had gone through much weakness, and some years of ill health." This loading of the mind of a weakly boy with so much of that knowledge which belongs to riper years, instead of giving him a more complete possession of the keys of knowledge, had probably reference to the fact that "the king ordered five of his chief ministers to come once a quarter and examine the progress he had made." Something more of spontaneous application would perhaps have been a wiser system. Lady Jane Grey enjoyed reading Plato; but we doubt if the poor duke of Gloucester had much enjoyment, or much profit, in puzzling over "the Gothic constitution and the beneficiary and feudal laws." He was to display "his knowledge and the good understanding which appeared in him," at the quarterly examinations. Had he been construing Virgil, and playing in the fields of Eton, instead of hearing his worthy preceptor talk of these abtruse things "near three hours a day," as they moped about on Windsor terrace, that event might not have occurred which made the Jacobites "grow insolent upon it, and say, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the prince of Wales' succession;" and which, on the other hand, "turned the eyes of all the Protestants in the nation towards the electress of Brunswick." ‡

William had not left the country more than three weeks when this unforeseen calamity rendered it necessary to take serious thoughts of the English succession. Politicians in England were anxiously discussing this matter.

* Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 441.

† Life of Burnet. "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 305.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 439.

"The House of Hanover is much spoken of. The objection is, 'What! Must we have more foreigners?'" * The electress Sophia of Hanover was the last surviving child of Elizabeth Stuart, the daughter of James I., and of Frederic, the Elector-Palatine, who accepted the crown of Bohemia. Sophia, or Sophie, their twelfth child and fifth daughter, was born in 1630, and thus was in her seventieth year when the question arose as to the Protestant succession of England. In 1658 she married Ernest Augustus, who became duke of Hanover in 1679, and elector in 1692. Her eldest son, George Lewis, became elector of Hanover in 1698, when in his 38th year. The princess Sophia was a lady of unusual talent and knowledge—the friend of many learned men whom she collected around her in her court—but no female pedant, being distinguished as much for her good sense and refined manners as for her various acquirements.† The electress had been visited by William in 1699, and now she came to Loo, to return the visit, at the time when the interests of her family were thus affected by the death of the duke of Gloucester. The princess Sophia, with her large experience and keen observation, saw not only the advantages but the difficulties that were opened by this prospect. There is a very curious letter from her, written in French, to George Stepney, who, by the grace of Doctor Johnson, is counted amongst the English poets, and by the friendship of Charles Montague was a busy diplomatist in the German courts. The electress says, that if she were thirty years younger, she has a sufficiently good opinion of her blood and her religion to believe that people might think of her in England. But as there is little likelihood that she should survive two persons, William and Anne, it is to be feared that her sons will be regarded as strangers. She hints that the son of James II., who would be glad to recover what his father had lost, might be made what was desirable—that is, might be led to change his religion. She does not look enthusiastically at the prospect before her own family; for, she wisely says, "It seems to me that in England there are so many factions, that one can be secure in nothing." ‡ The English Jacobites were acting upon the prospect of the succession of the prince of Wales, and sent over a representative to St. Germains to propose that he should be educated in England—we presume after the death of William. Lord Manchester, the English ambassador, wrote to Vernon, "the changing his religion will never be suffered; and they have lately declared that they would rather see him dead." The House of Savoy would probably have had a better chance of succeeding to the English crown, had the duke not deserted the English alliance before the peace of Ryswick. When Victor Amadeus was the friend and ally of William, a negotiation had been entered into with him, to send his son into England, to be educated as a Protestant. This son, Charles Emmanuel, was the grandson of Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Charles I., who married the duke of Orleans. Their daughter, Anne Marie, married the duke of Savoy. The descendant of the daughter of Charles I., had a higher claim by the law of inheritance than the descendant of the sister of that king. There were many other claimants, who were equally disqualified with the House of Savoy, by being Roman Catholics.

* Vernon Letters, vol. iii. p. 129.

† See the notice of her character in the admirable volume of "State Papers and Correspondence," edited by John M. Kemble. ‡ Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 442.

More pressing considerations than belonged to the possibly distant event of the Protestant Succession in England now demanded the utmost exercise of William's foresight and perseverance. In October, the king of Spain was considered to be in the most imminent danger. The Treaty of Partition existed between France, England, and Holland; but the Emperor had not yet signed it. He was holding off, expecting to obtain greater advantages than the treaty had given him. William wrote to Heinsius from Loo on the 11th of October, "You may assure the ambassadors of France from me that I shall rigidly observe the treaty, in the expectation that their master shall do the same." In another letter of the 15th, he says, "I find much too great precipitation on the part of France, who wishes to take instant possession of every thing." France had other views than the execution of the treaty in exhibiting this haste to carry out its conditions before the event which the treaty contemplated. The agents of Louis were about the death-bed of Charles of Spain, striving to influence the feeble prince to dispose of the succession by will in favour of the Bourbons. The agents of the emperor were also intriguing for the same object, in favour of the Imperial family. Louis had contrived to persuade the king of Spain that England and Holland alone were to blame in the matter of the Partition treaty. The knowledge of this treaty had provoked such wrath at Madrid, that the Spanish ambassador at London published a declaration so insolent that William commanded him to leave,—a measure which was retaliated by the dismissal from Spain of the English and Dutch ambassadors. The revelation of the secret of the treaty was attributed to Louis, as the readiest way to attain something better than those Italian possessions of Spain which the treaty gave him.* The dying king was tormented, on one side, by the importunities of his queen and her confessor, to favour the emperor; on the other side, the Cardinal Porto-Carrero subdued the mind, always feeble, but now prostrate in superstition, by arts which Rome counts among its most precious accomplishments. The wretched prince was first terrified into the belief that his health was affected by sorcery; and the cardinal then procured a Capuchin monk, "very intelligent and well practised in matters of enchantment and casting out devils," to perform the rite of exorcism. Charles was persuaded that his health would be restored if he descended into the vaults of the Escurial, and looked upon the mouldering remains of his ancestors. The coffins of his mother and of his first wife were opened; and when he saw the face of his loved queen, scarcely yet touched by corruption, he rushed away, exclaiming, "I shall soon be with her in heaven." Enfeebled in body and mind, the poor king still clung to the idea that he ought to preserve the inheritance of Spain to the Austrian family from which he had sprung. The authority of the pope was called in to determine for him what he ought to do. Innocent XII. decided that the whole Spanish monarchy belonged by right of inheritance to the dauphin; but to prevent the union of the crowns of Spain and France, it was desirable to give the succession to the duke of Anjou, the dauphin's second son. Thus fortified, Porto-Carrero, and Harcourt, the French ambassador, worked with unremitting energy.

* "Louis," says John Bull, "revealed our whole secret to the deceased lord Strutt, who, in reward to his treachery, and revenge to Frog and me, settled his whole estate upon the present Philip Baboon."—Arbuthnot.

The wretched man grew worse and worse. Ecclesiastics surrounded his bed to urge, under the penalties of divine wrath, obedience to the councils of the Vatican. The famous Testament which plunged Europe into a war of ten years was signed. The king exclaimed, "Now I am as one of the dead." When the last breath had departed, after Charles had lingered four weeks,—the duke of Abrantes came forth from the Council, of which Porto-Carrero had obtained from Charles the nomination as chief,—and announced that Philip, duke of Anjou, was the sole inheritor of the vast Spanish monarchy. Saint Simon relates an amusing incident which preceded the formal announcement. Blécourt, the ambassador of France, who was probably in the secret of the will, and count d'Harrach, the ambassador of the emperor, who thought that his master would be the fortunate heir, were anxiously waiting in the crowd around the council door. Abrantes came out; looked a moment at Blécourt; then turned his eyes another way, and fixing them on d'Harrach, moved towards him, embraced him, and thus spoke: "Sir, it is with much pleasure,"—bows and reciprocal embraces,—"Yes, Sir, it is with extreme joy, that for the rest of my life,"—more embraces,—"and with the greatest contentment that I part from you, and take my leave of the august House of Austria."

On the 12th of November, the earl of Manchester, the English ambassador to France, wrote home, "I must now acquaint you that there is an end of our Treaty." The king of France had decided to accept the Will. One of his reasons was, that the emperor had not yet acceded to the Treaty. The emperor had in his possession a Will of the king of Spain, made in the previous June, which gave the inheritance to the archduke of Austria. He had to learn that Charles had cancelled that will, when he signed the Testament of the 2nd of October. The exultation of the court of France was scarcely attempted to be concealed. Louis affected to doubt what his decision should be; and he went through the mockery of consulting his council. He then came forth, and addressed the boy-king. "Sir, the king of Spain has named you his successor. The nobles demand, the nation desires you, and I give my consent. You will reign over the greatest monarchy in the world." The Spanish ambassador did homage to Philip V.; and when the youth parted from his affectionate grandfather, the superb monarch exclaimed, "The Pyrenees exist no longer." William knew what the pretended separation of the Crowns of France and Spain really meant. He had arrived in London in November, where he received the news that Louis had broken his engagements. He immediately wrote to Heinsius: "I am perfectly persuaded, that if this Will be executed, England and the Republic are in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined." * In a letter, three days later, he says: "My chief anxiety is to prevent the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France. You will easily conceive how this business goes to my heart." † The most heroic period of the life of William was now to be entered upon—that period in which Burnet says—"there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene;" but the period which called forth the most wonderful display of the energies of the king's character. William's conduct cannot be better described than in the magnificent

* Hardwicke Papers, vol. ii. p. 393. † *Ibid.*, p. 395.

words of Burke: "In all the tottering imbecility of a new government, and with Parliament totally unmanageable, he persevered. He persevered to expel the fears of his people, by his fortitude; to steady their fickleness, by his constancy; to expand their narrow prudence, by his enlarged wisdom; to sink their factious temper in his public spirit. In spite of his people he resolved to make them great and glorious; to make England, inclined to shrink into her narrow self, the arbitress of Europe, the tutelary angel of the human race. In spite of the ministers, who staggered under the weight that his mind imposed upon theirs, unsupported as they felt themselves by the popular spirit, he infused into them his own soul; he renewed in them their ancient heart, he rallied them in the same cause. It acquired some time to accomplish this work. The people were first gained, and through them their distracted representatives." *

The Parliament which had been prorogued in April was dissolved in December, 1700. The Tory party were now in the ascendant, and they had all the advantages of government influence in the elections. The king, if we may judge from the first aspect of proceedings in the House of Commons, was the person in this kingdom who had the least control upon the temper of the people's representatives. Ralph, the laborious party-historian of these times, relieves his usual dreariness by the following anecdote: "His majesty, in dismissing the Whigs, because they could no longer do his business in Parliament, had done enough to disoblige them, but not enough to gain the Tories; and so met with such treatment from both as once gave him occasion to say, in a pet, to Lord Halifax, 'that all the difference he knew between the two parties was, that the Tories would cut his throat in the morning and the Whigs in the afternoon.'" † The Houses met on the 6th of February. Godolphin was now at the head of the Treasury; Rochester was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Under the ministerial influence Harley was chosen Speaker by the new Parliament, by a majority double that of the Whig nominee. The speech of the king touched upon the two great events of the past year—the death of the duke of Gloucester, and the death of the king of Spain. The loss of the duke of Gloucester "made it absolutely necessary that there should be a further provision for the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant line." The death of the late king of Spain "has made so great an alteration of affairs abroad, that I must desire you very maturely to consider their present state." The House divided upon a motion arising out of the king's speech, carrying this Resolution only by a majority of twenty-one: "That they would stand by and support his majesty and his government, and take such effectual measures as may best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe." Burnet says that a design was laid, to open the Session with a vote that the king be requested to own the king of Spain; but the opponents of William's policy thought better of the scheme when a member, Mr. Moncton, who was present at the discussion, said that if the vote were carried, he should expect the next vote would be for owning the pretended prince of Wales. ‡ The king was, however, moving steadily forward to the completion

* "Letters on a Regicide Peace," Letter I. † Ralph, vol. ii. p. 908.

‡ Burnet's loose mode of narration would imply that this was mooted in Parliament, which Ralph explicitly denies.

of the great object of his policy. When he received the Address of the Commons in reply to his Speech, he laid before them a Memorial from the Envoy Extraordinary of the States General. It set forth that they had acknowledged the new king of Spain, under the condition that a negotiation should be entered into, in concert with their allies, to secure the peace of Europe. They prayed the king of England to send the necessary instructions to his minister at the Hague to act conjointly with them. But they added that, as French troops were moving towards their frontier, they requested the succour agreed to be provided for their defence, under a treaty made by England with the States in 1677. The Commons asked that the Treaty of 1677 should be laid before them. They then unanimously resolved to request the king to enter into such negotiations with the States General, and with other powers, as might conduce to the mutual safety of these kingdoms and the United Provinces, and promising their support in performance of the Treaty. William was unexpectedly gratified by this decision. "Nothing," he said to the Houses, "can more effectually conduce to our security than the unanimity and vigour you have shown on this occasion." From that hour the king calmly and resolutely looked upon the future. There was a slight change in the temper of the Commons, which he probably could trace to a higher cause than the change which he had made of his ministers. Public opinion was slowly but surely coming into operation. There were few organs of opinion besides party pamphlets; but the people had some knowledge of political events, even from their meagre newspapers. They thought for themselves, and they expressed their thoughts freely amongst themselves. In the heat of the contest between William and the House of Commons about disbanding the army, we are assured that the king "was in truth more really beloved by the body of the people than he thought himself to be, or than his enemies seemed to believe he was." * Swift, who, in 1701, looked upon politics from a higher elevation than the molehill of party, says, that one cause of the popular aversion to some of the proceedings of the Commons was, "a great love and sense of gratitude in the people toward their present king, grounded upon a long opinion of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires, so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch instances, where he has in many things been hardly used." † We shall soon see this temper of the people coming into direct collision with their representatives.

It was on the 3rd of March that the portion of the king's speech which relates to the Protestant Succession was brought forward in the Commons. Burnet says: "The manner in which this motion of the Succession was managed did not carry in it great marks of sincerity. It was often put off from one day to another, and it gave place to the most trifling matters." During the whole of March and April the two great parties were engaged in the most furious broils. It was perhaps fortunate that their attention was diverted from high matters that concerned the future, to temporary ebullitions of party rage. The nomination of the princess Sophia and her descendants might otherwise have been resisted by the furious Jacobites; and the

* Onslow's Note on Burnet, vol. iv. p. 392.

† "Contests and Dissentions in Athens and Rome," chap. v.

clauses of the Act of Settlement which gave guarantees for constitutional freedom, in addition to the Bill of Rights, might have been opposed by the advocates of absolute government. There was comparatively little discussion about these conditions "for better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." They were proposed by Harley; supported by the Tories; and not resisted by the Whigs,—although the clauses against the sovereign going out of his dominions without the consent of Parliament, and for preventing any foreigner holding office, had the appearance of a personal reflection upon the government of king William. The clause which disqualifies all holders of office, and all receivers of pensions, from sitting in the House of Commons, was repealed early in the reign of Anne. Burnet says, "those who wished well to the Act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it." He reckoned it "a great point carried that we had now a law on our side for a Protestant Successor; for we plainly saw a great party formed against it, in favour of the pretended prince of Wales." It was indeed a great point gained for the welfare of these realms, that an Act was passed by which the House of Brunswick has possessed the Crown for a century and a half, under whose rule there has been a constant progress towards the solution of the difficult problem of representative government,—the union of the largest amount of individual liberty with the most perfect security for social order.*

Negotiations were proceeding at the Hague between England, Holland, and France, for the removal of French troops from the Spanish Netherlands, and for other objects of prevention against the preponderance of France. Burnet affirms that "the French, seeing these demands run so high, and being resolved to offer no other security for the peace of Europe but the renewing the treaty of Ryswick, set all their engines at work in England to involve us in such contentions at home, as should both disable us from taking any care of foreign affairs, and make the rest of Europe conclude that nothing considerable was to be expected from England." It was scarcely necessary that party rage should be stimulated either by the intrigues or the gold of France. The Tories applied themselves to the task, most unpatriotic at such a moment, of assailing the Partition Treaties with unmeasured invectives, and of pursuing the chiefs of the late Whig ministry with a rancour very little proportioned to any offences which could be alleged against them. The Commons resolved to impeach Portland, Orford, Somers, and Halifax, for their concern in the Treaties by which the king had endeavoured to save Europe from the war which was now impending, and for other alleged offences. It is scarcely necessary, in a narrative which attempts chiefly to regard those historical events which have a permanent interest, to enter into a minute relation of these violent party conflicts. These party dissensions called up a third party, that had hitherto manifested very little participation in the contests of the two great factions. Swift, with the strongest good sense, temperately pointed out to the members of Parliament, during the recess—which he calls "a lucid interval"—the consequence of their bitter animosities: "It would be wise in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have raised, as well as those they have escaped; to

* We have printed the Act of Settlement as a Note at the end of this chapter.

reflect that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent." * The Commons having decided upon impeachment, asked the king to condemn the four peers without trial, by removing them from his councils and presence for ever. The Lords begged his majesty to pass no sentence of discredit upon his late servants, till their alleged high crimes and misdemeanours should be inquired into. The king gave a very general answer to the Commons that he should employ none but those he thought deserving of trust. To the Lords he said nothing: He evidently had made up his mind to let the factions fight out their battle without his intervention. Conferences were held between the two Houses, which became unseemly squabbles. The days were fixed for the trials of Somers and Orford. The Commons said they should not have justice, and refused to attend. The impeachments fell to the ground.

That "new and wonderful thing" of 1701—a House of Commons displeasing to the people—a popular party speaking by other voices than that of its legally-constituted organs—became too familiar to the nation, in times much nearer to our own than the opening of the eighteenth century.† In 1701 the popular feeling began to take the form which has subsequently shaken many a faction, and disturbed many a scheme of blind and selfish policy. On the 15th of May secretary Vernon wrote to the duke of Shrewsbury, "There grows a great ferment out of the House, which begins to make our topping men uneasy. They are endeavouring to suppress petitions; and perhaps the means they may use for it may blow them up higher." ‡ At the quarter sessions for the county of Kent, held at Maidstone on the 29th of April, the grand jury drew up a petition to the House of Commons, which was unanimously signed by them, and also by the chairman of the sessions, and twenty-one of the justices. It was also signed by a large body of freeholders. Mr. Colepeper, the chairman, with four other gentlemen, proceeded to London with the petition, which was at last presented to the House by Mr. Meredith, one of the members for Kent, on the 8th of May. It is a plain-spoken document, but one which we should now call temperate and respectful: "We, the gentlemen, justices of the peace, grand jury, and other freeholders, at the general quarter sessions at Maidstone, in Kent, deeply concerned at the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and considering that the fate of us and our prosperity depends upon the wisdom of our representatives in Parliament, think ourselves bound in duty, humbly to lay before this honourable House the consequence, in this conjuncture, of your speedy resolution, and most sincere endeavour, to answer the great trust reposed in you by your country. And in regard, that from the experience of all ages it is manifest, no nation can be great or happy without union, we hope, that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty; whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot. We most humbly implore this honourable House to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be

* "Contests and Dissentions," &c.

† See Dr. Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History," lecture vii.

‡ Vernon Letters, vol. iii. p. 145.

effectually provided for, that your Loyal Addresses may be turned into Bills of Supply, and that his most sacred majesty (whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue) may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." Upon hearing this read, the House resolved, "That the said petition was scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of parliaments, and to subvert the established government of these realms." They then ordered that those gentlemen who had brought the petition should be taken into custody, as guilty of promoting it. They were committed to the Gate-house. The "great ferment out of the House," which Vernon describes, then ran through the country. "This disposition to blame the slowness in which the House of Commons proceeded, with relation to foreign affairs, and the heat with which private quarrels were pursued, began to spread itself through the whole nation."* The imprisonment of the Kentish men led to many discussions of the right of the Commons to imprison any persons but their own members, or such as had violated the privileges of the House.† On the 14th of May, the day after Mr. Colepeper and his friends were committed, a paper, signed "Legion," was conveyed to Harley, the Speaker;—some accounts say, was presented to him as he entered the House. It purported to be a Memorial, in which the grievances of the nation were set forth, and the rights of the people asserted, in the boldest terms. The concluding paragraph may be taken as a sample of its general spirit: "Thus, Gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of: but, if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentment of an injured nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings." In that "History of England from the Revolution," which still holds its place in companionship with that of Hume, it is written, "The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel Defoe, a scurrilous party-writer, in very little estimation." ‡ The author of "Humphrey Clinker" might have been expected to speak somewhat more respectfully of the author of "Robinson Crusoe." There is little doubt that Defoe did write the Legion Memorial. When the Kentish gentlemen were released at the end of the Session of Parliament, a public dinner was given to them at Mercers' Hall by the chief citizens of London; where, says a Tory writer, "Nothing was wanting to show their respect to them, and the cause of sedition they had been carrying on,—no, not so much as some of the nobility themselves, to give a stamp of authority to what had been done, contrary to all law, good manners, or prudence." § Another Tory pamphleteer says, speaking of this dinner, "Next the Worthies [the Kentish men] was placed their Secretary of State, the author of the Legion letter, and one might have read the downfal of Parliaments in his very countenance." ‖ The bitterness of Defoe was no doubt excited by his devotion to the king. William probably found in this most sturdy and sagacious representative of the great middle class, an enlarged patriotism, and a sympathy with his own high views, which he had almost ceased to look for amongst those who were "swaddled, and rocked,

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 497. † *Ibid.*
‡ Smollett, chap. vi. § 54. § Quoted in Wilson's Defoe, vol. i. p. 405. ‖ *Ibid.*

and dandled" into statesmen. William respected the man who had the courage to attack that vulgar prejudice which, regarding every foreigner as an enemy to England, compelled him to dismiss the Dutch guards and the French refugees, who had served him so long and so faithfully. "The True Born Englishman" of Defoe, made this prejudice contemptible. The Kentish Petition, and the Legion Memorial, struck at the power which had set the representatives of the people above public opinion,—the power of commanding a majority of the House of Commons by frothy declamation and passionate invective. The Tories possessed the superiority in this power, and they abused it, in this season of real national peril, to an extent which has sometimes been equalled by both of the great parties in Parliament, but never excelled. The impeachment of William's Whig ministers had "dragged its slow length along," for weeks, amidst conflicts between Lords and Commons. The terms of the Partition Treaties were again and again debated, the Commons thus subjecting themselves to the just reproof of "Legion,"—"Voting the Treaty of Partition fatal to Europe, because it gave so much of the Spanish dominions to the French, and not concerning yourselves to prevent their taking possession of it all." The States-General had made the most urgent appeal for the assistance of England. They were preparing for the same sort of resistance to France which had signalised them under the guidance of the young prince of Orange. The heart of the prematurely-aged king of England must have leaped in his bosom, when his countrymen sent to him to say, "We have been obliged to put ourselves in a state of defence, more than if we were actually attacked, by overflowing our country, and even cutting our dykes, to secure our frontiers." Though the Commons had passed two formal votes of support to the king in carrying out the old treaty with the Republic, they were too much occupied with their party-quarrels to look steadily at the great question upon which William had asked their advice and assistance. They were told by Legion "that they were deserting the Dutch when the French are at their doors, till it be almost too late to help them." Gradually the House of Commons came more clearly to understand the public feeling. The people wanted more deeds and less talk. They turned "from petty tyrants to the throne." The House of Lords had a quicker comprehension of the national temper than the Commons had. They addressed the king in terms which encouraged him in the work to which the remainder of his life was devoted: "We humbly desire your majesty will be pleased, not only to make good all the articles of any former treaties to the States-General, but that you will enter into a strict league, offensive and defensive, with them, for their common preservation: and that you will invite unto it all princes and states who are concerned in the present visible danger, arising from the union of France and Spain." The Commons stopped short of directly sanctioning the extensive alliance which William desired, and which the Lords contemplated—an alliance which could have no other end than war. But they voted sufficient supplies to enable the king to send assistance to the States—telling him, however, "they are more than ever were given in a time of peace." On the 24th of June the Parliament was prorogued. On the 1st of July the king embarked for Holland.

Burke has vividly described the great crisis of the summer of 1701. The House of Commons had been more reserved than the Lords. "But now they

were fairly embarked, they were obliged to go with the course of the vessel; and the whole nation, split before into an hundred adverse factions, with a king at its head evidently declining to his tomb, the whole nation, Lords, Commons, and People, proceeded as one body informed by one soul." There probably is no higher example of decision of character than the energy of William in the last six months of his life. If we imagine that he had only to lay before "princes and states" his notions of their common danger, and then to secure their cordial co-operation in its resistance, we should take a very imperfect view of the policies of the various European governments. The emperor, no doubt, could be easily induced to take part in a great confederacy to secure for his family their coveted share in the Spanish dominions. But the smaller German states were moved by various conflicting influences—of ambition, of jealousy, of fear. The notion of some was to combine in a neutrality, in which they might gain something and risk little. Several of the German electors had as much dread of Austria as of France, and probably more hatred of the power with which they were more immediately in contact. The northern maritime states, though quarrelling with each other, had no affection for the Dutch, who interfered with their commerce. William, during his sojourn in Holland, concluded Treaties with the States-General, with the king of Sweden, with the king of Denmark, with the emperor. He laid the foundation of future alliances with the king of Portugal, with the king of Prussia, with the duke of Savoy. He had an able assistant in Marlborough, whose treachery he had long ceased to fear, and in whose great ability he had a just confidence. But the experience of William in all the complications of European politics; the confidence which those with whom he had to deal had in his judgment and honesty; and, more than all, his own undoubted reliance upon the conviction of his earliest and of his latest years that the power of France must be limited, if England and Holland were to be secure and free, —these were the means by which that league which history now calls the Grand Alliance was formed. One of the most remarkable features of this Alliance in its earlier stages of the union of England, the States, and the emperor, was its extreme prudence. It made no declaration as to the inheritance of the crown of Spain. It only stipulated that the contracting powers should be united to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain; that France should be compelled to evacuate the Netherlands; and that she should not acquire any of the Spanish Colonies in the West Indies. England was not committed by William to a war.

The treaty of Alliance between England, the States-General, and the emperor, with powers for all kings and states to join the league, was signed at the Hague on the 7th of September. In Italy war had previously begun on the part of the emperor. Prince Eugene commanded the imperial army, and drove the joint forces of the French king and the duke of Savoy from their position along the Adige. Marshal Villeroy subsequently attacked Prince Eugene, but was repulsed. The warlike events of the year had no decisive results. But one event now took place which involved England in a war against France, upon far more popular grounds than the question of the succession in Spain. On the 16th of September, king James II. expired at St. Germains, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The biographer of the exiled sovereign describes the visit of the king of France to the death-bed,

when Louis, having desired that nobody should withdraw, said, "I am come, Sir, to acquaint you, that whenever it shall please God to call your majesty out of this world, I will take your family under my protection, and will treat your son, the prince of Wales, in the same manner I have treated you, and acknowledge him, as he then will be, king of England." * The biographer describes how the French and English courtiers threw themselves at his Most Christian Majesty's feet, weeping and lauding so generous an action. In the court, says Saint Simon, "nothing was heard but applause and praise." Yet reflection came to some. It was seen, that to recognize the prince of Wales was in direct opposition to the recognition, as king of England, of the prince of Orange at the peace of Ryswick; and thus to wound that prince in the tenderest point, and to invite England and Holland to become allies of the emperor against France. Saint Simon, who takes this common-sense view, holds that the resolve of Louis XIV. was "more worthy of Louis XII., or of Francis I., than of his own wisdom." The recognition of the son of James II. as king of England was no private act of Louis. Lord Manchester, the English ambassador, wrote home: "The prince of Wales was immediately proclaimed king of England, by the title of James III. I do not hear there was any other ceremony, than that, after he had taken the title of king, those of St. Germains kissed his hand, and treated him with 'majesty.'" William desired that his ambassador should immediately quit the French court. It was alleged by France that the bare owning of the prince's title was not a breach of the treaty of Ryswick, as they gave him no assistance to make good his claim. Neither the king of England nor his people were deceived by this sophistry. William saw that the greatest opportunity of his life had now arrived; that the factions which had so long harassed him would shrink away before the might of public opinion; that he could now—when France believed he was broken down, worn out, dying—lead a great people to go with him, heart and hand, in the work of their own national salvation, as he had led his own countrymen in the full vigour of his early manhood. Before the news arrived from St. Germains, he had been in communication with Sunderland on the state of affairs in England. In the remarkable correspondence, carried on in the third person, between the king and this Ulysses of the distracted camps of the two factions, William expresses his doubts of calling a new Parliament; "the Tories giving him great hopes, and making him great promises." Sunderland replies with a freedom which sounds like the greatest integrity. "It is a melancholy thing, that the king, who has more understanding than anybody who comes near him, is imposed on by mountebanks, or by such as, he himself knows, hate both his person and his government." † William, on the 10th of October, sent Mr. Galway to Somers, to confer with him confidentially on the state of English politics. Somers drew up a body of arguments to induce the king to call a new Parliament, of which the first argument was, "the present ferment and disposition of the nation;" and he says, with a politician's confidence in the principle of expediency, "the art of governing in England is watching and using such opportunities."

* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 598.
† Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 447.

The king came from Holland on the 4th of November. On the 11th he dissolved the Parliament.

On the 30th of December, the two Houses met, and Harley was chosen Speaker of the Commons, by a majority of fourteen over Littleton, the Whig Speaker of a former Parliament. On the last day of the year 1701, king William delivered his last parliamentary speeech,—"the best speech," says Burnet, "that he or any other prince ever made to his people." He alluded to the loyal and seasonable Addresses which he had received, in resentment of the late proceedings of the king of France. He described the setting up of the pretended prince of Wales, as king of England, as the highest indignity that could be offered to himself and to the nation. It so nearly concerned every man who had a regard for the Protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that he earnestly exhorted them to lay it seriously to heart. He then proceeded to take a general view of the position of England with reference to the Spanish succession:

"By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence, he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions, and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconvenience of war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part, which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe." The king then announced that he had concluded several alliances, in order to avert the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by the exorbitant power of France. "It is fit I should tell you, the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known; and therefore no time ought to be lost. You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you, and your posterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another." He called upon them to provide a great strength at sea, and a land force that should be proportionate to the forces of the allies. He exhorted them to take care of the public credit, "which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security." The king concluded with this bold and stirring exhortation:—

"My lords and gentlemen; I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences; and resolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session. I should think it as great a blessing as could befal England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offences, com-

mitted against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hope of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of amongst us for the future, but of those, who are for the Protestant religion, and the present establishment, and of those who mean a Popish prince, and a French government. I will only add this; if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

This speech, so earnest, so manly, so thoroughly addressed to the great English heart, could be met with no factious strife or sullen coldness. William had the nation at his back. The Commons very speedily voted a supply of six hundred thousand pounds. They resolved that an Address be presented to the king, requesting that it be an article in the several treaties of alliance, "That no peace shall be made with France, until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland." They voted forty thousand men for the land forces, and forty thousand for sea service. The only want of unanimity was in the resistance to a Bill "for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales," but this was finally passed on the 24th of February.

When William went to Holland in the summer of 1701 he appeared in the last stage of bodily feebleness. His spirit had been deeply mortified by the parliamentary conflicts which promised little of future tranquillity. But in the labours of that autumn his health appeared to grow better. It has been admirably said: "Let those who doubt the dominion of the soul over the bodily powers; who deny that a strong mind can sway, and strengthen, and force onward a feeble and suffering frame; let such observe, whether, in the last labours of William to form the Alliance, or in the Alliance itself when formed, they can discover any trace of sickness—one single mark of languor or decline." * The altered spirit of the English Parliament seemed to infuse a new life into the king. He took delight in his additions to Hampton Court. He went there once a week to hunt, although so weak as to be obliged to be lifted on his horse. It was there that, on Saturday the 21st of February, "he fell from his horse that stumbled at a mole-hill." † He fractured his collar-bone; but the injury was not considered serious. He was conveyed to Kensington. On the 23rd he sent a message to the Commons, in which he said that, being confined by an unhappy accident from coming in person, he thus signified what he designed to have spoken from the throne. He referred to the appointment of commissioners in the first year of his reign for treating of a union between England and Scotland. He was convinced that nothing would more contribute to the present and future happiness and security of the two kingdoms than a firm and entire union between them. "His majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place; and is therefore extremely

* Lord Mahon, "War of the Succession in Spain," p. 43.
† Vernon Letters, vol. iii. p. 184.

desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot; and does, in the most earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the House." It was a solemn appeal, which was made doubly solemn by the event which was impending. On the 3rd of March Vernon wrote that the king "is very near well of his hurt." Three days later he was in extreme danger. Albemarle had been sent to Holland, to arrange for an early campaign. "He came back on the 7th of March, in the morning, with so good an account of everything, that, if matters of that kind could have wrought on the king, it must have revived him: but the coldness with which he received it showed how little hopes were left. Soon after he said '*Je tire vers ma fin*'—I draw towards my end." * He signed a Commission for passing the Bill of Abjuration and the Money Bill. The next day, the 8th of March, he was evidently dying. He received the sacrament. "He was often looking up to heaven in many short ejaculations." He took Portland by the hand, "and carried it to his heart with much tenderness," but his voice was gone. "His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. . . . He died with a clear and full presence of mind, and with a wonderful tranquillity." † The enemies of William could not respect this tranquillity, and wanted some better evidence of his piety than the circumstance that "when he was so weak that he could scarce speak, he gave the archbishop of Canterbury his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the truth of the Christian religion." ‡ The contemporary and the historical revilers of William III. have passed away, as those worshippers of absolute power have passed away who toasted "William's horse;" and drank "a health to the little gentleman dressed in velvet." § He died before any new caprice of fortune,—any fickleness of public opinion,—came to cloud the bright prospect which was opening before him, of the destinies of the country which he had served so well, and which had so ill rewarded him, and of his own land which never failed to recognize his admirable qualities. "The earl of Portland told me," says Burnet, "that when he was once encouraging him, from the good state his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart, the king answered him,—that he knew death was that which he had looked at on all occasions without terror; sometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles; but he confessed now he saw another scene, and could wish to live a little longer." The wish was not granted by the Supreme Disposer of the affairs of nations. But the chief object of William's life was in great part accomplished. The union of Europe was consolidated. "Just as the last hand was given to this immense and complicated machine, the master workman died: but the work was formed on true mechanical principles, and it was as truly wrought. It went by the impulse it had received from the first mover. The man was dead: but the grand alliance survived, in which king William lived and reigned." ‖

* Burnet. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*
§ The mole that raised the hill over which "Sorrel" stumbled.
‖ Burke. "Regicide Peace."

NOTE.—AN ACT FOR THE FURTHER LIMITATION OF THE CROWN AND BETTER SECURING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT.

THE Preamble to this Act recites the tenor of the Statute of the 1st of William and Mary; and sets forth that the late queen and the duke of Gloucester being dead, the king had recommended a further provision for the Succession of the Crown:—

"Therefore for a further provision of the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present Parliament assembled, do beseech your majesty that it may be enacted and declared, and be it enacted and declared, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the most excellent princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, daughter of the most excellent princess Elizabeth, late queen of Bohemia, daughter of our late sovereign lord king James the first, of happy memory, be and is hereby declared to be the next in succession in the Protestant line to the imperial crown and dignity of the said realms of England, France, and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, after his majesty and the princess Ann of Denmark, and in default of issue of the said princess Ann and of his majesty respectively; and that from and after the decease of his said majesty, our now sovereign lord, and of her royal highness the princess Ann of Denmark, and for default of issue of the said princess Ann and of his majesty respectively, the crown and royal government of the said kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, with the royal state and dignity of the said realms, and all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, shall be, remain, and continue to the said most excellent princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. And thereunto the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, shall and will, in the name of all the people of this realm, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities, and do faithfully promise, after the deceases of his majesty and her royal highness, and the failure of the heirs of their respective bodies, to stand to, maintain and defend the said princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, according to the limitation and succession of the crown in this Act specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

"Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that all and every person and persons who shall or may take or inherit the said crown by virtue of the limitation of this present Act, and is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be subject to such incapacities as in such case or cases are by the said recited Act (1st Gul. and Mar.) provided, enacted, and established. And that every king and queen of this realm who shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom, by virtue of this Act, shall have the coronation oath administered to him, her, or them, at their respective coronations, according to the Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of his majesty and the said late queen Mary, entitled 'an Act for establishing the coronation oath,' and

shall make, subscribe, and repeat the declaration in the Act first above recited, mentioned, or referred to, in the manner and form thereby prescribed.

"And whereas it is requisite and necessary that some further provision be made for securing our religion, laws, and liberties, from and after the death of his majesty and the princess Ann of Denmark; and in default of issue of the body of the said princess and of his majesty respectively, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same,

"That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.

"That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.

"That no person, who shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.

"That from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy council by the laws and customs of this realm shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same.

"That after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, (although he be naturalised or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any other or others in trust for him.

"That no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.

"That after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made quam diu se bene gesserint, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them.

"That no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in Parliament.

"And whereas the laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof, and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm ought to administer the government of the same according to the said laws, and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do therefore humbly pray, that all the laws and statutes of this realm for securing the established religion, and the rights and liberties of the people thereof, and all other laws and statutes of the same now in force, may be ratified and confirmed. And the same are, by his majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, and by authority of the same, ratified and confirmed accordingly."

WALPOLE.
WOLFE.
CHATHAM.

Great Seal of Queen Anne.

CHAPTER XVII.

Accession of queen Anne—Her declaration to the Privy Council—Parliament continues sitting—Preponderance of Tories—Marlborough sent as envoy to the States-General—War declared—Marlborough's first Campaign—Expedition to Cadiz—Vigo—New Parliament—Tory majority—Bill against Occasional Conformity—Defoe's Shortest Way with the Dissenters—Marlborough created a Duke—Revolt in the Cévennes—Marlborough's second Campaign—The Methuen Treaty with Portugal—Occasional Conformity Bill again rejected by the Lords—Aylesbury Election Case—The Great Storm—Oaths of Witnesses—Queen Anne's Bounty—Touching for the Evil—May-Poles.

"WHEN the king came to die," says the duchess of Marlborough, "I felt nothing of that satisfaction which I once thought I should have had upon this occasion; and my lord and lady Jersey's writing and sending perpetually to give an account as his breath grew shorter and shorter, filled me with horror." It is the common story of royal death-beds. "As soon as the breath was out of king William," as lord Dartmouth affirms, "by which all expectations from him were at an end, the bishop of Salisbury drove hard to bring the first tidings to St. James's; where he prostrated himself at the new queen's feet, full of joy and duty." * From Edward III. to William III., —from William III. to George IV.,—it was ever the same:

"Gone to salute the rising morn."

That Anne should have dropped a tear for her brother-in-law was scarcely to be expected. Friends they had never been. Since the death of Mary they had avoided all unseemly differences. Anne, subjected to the will of a

* Note on Burnet, vol. v. p. 1.

domineering favourite, who hated William upon the well-known principle that we hate those whom we have injured, could form no independent opinion of his merits as a king. She regarded him as a disagreeable man, generally sullen, and rarely civil. His appointment of Marlborough in the summer of 1700 to an employment of high trust, had probably disposed the new queen to make no hesitation in accepting the great principles of foreign policy which William had rendered triumphant by his unshrinking constancy. It has been attributed to the foresight of the "master workman" in the Grand Alliance, that he appointed Marlborough to the command of the troops sent to the assistance of the States-General, because he knew that in the event of his own demise, the favourite of his successor would be the chief moving power in English affairs. "The king proposed, by this early step, to engage the earl so much in the war, as to make it his particular interest to pursue it with vigour in the succeeding reign." * There was not an hour lost in declaring the policy that the new sovereign was counselled to pursue. On the evening of king William's death, queen Anne, when the Privy Council were assembled as is usual on the demise of the Crown, thus spoke upon the vital question which was the foremost in the public thought: "I think it proper, upon this occasion of my first speaking to you, to declare my own opinion of the importance of carrying on all the preparations we are making to oppose the great power of France; and I shall lose no time in giving our allies all assurances, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to pursue the true interest of England, together with theirs, for the support of the common cause." †

By a Statute of 1696, which had regard to the dangers of invasion or conspiracy, it was provided that Parliament should not be dissolved by the demise of the Crown, but might sit for six months after, unless prorogued or dissolved.‡ The queen went to the House of Lords on the 11th of March. She spoke of the late king as having been "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." She said of herself, "I know my own heart to be entirely English." Words were thus put into Anne's mouth which gave that praise to William which could not be withheld, and stirred up prejudices against his memory which her Tory advisers were ready to keep alive. With regard to foreign affairs she repeated the sentiments she had addressed to the Privy Council. Within five days the earl of Marlborough received the Order of the Garter, and was made Captain-general of the forces. He probably would not have received such immediate and signal honour and preferment if he had not, with his consummate adroitness, made the queen consider that he belonged to the party for which she intended her chief rewards. "As soon as she was seated on the throne," says the wife of Marlborough, "the Tories, whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the Church-party, became the distinguished objects of the royal favour."—"I am firmly

* Onslow. Note on Burnet, vol. v. p. 7.

† Burnet takes occasion to mention that "she pronounced this, as she did all her other speeches, with great weight and authority, and with a softness of voice and sweetness in the pronunciation, that added much life to all she spoke." Dartmouth says that Anne was taught to speak by Mrs. Barry. Onslow relates that he heard her speak from the throne, and that "it was a sort of charm." The rare faculty, it might seem, has descended as a royal inheritance to the next queen-regnant.

‡ 7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 17.

persuaded, that, notwithstanding her extraordinary affection for me,"—adds the all-powerful Mrs. Morley who professed Whig principles,—"and the entire devotion which my lord Marlborough and my lord Godolphin had for many years shown to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories." There could be no mistake about Anne's general preferences. Somers, Halifax, and Orford were struck out of the lists of the Privy Council. Nottingham was appointed Secretary of State, and Seymour Comptroller, Rochester was continued as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Normanby, another violent partisan, had the Privy-seal. Gradually, Godolphin and Marlborough obtained such an ascendancy as drove their less-moderate colleagues from office. The Whigs supported their war-policy. The favourite says, "I resolved from the very beginning of the queen's reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions on her mind more favourable to the Whigs." Anne could not help "being extremely concerned that her dear Mrs. Freeman was so partial to the Whigs," as she writes about half a year after her accession. "I would not have you and your faithful Morley differ in the least thing." Something stronger than Mrs. Freeman's arts drove the violent Tories from office. Something which the faithful Morley could not resist gave the Whigs the preponderance. The war was a magnificent success; and public opinion, whatever was the cost of the war, placed the party in power that had given Marlborough the support which enabled him to win Blenheim and Ramilies. Godolphin and the Duke became united with the Whigs. The Tories had their business to perform of stirring-up new contests at home for what were called "high-flying" principles; and the Jacobites were not yet weary of looking forward to the time when the son of James II. should again have a clear stage to vindicate the great theory of the divine right of kings, and to overturn the notions of constitutional liberty and religious toleration that had taken root under what they deemed the usurpation of 1689.

Before the end of March Marlborough had been sent as an envoy extraordinary to the States-General. On the 31st of March, he delivered a speech to their "High and mighty Lordships," in which he declared the resolution of his queen to maintain the alliances which "king William of glorious memory" had formed, and to enter into such other alliances as might most conduce to the interests of both nations, and the preservation of the liberty of Europe. Marlborough did not stay more than a week in Holland; but he arranged for a joint declaration of war against France by England, the States, and the Emperor, on the same day, May 4th;* and he concerted the plan of the first warlike operations. The skilful negotiator left the Hague on the 3rd of April. On the 4th of May war was proclaimed with the usual solemnities in Westminster and the City of London. The Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of May. It was dissolved on the 2nd of July. The Civil List that had been granted to king William was continued to queen Anne. Her majesty was empowered to appoint Commissioners to treat for Union between England

* This is the date used for this declaration, according to the Old Style, which we must still follow, to prevent discrepancies in dates. After 1700 the difference between Old and New Style is eleven days. The 4th of May Old Style, is the 15th of May New Style.

and Scotland, not without some insolent reflections from sir Edward Seymour and others, in the same coarse and haughty spirit which had greatly irritated the Scotch in 1700. The queen's speech at the close of the Session was somewhat ambiguous on one point: "I shall be very careful to preserve and maintain the Act of Toleration, and to set the minds of all my people at quiet: My own principles must always keep me entirely firm to the interests of the Church of England, and will incline me to countenance those who have the sincerest zeal to support it."

When we open the valuable collection of Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches,* we at once perceive the high position in which he is recognised by the princes and states of the Alliance. Immediately on his return from Holland, we find him writing from St. James's to the king of Prussia and elector of Hanover, as one speaking with authority about "the common cause." Marlborough left London on the 18th of May; was detained at Margate by contrary winds; but soon after his arrival at the Hague was appointed by the States as Generalissimo of all their forces. He appears to have succeeded, as if by common consent, to the power which was wielded by king William—he, a man who had fought his way up to promotion by no very honourable means; who had alienated two kings by his treachery; who was known to have the most especial eye to his own interests; who had not acquired any high reputation as a general, though no doubt from want of opportunity; but who was now considered to have the entire favour of the new sovereign of England, and, what was of no small importance, had been trusted by William in the latter part of his life, and had justified the trust by his consummate ability. Marlborough went vigorously to the work before him. He drew the allied forces together, so as to be at the head of a powerful army. He carried Venloo by storm on the 18th of September, when, as he writes to Nottingham, the secretary of state, "the English grenadiers had the honour of being the first that entered the fort." He besieged and took Ruremonde and Stevenswart. He captured Liège by storm on the 23rd of October, the English being the first that got upon the breach; and in a few days afterwards the castle of the Chartreuse was surrendered to him. In these operations he had the same aid that was so valuable to William—the scientific knowledge of Coehorn, the great rival of Vauban. Marlborough, at the close of the campaign, had an adventure, in which he was compared to Cæsar amongst the pirates. He was seized in a boat, as he was going down the Maese, by a body of French partisans, and after some detention escaped, after being plundered by those who did not know the value of the man they had intercepted. For a short time the Allies were in consternation. But Marlborough safely returned to London, to receive high honours and rewards. Whilst he was fighting at Liège, and only a few hours before the surrender of the place, he wrote a letter to Nottingham which shows how thoroughly he had his eye upon all the distant arrangements for carrying on a vigorous war: "I had written a very long letter in answer to two of your lordship's; but yours of the 6th of October, which I received this morning, that brings the ill news of Cadiz, has made me burn my letter, most of it being my thoughts

* "Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1712." Edited by sir George Murray. 5 vols. 1845.

of what I wished might be done if we had been successful. I am sorry from my heart if it proves otherwise." He was not one to be daunted by misfortune. He might have learnt the value of perseverance from the great example of the man who took Namur after he had been defeated at Landen. "I hope ill success will not hinder you from advancing with sea and land officers, if this matter be capable of being retrieved." *

The ill success at Cadiz was the failure of an expedition which had been planned by king William. It was carried out with the usual results of divided counsels and separate commands. A large combined fleet of Dutch and English ships, with fourteen thousand troops of both nations on board, after many delays had reached the bay of Cadiz on the 18th of August. There was a commander of the fleet, sir George Rooke; and there was a superior commander of the land and sea forces, the duke of Ormond. There was an English general and a Dutch general at the head of their respective contingents. Three days were spent in debate upon the plans to be pursued. The leaders were "not only divided, sea against land, but land against land, and sea against sea."† They knew nothing of the localities where they proposed to disembark, and nothing of the force that might be brought against them. The marquis of Villadaria, the captain-general of Andalusia, was a man of energy and military skill. He had roused the population; and when some troops had landed and marched to Port St. Mary's, an unwalled place—which safe course had been preferred to a descent upon the Isle of Leon, and a vigorous attack upon Cadiz—they found the old town deserted. There was, however, abundance of specie and other valuables there, to satisfy a rapacious soldiery, under very imperfect discipline. The prince of Darmstadt had joined the expedition, in the hope that the Andalusians would declare for the cause of the Austrian archduke, who claimed the title of king of Spain. The Spaniards were disgusted by the outrages of those who held out the hand of friendship to the people, but acted as brutal enemies. No serious attempt was made to accomplish some object worthy of such an armament. If the army remained longer on shore the probability was that they would have become wholly undisciplined, and have fallen sacrifices to the just revenge of the indignant population. The troops re-embarked in the middle of September. But there was a prize yet to be reached. The Spanish fleet, which yearly arrived from the Indies, laden with bullion and rich merchandise, finding Cadiz blockaded, had run into Vigo. It was against the monopoly of the Cadiz merchants that any other port should receive these annual treasures. The galleons could not land their cargoes until the tardy officials at Madrid had given permission. Ormond and Rooke had obtained information that there were richer trophies to be won than the honour of fighting for the stronghold of Cadiz. They made for Vigo, which, during their useless sojourn at Port St. Mary's, had been strengthened, and a boom thrown across the harbour. Two thousand men were landed. The galleons fled down the bay, and attempted to put some of their valuable cargo on shore. The English squadron pursued them; and then the Spaniards threw their wealth into the sea, and fired their ships. Six galleons

* "Dispatches," vol. i. p. 47.

† Letter of Colonel Stanhope, quoted in Lord Mahon's "War of the Succession," p. 47.

were seized by the English, and seven French ships of war. The loss of life on the side of the Spaniards and French was terrific. The destruction of property was immense, exceeding eight million dollars. Much of the treasure taken was embezzled. "The public was not much enriched by this extraordinary capture, yet the loss our enemies made by it was a vast one."*

The first Parliament of queen Anne met on the 20th of October. Harley was chosen Speaker. The royal speech contained no decided expression which could indicate what temper of the Houses would be most agreeable to the Court. It was well known that there would be a large Tory majority. It was now thought desirable by this majority to compliment the queen upon the progress of the war under the command of Marlborough, and to insult the memory of him whose firmness and perseverance had alone enabled England and Holland to hold in check the power of France. It was carried in the Commons by a majority of a hundred and eighty against eighty, that these words should be used in their Address to the queen: "The wonderful progress of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, have signally *retrieved* the ancient honour and glory of the English nation." Those who proposed to substitute the word "*maintained*," had to learn that the grave is no shelter from the violence of party-spirit. This was harmless malice. But there was something more than the gratification of the old hatred of a constitutional king, when the queen was told, in the same Address, that as she had always been an illustrious ornament to the Church, "we promise ourselves, that, in your reign, we shall see it perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges."

Under the Toleration Act of 1689, the Protestant Dissenters, a numerous and wealthy body, had been relieved "from the penalties of certain laws," as the title of that Act expressed. Dissenting ministers might teach and preach, having subscribed some of the articles of the Church of England; and their followers were free to frequent conventicles, having subscribed the Declaration against Popery, prescribed by the Statute of Charles II. Complying with these requisitions, the offices of Corporations were open to the very influential class that differed in some points from the Established Church under various denominations. In 1697 a violent excitement was produced in the city of London, by the lord-mayor, sir Humphrey Edwin, attending a Meeting-House, with the trappings of his office—a circumstance which Swift had in mind when he told "how Jack's tatters came into fashion in court and city; how he got upon a great horse, and ate custard."† During the reign of William, the feud between the Church and Dissent was confined to the preachers and the pamphleteers. The State looked on without taking any part in the quarrel about Occasional Conformity, by which the Dissenters kept their share of civil power, without compromising, as most of them believed, their rights of conscience. But when Anne came to the throne, the High Church party were for extreme measures against the separatists; and one of the first proceedings of the Tory ministry in the new Parliament was to bring in a Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity. The spirit of the time of

* Burnet, vol. v. p. 45.

† "Tale of a Tub." The Lord Mayor's great horse is of higher antiquity than the Lord Mayor's state coach.

Charles II. was roused from its long sleep. Not only were holders of office to be subject to the Test Act, but also all electors for boroughs. To enter a Dissenting place of worship after having once taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church, was to be punished with heavy fines, and with transportation upon a repetition of the offence. The Bill was quickly passed by large majorities of the Commons. In the House of Lords, where the majority of spiritual peers were distinguished for their moderation—where the learning of Somers and the eloquence of Halifax had their due weight—the factions of the Lower House were met with a firm and temperate resistance, although the Whigs were not strong enough to throw out the Bill. Amendments were introduced by the Peers, which the Commons indignantly rejected. Conferences then took place between the two Houses, in which the question was debated with great pertinacity on both sides; but in which the Lords manifested a regard for civil rights, a hatred of extreme penalties, and a respect for religious liberty, which ought to be borne in mind by those who are inclined to believe that the power in the state which does not directly represent the popular interest is necessarily indifferent to the welfare of the people. We may judge of the masterly reasoning upon which the Peers defended their amendments by the following passage: "The Lords think an Englishman cannot be reduced to a more unhappy condition, than to be put by law under an incapacity to serve his prince and country; and therefore nothing but a crime of the most detestable nature ought to put him under such a disability: they who think the being present at a Meeting to be so high a crime, can hardly think that a toleration of such Meetings ought to continue long; and yet the Bill says, 'The Act of Toleration ought to be kept inviolate.'"*

The chief business of the Session was this great battle of principle. The Lords insisted on adhering to their amendments. The Commons persisted in rejecting them. The Court made every effort to get the Bill passed in the Lords,—the prince of Denmark, though not of the Church of England, and being an occasional conformist himself, having voted for it as a peer of Parliament. But the vote of adhering was carried in the Lords by a majority of one. The battle of the Press was as violent as that of the Parliament. The most remarkable production of the time was Defoe's "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." It is seldom that irony can be sustained through many pages; but the power which this great writer possessed in his fictitious narratives, of giving a reality to imaginary events and persons, enabled him to adopt the tone of a violent high-churchman, and carry forward the declamation of the party into an extravagance which made the general argument odious and ridiculous. It was the most successful literary hoax ever perpetrated. Furious Churchmen applauded the pamphlet. Sensitive Dissenters were indignant at the terms in which they were denounced. Dull moderate men stood aghast at the monstrous cruelty and wickedness of these "Proposals for the establishment of the Church," which thus argued: "If the gallows instead of the compter, and the gallies instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle to preach or hear, there would not be so many sufferers; the spirit of martyrdom is over; they that go to

* "Parliamentary History," vol. vi. p. 71.

church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors would go to forty churches rather than be hanged." When the hoax was discovered, the rage of the followers of Sacheverell and other haters of toleration was unbounded. A reward of Fifty Pounds was offered by proclamation for the apprehension of Daniel Defoe, "charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet entitled The Shortest Way with the Dissenters:"—"a middle aged spare man, about forty years old." The House of Commons voted the little book to be burnt by the hangman. Defoe was indicted at the Old Bailey Sessions in February, 1703, and was brought to trial in July. He acknowledged himself to have written this piece of exquisite banter. To us who live in better times, which we owe as much to the Press as to the Parliament, it is inconceivable that all parties did not laugh at Defoe's wit. He was found guilty; and was sentenced to a fine, to stand three times in the Pillory, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. Defoe was pilloried, on three successive days, at the Royal Exchange, at the Conduit at Cheapside, and at Temple Bar. On the first day of this exhibition he published his "Hymn to the Pillory." His was the spirit that, in every age in England, has made oppression recoil upon the oppressor. The Hymn was read as its author stood before the crowd not ignominiously:

"Earless on high stood unabashed Defoe."

Pope meant this for contempt. The more equal judgment of another age receives it as praise, and reads "fearless," not "earless"—"unabashed by, and unabated in his contempt for, Tyranny and Dulness." *

"The earl of Marlborough is Grand Vizier, as you may imagine," writes a political observer at the time of the accession of Anne.† The successes of his first campaign encouraged the queen to shower honours upon her favourite's husband, which left nothing higher in her gift for the triumphs of his subsequent career. On the 10th of December, 1702, her majesty announced to the Commons that for the eminent services of the earl of Marlborough, she had thought fit to grant him the title of Duke. But the queen went further. She said she had granted the duke five thousand a year from the revenues of the Post Office. The Commons demurred to this grant; and Marlborough received the first check to that avidity for money, which was one of the conspicuous faults of his character. The cold support he obtained from his Tory friends was not to be readily forgiven. His views, moreover, as to the conduct of the war were far more comprehensive than the views of the administration. Louis XIV. had renewed the horrible persecutions of the French Protestants in Languedoc. In his anxiety to conclude the peace of Ryswick, William III. had made no stipulations for the free exercise of the reformed faith in the provinces of France. His attention was called to this omission by Heinsius, as the States were on the point of signing the Treaty. But the communication to William was too late: "God grant," he replies, "that some expedient may have been found before you can receive this letter, for it will probably not reach you till after midnight, and consequently not till after the expiration of the term fixed for the signature of the Treaty.‡ In 1702 a

* "Historical and Biographical Essays," by John Forster, vol. ii. p. 50. It is curious that Mr. Wilson quotes the line as if Pope had really written "fearless," and had not falsified the fact by assuming that Defoe had his ears cut off, as Prynne's were.

† Kemble. "State Papers." Ellis to Stepney, p. 259. ‡ Grimblot, vol. i. p. 32.

serious revolt of the persecuted Protestants broke out in the Cévennes, a mountainous district of Languedoc. The poor mountaineers, who held their religious meetings in solitary places, were again to be converted by the "booted missionaries" of the Roman Catholic Church. Their dangers called forth a spirit of fanaticism, such as had characterized the Cameronians of Scotland. They had prophets amongst them. They looked for miracles to be wrought in their favour. There was a ruthless bigot in the Cévennes, the Arch-priest Du Chaila, who had been the persecutor of the Protestants there from the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1702 this detestable fanatic was endeavouring to tread out the fanaticism of his victims by unheard-of cruelties. He subjected his prisoners to frightful tortures. He flogged and mutilated young children, to obtain information of the concealment of preachers. His atrocities at length received their reward. He had imprisoned in his château—a strong place, capable of resisting any ordinary attack—a number of Protestants, whom he intended to put to death, as he had put to death a young girl six months before. The peasantry surrounded the château; forced the gates with a rude battering-ram; set the building on fire; and murdered the Arch-priest as he attempted to escape. The insurrection now became general. Leaders sprang up, who organized the embittered mountaineers. The contest seriously distracted the attention of the French government, and was so far favourable to the Allies. Marlborough desired to render assistance to the insurgents. Nottingham, and the other Tory ministers, would not sanction any rebellion against a legitimate king. The civil war in the Cévennes, when it first broke out, was looked upon as an effort of despair, which would quickly end in massacres and executions. It was at its height in 1703, when the Camisards, as the insurgents were denominated, were opposed, under the leadership of a young man named Cavalier, to a Marshal of France, with twelve thousand veteran troops under his command. Cavalier, who as a boy had tended sheep on his native hills, had fled from the persecution which threatened his home, and had apprenticed himself to a baker at Geneva. He was in his twentieth year when he suddenly appeared again in his birth-place, and became the head of the most daring band of insurgents. There is no romance more interesting than the adventures of this baker's boy, who displayed a courage, a sagacity, and a military genius, which compelled Marshal de Montrevel to give up in despair his system of terror and wholesale destruction by fire and sword. He was recalled, and Marshal Villars was substituted, who adopted milder measures. Cavalier concluded a negotiation with Villars in 1704. The allies could render him no assistance, such as he had expected. The revolt had, in some degree, worn itself out. Villars promised amnesty, with free egress to those who chose to emigrate, and a toleration of religion. The youth on whom the marshal of France looked with wonder, that he should have succeeded so long in defying the armies of the great monarch, trusted to French diplomacy without receiving any guarantees for the performance of the conditions which he required. They were partially adhered to; but the promise to the Protestants of the free exercise of their religion was soon broken. Cavalier's own comrades were indignant with him for making terms at all. Another chief, Roland, continued the war. Roland was killed in 1704. The fire in the Cévennes "was covered up rather than extinguished,"

says Burnet. Cavalier afterwards served in Spain; subsequently entered the English service; and died at a very advanced age as governor of Jersey, with the rank of a major-general.*

The campaign of 1703 was as barren of any signal advantages to the arms of the Allies as to the arms of France. The Parliament had voted an augmentation of troops, and there was no want of decision on the part of Marlborough, to employ the forces of which he had the command in the manner most likely to be productive of a great result. "Our affairs go very ill in Germany," he wrote to Nottingham on the 26th of March.† The elector of Bavaria had now proclaimed his adhesion to France; had surprised the strong fortress of Ulm; and by effecting a communication with the French on the Upper Rhine, had opened a way for the armies of Louis to the centre of Germany. The French forces under Boufflers in the Netherlands threatened Holland; and Marlborough was desirous of attacking them, whilst the stronger French armies were otherwise engaged. The States-General pressed upon him the desirableness of securing Bonn, which capitulated after a short siege. Three months later Huy was surrendered to the Allies. But these successes were of comparatively small import. Marlborough had been in anxious correspondence with Coehorn on a matter which he repeatedly terms "le grand dessein," and "la grande affaire."‡ Marlborough and Coehorn had matured a plan for attacking Antwerp, and carrying the war into Flanders. The failure is attributed by Marlborough to "M. de Coehorn's stubbornness, and the dissensions amongst the generals." He, therefore, had to return towards the Maese; and having taken Huy, to propose some other plan that would have terminated the year with an energetic operation that promised success. The duke proposed, in a council of war, on the 20th of August, to attack the French lines between Mehaigne and Leuwe. This plan was agreed to by the generals in command of the forces of Denmark, Luneburg, and Hesse, as well as by the English generals. The French carefully avoided a battle, and were safe beyond their lines, which Marlborough desired to force. The plan was submitted to the States-General, and was by them rejected. They wanted another fortress, Limbourg, to be taken, which Marlborough said could be accomplished by a detachment of the army. The great general was naturally irritated by this interference with his plans; but he submitted. Marlborough wrote to their High Mightinesses that, from the undoubted information he had received of the situation of the enemy, the design was not only practicable, but almost sure of success. "The opportunity is lost, and I wish from my heart that there will be no cause for repentance when it is too late." § He attacked Limbourg, which surrendered after a short siege. In the next campaign, Marlborough laid his plans with such secresy, and carried them out with such promptitude, that the States-General had scarcely time to find fault with the independence of his movements before they heard of their complete success.

On the 9th of November, the queen opened the second Session of her

* Cavalier wrote an account of the Wars in the Cévennes. There is an excellent notice of this remarkable man by Mr. Kemble, "State Papers," p. 384 to 431.

† "Dispatches," vol. i. p. 74. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 118. § *Ibid.*, p. 173.

first Parliament. The foreign policy which she announced assumed larger proportions than the object which had been originally defined for the war. Its object was no longer simply "to resist the great power of France," but "for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the House of Bourbon, and restoring it to the House of Austria." The queen announced that she had made a treaty for this object with the king of Portugal; and that subsidies would be required for the duke of Savoy, who had declared his intention to join the Alliance. The principles of the agreement with Portugal were laid down in what is known as the Methuen Treaty,—called after the name of the ambassador who negotiated it,—and that treaty, and its effect upon the commerce of England and the habits of her people, lasted through five generations even to the present time. The wines of Portugal were to be admitted upon the payment of a duty 33⅓ per cent. less than the duty paid upon French wines; and the woollen cloths of England, which had been prohibited in Portugal for twenty years, were to be admitted upon terms of proportionate advantage. Up to that time the Claret of France had been the beverage of the wine-drinkers of England. From 1703 Port established itself as what Defoe calls "our general draught." In all commercial negotiations with France the Methuen Treaty stood in the way; for the preferential duty was continued till 1831. France invariably pursued a system of retaliation. It was a point of patriotism for the Englishman to hold firm to his Port. The habit was established; and even now, when the vine-growers of France, and the iron-masters of England, are equally desirous that commercial restrictions should be removed, it is in vain to say, as Hume said more than a century ago, "We lost the French markets for our woollen manufactures, and transferred the commerce of wine to Spain and Portugal, where we buy worse liquor at a higher price." *

The arch-duke Charles of Austria was now hailed as king Charles of Spain. He came to England on the 26th of December. On the 29th he was entertained for two days by the queen at Windsor. Her majesty, according to the official account in the London Gazette, received at their first meeting the compliment of the king of Spain, "acknowledging his great obligations to her for her generous protection and assistance." He was all courtesy and humility. He would scarcely take the right hand of the queen at table; and "after supper he would not be satisfied till after great compliments he had prevailed with the duchess of Marlborough to give him the napkin, which he held to her majesty when she washed." Had the new king, without a kingdom, stayed long enough in England to observe the temper of the Parliament and the people, he might have felt that her majesty's "generous protection and assistance" was not the only thing to be considered in our insular politics. At this time, the famous Leibnitz, whose acquirements as a philosopher did not interfere with his keen calculations upon political affairs, wrote from Berlin, "the great animosity that prevails between the Whigs and the Tories gives many people a bad opinion of the affairs of England." † How could the people of the continent understand these affairs? Here was England engaged in the greatest war, and committed to the most

* "Essay on the Balance of Trade."
† Kemble. "State Papers," p. 306.

complicated alliances, of any period of her history, and her government was making the most strenuous efforts to disturb the internal tranquillity which had long subsisted under a system of toleration, and revive the bitter hatreds in matters of religion which appeared to have died out, except amongst the extreme bigots of either party. A fortnight had scarcely elapsed since the opening of the session, when a new Bill against Occasional Conformity was brought in, and the Commons renewed the work of the previous session with redoubled fury. They passed the Bill very quickly by a majority of two hundred and twenty-three to a hundred and forty. The Lords rejected it by a majority of twelve. To analyse the dreary debates would have little interest now. The excitement out of doors has been described by one of the greatest of humourists: "I wish you had been here for ten days, during the highest and warmest reign of party and faction that I ever knew or read of, upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity, which, two days ago, was, upon the first reading, rejected by the Lords. It was so universal that I observed the dogs in the streets much more contumelious and quarrelsome than usual; and, the very night before the Bill went up, a committee of Whig and Tory cats had a very warm and loud debate upon the roof of our house. But why should we wonder at that, when the very ladies are split asunder into high-church and low, and, out of zeal for religion, have hardly time to say their prayers." * Marlborough, perhaps very little to his taste, was dragged in by the Tories to whom he yet pretended allegiance, to vote for the Bill. He wrote, during the heat of the discussions, to count Wratislaw, to show how this controversy interfered with the real business of Parliament. "If it had not been for the Bill against Occasional Conformity, we had reason to flatter ourselves that the Session would have terminated with more of unanimity, and that a greater dispatch would have been given to public affairs than we had seen for many years." †

There were other parliamentary turmoils in this session which involved the most serious disputes between the Lords and Commons. One of these was the controversy about privilege in the matter known as the Scottish plot, which we shall refer to a Chapter on Scotland. The other was the constitutional question connected with the famous case of an Aylesbury Election. Ashby, a burgess of Aylesbury, sued the Returning Officer for maliciously refusing his vote. Three judges of the King's Bench decided, against the opinion of Chief Justice Holt, that the verdict which a jury had given in favour of Ashby must be set aside, as the action was not maintainable. The plaintiff went to the House of Lords upon a writ of error, and there the judgment was reversed by a large majority of Peers. The Lower House maintained that "the qualification of an elector is not cognizable elsewhere than before the Commons of England;" that Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege; and that all persons who should in future commence such an action, and all attorneys and counsel conducting the same, are also guilty of a high breach of privilege. The Lords, led by Somers, then came to counter-resolutions, of which the most important is, "that the assertion that a person wrongfully hindered from giving his vote for the election of

* Swift, Letter to Rev. Dr. Tisdall, December 16, 1703.
† "Dispatches," vol. i. p. 218.

members of Parliament, by the officer who ought to take it, is without remedy by the ordinary source of the law, is destructive of the property of the subject, is against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tends to encourage corruption and partiality." The prorogation of Parliament put an end to the quarrel in that Session; but in the next it was renewed with increased violence. The judgment against the Returning officer was followed up by Ashby levying his damages. Other Aylesbury men brought new actions. The Commons imprisoned the Aylesbury electors. The Lords took strong measures that affected, or appeared to affect, the privileges of the Commons. The queen finally stopped the contest by a prorogation; and the quarrel expired when the Parliament expired under the Triennial Act. Lord Somers "established the doctrine which has been acted on ever since, that an action lies against a Returning Officer for maliciously refusing the vote of an elector." *

About the time when these violent political tempests commenced, the nation was terrified by that wonderful war of the elements, known as the Great Storm of 1703. On the night of the 27th of November a mighty wind arose in the western and southern districts of England, and in part of the eastern, which toppled down steeples, unroofed houses, drove great ships from their anchorage, and swept away the watch-towers of the coasts. The shores of the Channel were strewn with wrecks. The Thames and the Severn were crowded with dismasted merchantmen, and hulls whose crews had been swept into the raging sea. Fourteen or fifteen men-of-war were cast away, and fifteen hundred seamen perished with them. The Parliament went up with an Address to the queen, beseeching her to build new ships, which cost they would effectually defray. Marlborough, in his communications with foreign courts, spoke of the storm as a grievous national calamity, but one which he hoped would not interfere with the dispatch of troops for his Catholic majesty.† A general fast on the 19th of January was observed with unusual devotion, "the terror which the tempest had left on the people's minds," says an historian of the time "contributing much to their affectionate discharge of that religious duty." Sermons of exhortation to hearken to God's judgments—one of which was called 'A warning from the winds'—were preached throughout the land. Defoe wrote a circumstantial account of the unprecedented calamity. But this visitation was soon forgotten in the excitement of war. Marlborough's wonderful campaign of 1704 caused the passing terror of 1703 to be soon forgotten. Addison,—it may be somewhat profanely—compared Marlborough in the storm of battle to the angel "who rides in the whirlwind;"

"Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past."

This famous simile of "The Campaign," was pronounced to be wonderfully fine and true. The moralist was soon neglected who said, "I cannot but have so much charity for the worst of my fellow-creatures, that I believe no man was so hardened against his Maker, but he felt some shocks to his wicked confidence from the convulsions of nature." ‡

The commotions of party, in the first and second years of the reign of Anne, were so extreme, that men who had higher aims than the possession of

* Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors." Life of Somers.
† "Dispatches," vol. i. p. 214. ‡ Defoe. "The Storm," 1704.

power for its own sake looked on with dread and sorrow. Somers wrote to Shrewsbury, who was abroad, in 1704, "Never man was wearier of a place than I have been of this country for many years; nor any one reckoned you happier than I have, for being out of the reach and hearing of all the malice, and baseness, and violence, that men are practising upon one another." * And yet calm and earnest reformers of gross abuses did contrive to carry some measures that were untainted by the breath of faction, and whose benefits still remain to us. One measure of law reform was passed in 1702, in a clause of a Statute entitled "An Act for punishing of Accessories to Felonies and Receivers of Stolen Goods, &c." We should scarcely expect to find, under this Act for extending the range of the Criminal law, a clause which, from that time, has afforded protection to a prisoner under trial, by placing the witnesses in his favour upon an equality with the witnesses for the Crown. This clause is as follows: "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the said twelfth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and two, all and every person and persons who shall be produced or appear as a witness or witnesses on the behalf of the Prisoner upon any trial for Treason or Felony, before he or she be admitted to depose or give any manner of evidence, shall first take an Oath to depose the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, in such manner as the witnesses for the queen are by law obliged to do, and if convicted of any wilful perjury in such evidence shall suffer all the punishments, penalties, forfeitures and disabilities, which by any of the laws and statutes of this realm are, or may be inflicted upon persons convicted of wilful perjury." † Lord Lyndhurst, in 1836, when he so admirably urged the adoption of the Bill for giving to all prisoners the right to "full counsel," which had been given, in 1695, in cases of high treason,—pointed out that anomaly in the law which was corrected by this statute of Anne: "In cases of felony, no witnesses were examined on the part of the prisoner until queen Mary sent down directions to the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas to take evidence on the part of the accused, as well as against him. Still the law remained imperfect, because, though witnesses were examined, they were not examined upon oath. Lawyers are sometimes very astute at finding out reasons to support every existing institution, and they assigned a very singular reason for this practice. They said it originated in lenity towards the prisoner, because the witness, not being bound by an oath, would speak largely and beneficially for him. This was rather a singular doctrine, the object of a court of justice being to elicit the truth. But let your lordships mark its practical effect, as exhibited in numerous instances in the State Trials,—the witnesses against the prisoner being examined on oath, and those in his favour not being examined on oath. The moment the judge began to sum up the evidence to the jury, and contrast the evidence for the prosecution with that given on the part of the prisoner, he always took care to inform the jury that, in estimating the degree of weight which was to be attached to the testimony on each side, they must not lose sight of the important fact, that the witnesses for the prosecution were examined on oath, whilst those for the defence were free from that obligation." ‡

* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 641. † 1 Annæ, stat. 2, c. 9.

‡ "Mirror of Parliament," 1836; quoted in "Suggestions for the Repression of Crime," by

Amidst the violent disputes in Parliament upon Conformity, stimulated by the equally violent divisions in the Convocation—which now claimed a right to sit during a Session of Parliament without being prorogued—there was one measure of real benefit to the clergy, which is popularly known as "Queen Anne's Bounty." The "first fruits and tenths" of all spiritual preferments had become part of the revenues of the Crown, under the Statute of Henry VIII., giving to the king, as head of the Church, what the clergy had been accustomed to assign to the Pope, in spite of the efforts of Parliament to prevent or restrain this practice. The "first fruits" were the whole profits of the preferment during the first year, and the "tenths, or *decimæ*," the tenth part of the annual profit of each living. When given to the papal see, they were computed upon a valuation of the time of Edward I. When they became part of the royal revenue, they were computed upon that valuation in the time of Henry VIII., known as "The King's Books." But by the Statute of the 26th of Henry VIII., the payments for the smaller rectories or vicarages were wholly or partially remitted; but the larger benefices were bound to contribute to the Crown these portions of their nominal value. Queen Anne, by letters patent of the 3rd of November, 1703, "restored to the Church what had been thus indirectly taken from it." * But the restoration was effected in the most judicious manner, not to relieve the larger benefices, but in some small degree to equalize the condition of incumbents, by vesting the first-fruits and tenths in trustees, to form a fund for the augmentation of the smaller livings. These letters-patent were confirmed by Statute, of which the preamble is suggestive of what some consider the evils of what is known in our day as "the voluntary principle:"—"Whereas a sufficient settled Provision for the Clergy in many parts of this realm has never yet been made, by reason whereof divers mean and stipendiary preachers are in many places entertained to serve the Cures and officiate there, who, depending for necessary maintenance upon the good will and liking of their hearers, have been and are thereby under temptation of too much complying and suiting their doctrine and teaching to the humours rather than the good of their hearers; which hath been a great occasion of faction and schism, and contempt of the ministry." †

When the accession of Queen Anne indicated a nearer, though not a complete approach to the absolute principle of legitimacy, which was set aside by the Revolution and the Act of Settlement, it became the policy of the extreme Tories and High-Churchmen to induce the people to look again with complacency upon some of the customs which, at the Restoration, had marked the triumphs of divine right and the downfall of Puritanism. Queen Anne revived the ceremony of touching for the king's evil, by which all English monarchs, from the time of Edward the Confessor, whether saints or sinners, of the Roman Catholic or the Reformed Church, had asserted the miraculous power of the wearer of the "golden rigol." William III. was profane enough not to believe in this power. Whiston, who had himself a talent for humour,

Mr. M. D. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, a volume which not only displays the large and benevolent views of its author, but contains a mass of valuable information on the great topics to which Mr. Hill has especially devoted his later years.

* Blackstone, vol. i. p. 281, Mr. Kerr's edition.

† 2 & 3 Anne, c. 20, (in "Statutes of the Realm."

not generally belonging to the vain and eager controversialist, tells a story that William was once prevailed upon to touch for the malady which kings could cure, and that he said to the patient that he prayed God to heal him, and grant him more wisdom at the same time. The discontinuance of the superstition by the king,—who, although a truly pious man, made it "his rule all his life long, to hide the impressions that religion made upon him as much as possible" *—necessarily rendered queen Anne desirous to manifest its efficacy to the world. Her majesty was not perfectly successful in all cases. Dr. Johnson's mother carried him from Lichfield to London, to be touched by the queen, and he used to relate how he had "a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn, recollection of a lady in diamonds, and a long black hood." Boswell says, with much gravity, "This touch, however, was without any effect." It was more effectual in a case related by Daines Barrington, of an old man who was witness in a cause, describing how the good queen had touched him when he was a child: "I asked him whether he was really cured? upon which he answered, with a significant smile, that he believed himself never to have had a complaint, that deserved to be considered as the Evil, but that his parents were poor, and had no objection to the bit of gold" †—the angel of gold, with the impress of St. Michael, which was hung about the patient's neck.

The May-poles that had been set up at the Restoration,—when the Puritan justices and constables who had pulled them down were no longer in a condition to declare war against them,—after the Revolution had the fate always harder than persecution, that of neglect. They had ceased to be indicative of party feelings; and they gradually mouldered away upon the village green, and were displaced from the streets of cities in which commerce was more important than merriment. But when Anne came to the throne there was a revival: "I appeal to common knowledge," says Defoe, "if in the first half-year of her present majesty, almost all the May-poles in England were not repaired, and re-edified, new painted, new hung with garlands, and beautified." Defoe associates this with the revival of "drunkenness and revelling." He was looking at the May-poles through the old Puritanical glasses, which saw in harmless sports nothing but Popery and vice. But the setters-up of the May-poles probably loved as little the merriment of the people as the non-conformists did. "Up went the May-poles," writes Defoe, "that the Church's health might be drunk, till the people not only knew not what they did, but might be ready to do they knew not what, to the demolishing the Church's pretended enemies, the Dissenters." ‡ A Puritanical rhymester of 1660 makes "Sir May-pole" say,

"There's none as I so near the Pope."

The satirist of the extreme opinions of this time is not grossly exaggerating, when he says that Martin, in his "mad fit, looked so like Peter in his air and dress, and talked so like him, that many of the neighbours could not distinguish the one from the other, especially when Martin went up and down strutting in Peter's armour, which he had borrowed to fight Jack." §

* Burnet. "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 547. † "Observations on our Ancient Statutes."
‡ "Review," quoted in Wilson, vol. ii. p. 10.
§ "Tale of a Tub." It is scarcely necessary to add a note found in most editions of Swift:—"Peter, Martin, and Jack, represent Popery, Church of England, and Protestant Dissenters."

Marlborough and Eugene.—Medal.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Difficulties of recruiting the English army—The Campaign of 1704—Marlborough's secret plan of operations—His march along the Rhine—Arrives at the Danube—Battle of the Schellenberg—Devastation of Bavaria—Junction of the French and Bavarian armies—The battle of Blenheim—Results of the victory—Subsequent operations of the Campaign—Marlborough returns to England—Honours and Rewards—Party Conflicts—Parliament dissolved.

The extreme measures taken by the House of Commons in 1699, for reducing the army to a point almost incompatible with the desire of king William to preserve to England its weight and influence abroad, must have proved a serious embarrassment to the government of queen Anne in the first two years of her reign. When, in the spring of 1704, Marlborough, taking no counsel of foreign princes or states, and imparting little of his plans to the civil directors of English affairs, was revolving in the most secret recesses of his own mind the plan of that daring campaign which was to exhibit war on its grandest scale, he must have sometimes contemplated with anxious doubt the insufficient means at his own command. We find him on the 29th of March writing from St. James's to M. Hop, the Dutch minister, that the public funds not being sufficient to carry on the war with vigour, the queen had provided additional means out of the privy purse; and he announces that the transports will speedily arrive in the Meuse, with nearly a thousand recruits for the infantry of the English army.* A thousand recruits only, to supply the waste of two campaigns! But if we have reference to the difficulty of recruiting, we shall not be surprised at the small force which Marlborough could contribute, to be drafted into the regiments which he was contemplating to lead upon the most distant march ever

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 247.

attempted in our Continental wars. When preparing himself to embark at Harwich, on the 6th of April, he sends to Mr. secretary Hedges, "the list of officers for the two new regiments of foot to be raised under the command of the lord Paston and colonel Heyman Rooke." * But how to be raised? An Act of Parliament passed on the 23rd of March will inform us. When Farquhar was gathering that professional experience which he embodied in 1705 in his "Recruiting Officer," the captain Plumes and sergeant Kites, with their drums, and ribbons, and strong ale, were unable to fill the ranks of the army with the "youth of England, all on fire." A bill was brought into Parliament in 1704 for a forced levy from each parish—a measure which was rejected as unconstitutional. A plan of general conscription being thus refused, an Act was passed, which gave as happy an occasion for favouritism and corrupt influence as when "Master Corporate Bardolph" had "three pounds to free Mouldy and Bull-calf." † By the Statute "for raising recruits for the land forces and marines," justices of the peace, and mayors or other head-officers of boroughs, were empowered "to raise and levy such able-bodied men as have not any lawful calling or employment, or visible means for their maintenance and livelihood, to serve as soldiers." ‡ The constables were to receive ten shillings per head for bringing the tattered prodigals before the justices, and the justices were to consign them to the queen's officer, who was to present each of these cankers of a calm world with twenty shillings, and then send them to the wars, to "fill a pit as well as better." This Statute of 1704 was renewed in 1705; and the system was also tried in the latter end of the reign of George II. That it had a tendency to lower the military character can scarcely be doubted. But if such recruits were ready to plunder, they were also ready to fight; and for a century and a half England has been contented with such, and has not yet discovered the way to recruit an army by holding out the prospect of honourable distinction and just promotion to the deserving.

The campaign of 1704 was meant by Louis XIV. to decide the great question by which Europe was agitated. The war for two years had been a war of sieges, in which the advantages on the part of the Allies had been more than balanced by advantages on the part of France and Bavaria. If Marlborough had gained some strong places in the Netherlands, the French had taken strong forts on the Upper Rhine and the Moselle, and the Bavarians and the French had defeated the imperial troops and were masters of Augsburg and Passau. By the alliance of France with Bavaria, and through the successes of their joint forces, the way to Vienna was open to a great army to be collected on the Danube. Large detachments from the French army of Flanders were to be led by marshal Villeroy. Marshal Tallard was to leave the Rhine, and advance into Suabia through the Black Forest. The army of Italy was to march through the Tyrol into Austria. The Hungarians, then in a state of insurrection, were to be assisted by French troops. Another century was to pass away before Germany should be again threatened by such a formidable concentration of the military power of France. It required the most extraordinary combination in one man of daring and pru-

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 248.

† "Henry IV." Part II. Act 3.

‡ 2 & 3 Annæ, c. 13.

dence, to conceive the plan of a great war;—to devise a vast series of operations upon a similar scale with those of Louis,—but of operations to be conducted by the union of many discordant interests, and the subjection of many petty and adverse schemes to the policy of a master-mind. Marlborough had not only to mature his design with small counsel from those who were to join him in carrying it out, but absolutely to conceal it from those who were to render him the most efficient assistance. The difficulties of his course may be traced in his letters; but we also therein trace the indomitable will by which he is determined to surmount them. On the 29th of April he writes from the Hague to Mr. secretary Hedges, "We are not yet come to any final resolutions here upon the operations of the siege." * On the 2nd of May he again writes to the secretary, that in a conference with the deputies of the States, he had informed them of his resolution of going to the Moselle, "as what may most conduce to the public service." † On the 5th of May, the States having consented that Marlborough should lead the joint forces to the Moselle, the troops began to march out of their garrisons. On the 10th of May the great general has got to Ruremond. He now writes confidentially to Mr. Stepney, the English ambassador, that he would not conceal from him "my resolution of marching with the English, some of our auxiliaries, and what other troops can with safety be spared, up to the Danube; but as I have not yet made any declaration to the States of my design of going so far, and as it behoves us to have particular management for them, I must not only desire your secrecy, but pray you will intimate the same thing to his majesty the emperor." ‡ He next takes an Englishman into his confidence—Mr. St. John. On Wednesday next, he writes on the 11th of May, the troops will pass the Meuse at Ruremond, on their way to the Moselle; "and I may venture to tell you, though I would not have it public as yet, I design to march a great deal higher into Germany." § Heinsius, the friend of William III., knew the plans of Marlborough. So did prince Eugene. But his impenetrable secrecy prevented the Dutch opposing his resolves upon the ground that it would leave their own frontier defenceless. "Under the blind," says Burnet, "of the project of carrying the war to the Moselle, everything was prepared that was necessary for executing the true design." The movements of Villeroy, who had passed the Meuse at Namur, alarmed the Dutch, and they sent a pressing message to Marlborough to halt. The movements of Tallard frightened the margrave of Baden, and he implored Marlborough to come to his aid. He quieted their fears with smooth words, and went rapidly and steadily on his own march. The French themselves could not understand the movements of Marlborough. Villeroy had been ordered to observe him wheresoever he marched. ‖ The French marshal suddenly lost sight of him altogether, and only learned where he really was, when he received the news of his first victory over the Bavarians. ¶ A contemporary writer accounts for this ignorance, which caused Villeroy to march and countermarch in the neighbourhood of the Moselle, while Marlborough had pushed on to the Danube: "They make

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 251. † *Ibid.* p. 252. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 258.
§ *Ibid.* p. 264.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 270. ¶ Voltaire, "Siècle de Louis XIV."

great use of spies; they also stop all passengers they meet, inquire their names, whence they come, what news they hear. They depend upon such rumours and reports, and take their measures accordingly, in matters of the last importance." *

Marlborough is now moving amongst scenes as familiar to many English as the banks of their own rivers. From the heights of Ehrenbreitstein, then a strong fortress belonging to the elector of Trèves, he saw his cavalry pass over the Rhine. His infantry soon followed. His artillery and stores were put on board transports at Coblentz, as well as his sick soldiers. Marlborough's attention to detail—which was also one of the distinguishing characteristics of the great commander who came a century after him, with the same mission of arresting the ambition of France—saved his soldiers from many a privation and many a defeat. The allied troops moved along the banks of the Rhine, in the gray dawn and the soft twilight of that early summer. During the noontide heat, they rested under the shadow of slopes clothed with budding vines. "The Rhine was a great refreshment to the soldiers," says Cunningham. It was a striking change from the dull plains of Flanders, for the English to gaze upon a river far grander than their own Thames or Severn—to hear their 'Grenadiers' March' echoed from ruined castles perched upon every rock beneath which they wound their way; to drink huge draughts of the sharp Rheinwein, in quaint villages where money secured a hearty welcome. On they went cheerily through these novel scenes. "When the confederates had drawn up their ships beyond Andernach, the Mouse Tower, Bingen, and Bacharach, there opened to them on the left hand a large plain, whereon the whole army was seen to march at once, making a glorious sight in their arms and new clothes." † The army halted a day at Cassel, near Mayence, where the elector reviewed the troops; and when he first looked upon the English officers in their scarlet and gold—"all plumed like estridges"—he exclaimed, "these gentlemen seem to be all dressed for the ball." Marlborough wrote to Godolphin that he should send to Frankfort to see if he could raise a month's pay for his English upon bills; "for, notwithstanding the continual marching, the men are extremely pleased with this expedition, so that I am sure you will take all the care possible that they may not want." ‡

Whilst the army under the immediate command of Marlborough was thus moving towards the Danube, by the Rhine, it was no small part of his anxiety so to regulate the movements of the other confederates that a junction of the principal forces should be effected before they appeared in the presence of their powerful enemies. Up to this time some of the allies had been kept in ignorance of his ultimate plans; but he had so skilfully managed his communications with them, that they, in drawing towards the Moselle, might be ready to march far beyond to effect a junction with his main army. Marlborough passed the Neckar, on the 3rd, by a bridge of boats at Ladenburg. He here halted for two days. Troops were drawing near to join him as he advanced—Dutch, Luxemburg, Hesse, and Danish allies. He then expected to be on the Danube in ten days; but he found the roads excessively difficult, and had to

* Cunningham, vol. i. p. 373. † *Ibid.* p. 373.
‡ Coxe, "Memoirs of Marlborough," vol. i. p. 331, edit. 1820.

make circuitous marches. He evidently had an imperfect knowledge of the country. At Mundelsheim, on the 10th, Marlborough and prince Eugene met for the first time, and after three days they were joined by prince Louis of Baden. Prince Eugene was in Marlborough's full confidence, and they hoped to act together for their common object. But for the present they were unable to arrange that united command which each desired in his reliance upon the other's judgment. Prince Louis of Baden asserted his claim of precedence to be with the main army as its commander. It was at last agreed that he and Marlborough should command on alternate days; and that Eugene should return to the Rhine to command a body of thirty thousand men—"the security of the lines and the passage of the Rhine, being of the last importance to us." *

Towards the end of June we find in the letters of Marlborough ample evidence of the deep anxiety with which he regards the great crisis which is approaching. Slight indications of doubt and impatience manifest themselves beneath the surface of his imperturbable temper. His friends in Holland, he understands, are alarmed, and he entreats that they may be quieted; for if, misled by appearances, they were to give orders for their troops to march back, all his projects would be entirely disconcerted.† On the 29th he writes to Harley, that the army, in camp at Giengen, is within two leagues of the elector of Bavaria; but the Danish horse are not come up; "though if the duke of Würtemberg had hastened his march, according to the repeated orders I sent, he might have been here by this time." ‡ But the English infantry and artillery have at length joined the cavalry with which Marlborough himself had pushed on; and he is now ready for serious work. Marshal Tallard and marshal Villeroy, he learns, are at Strasburg, preparing to send the elector a great re-inforcement, through the Black Forest.§ One blow may be struck at the elector before his friends come to his aid.

On the 1st of July Marlborough had received advice from a peasant living near Donawert, that thirteen thousand Bavarians and French were posted in an intrenched camp upon the Schellenberg. This eminence is described by Mr. Hare, the duke's chaplain, as about two English miles in circumference at the base, having a gradual ascent, and a large flat at the top, where the enemy was encamped in several lines. The Schellenberg joined the town of Donawert, from which an intrenchment was carried round the top of the hill, at whose base, on the south, flowed the Danube. The intrenchment was the strongest and the most regular on the north, where the hill is accessible from a spacious plain. Cunningham has given a somewhat picturesque description of the Schellenberg: "On the top of the hill stands a church, with a churchyard, which was encompassed by the camp, and surrounded with the intrenchment. Adjoining to the churchyard is a little hill, which extends itself westward to a plain, and towards the south is broken into several hillocks, the bottoms whereof are washed by the Danube. Towards the east there is a ridge of hills covered by thick woods, frequented by robbers, and dangerous to passengers; and at this time not less fit for an ambuscade than the purposes of rapine." ‖ At three o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of July,

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 307.

† Dispatch to M. D'Almelo, 23rd June, vol. i. p. 323. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 328.

§ *Ibid.* p. 331. ‖ "History of Great Britain," vol. i. p. 377.

Marlborough marched out of his camp with a detachment of six thousand foot, thirty squadrons of horse, and three regiments of imperial grenadiers. The roads were difficult; and it was noon before they reached the river Wernitz, a tributary of the Danube. They had marched twelve miles; and there were yet three miles of very rough ways to pass. The main body of the army was following the detachment. Fatigued as the men were, the duke resolved to storm the Schellenberg before the night closed. At six o'clock the attack began. The foot advanced in four lines up the rising ground; the horse in two lines. The cannon from the intrenchments of the hills, and from the works at Donawert, swept away officers and men with case-shot. The allied troops carried fascines to be thrown down into the intrenchments; but by a mistake they threw them down into the hollow way which ran before the works, and the enemy came out of their trenches to charge a confused host, whose commanding officers were for the most part killed or wounded. But the English Guards stood their ground, presenting that solid front which has arrested many an onset; and the Gallo-Bavarians retired. The whole force of the Schellenberg was now concentrated upon the English and Danish assailants. The infantry shrunk before the incessant fire; but the horse closed up and rallied them, and again they attacked with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile, the enemy having withdrawn his men from the works on the right, nearest to Donawert, prince Louis of Baden led the imperialists to the feebly defended intrenchments, and they, throwing their fascines into the ditch, passed over with slight loss. The contest on the left still raged. The intrenchments were obstinately disputed, but at the end of an hour and a half the lines were forced; the allies possessed the camp; the routed enemy fled towards Donawert, whither they were pursued with great slaughter; the Bavarian general, count d'Arco, saved himself with difficulty; and as the flying crowds crossed the bridge of the Danube it broke down, and the waters swallowed those who had escaped the sword. Only three thousand of the men of the intrenched camp of the Schellenberg joined the elector of Bavaria, out of the twelve or thirteen thousand that occupied that almost impregnable position. But the allies also sustained a loss of more than five thousand killed and wounded. The determination of Marlborough to storm the intrenched camp was daring—almost rash. Marshal Conway, in 1774, viewed the ground, and wrote: "The intrenchments on the heights of Schellenberg are, for the form, still entire, and appear, both for construction and position, very strong." * There were fourteen English infantry regiments in the action, and seven of cavalry. Twenty-nine of their officers were killed, and eighty-six wounded. Marlborough, in his dispatch to Harley, does not mention the aid he received from the prince of Baden. This was not jealousy, but contempt. The partisans of the prince repaid this, by ascribing the victory to the imperial general.

It would be a satisfaction to the honest pride of an Englishman, if he could ascribe to the commands of the prince of Baden the disgraceful scenes of the next fortnight. Negotiations had been going on between the emperor and the elector of Bavaria, to induce the elector to join the Allies. Articles had been agreed upon; but when the elector was expected to sign, he sent his

* MS. Letter.

secretary to say that as marshal Tallard was marching with an army of thirty thousand men to his relief, it was not in his power, nor consistent with his honour, to quit the French interest. Marlborough, who relates this to Mr. secretary Hedges, coolly adds, "We are now going to burn and destroy the elector's country, to oblige him to hearken to terms." * To burn and destroy a country may be a glib phrase of war, to which some persons may attach no very definite meaning. It was here no idle threat to make the elector come to terms. The work was set about in a very business-like manner. On the 31st of July, three thousand horse were sent out, "to begin in the neighbourhood of Munich," under the command of the comte d'Orst Frise. To him Marlborough writes the next day to say, that he has desired the comte de la Tour to execute the same job in another quarter,—during a couple of days, "brûlant en attendant tout ce qu'il pourra." † On the 3rd of August he writes to Harley, that his titled agents have returned, "having burnt a great number of villages between this and Munich, so that the elector can expect nothing less than the ruin of Bavaria for his obstinacy and breach of promise." ‡ The elector can expect nothing less! But the elector's people? The politic duke thoroughly knew what "the ruin of Bavaria" meant. He is quite sentimental when he writes to his duchess about these matters. To burn and destroy "is so contrary to my nature, that nothing but absolute necessity would have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these towns and villages are so clean that you would be pleased with them." His nature suffers, he says, to see so many fine places burnt. And then the sweet domestic affections break forth from his troubled heart: "I shall never be easy and happy till I am quiet with you." § He had a wife and children for whom he yearns. He has given up thousands of hapless wives and children to the destroyer. The villages, "so clean," that gave them shelter; the food they have just begun to gather into their garners; the standing corn—all are burnt; the wives and children, with the husbands and fathers, are perishing, because the elector of Bavaria prefers the French interest to that of the emperor. An English historian writes, "thus was avenged the barbarous desolation of the Palatinate thirty years before." ‖ Surely this sort of vengeance has at length become so odious, that Churchill the duke, and Morgan the buccaneer, might be placed in the same category as enemies of the human race, if the hero, in all ages, had not been held exempt from the ordinary code of morals. In Mr. Addison's day, such deeds were not held to be crimes; "courage and compassion" were joined in the "good and great" Marlborough, when "he thinks it vain to spare his rising wrath:"

> "The listening soldier fix'd in sorrow stands,
> Loth to obey his leader's just commands;
> The leader grieves, by generous pity sway'd,
> To see his just commands so well obey'd." ¶

Forty years ago, archdeacon Coxe thus caressingly writes of his hero: "Although Marlborough was thus compelled to fulfil the most unwelcome

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 358. † *Ibid.* p. 383. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 384.
§ Coxe, vol. i. p. 375.
‖ Alison's "Marlborough," p. 74. ¶ "The Campaign."

duty which can fall to a general, his private correspondence shows that he felt as a man."* Perhaps the Reverend biographer would have been less moved with the maudlin sentimentality of the letter to the duchess, which we have quoted, if he had known how one greater than Marlborough regarded such "duty." When Massena abandoned Portugal in March, 1811, burning and destroying every town and village as he retreated before the English army, lord Wellington thus described the operations of the French general: "His retreat has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled and never surpassed." † Barbarity is the word—the act of a savage, as distinguished from the act of the civilised man. "The laws of war, *rigorously interpreted*, authorise such examples when the inhabitants take arms," writes sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular campaigns. The quiet population upon whom Marlborough let loose all the terrors of fire and sword had not lifted a finger to oppose his progress. And yet Marlborough was not a cruel man. He always treated his prisoners with exemplary humanity. There may be situations in war when severity is truly mercy. Was this such a situation?

On the 3rd of August, Marlborough was encamped at Friedberg. He writes to Harley, that the Allies intend to march on the morrow, the artillery being ready at Nieuburg, for the siege of Ingoldstadt. Prince Louis, he says, "has made me the compliment either of commanding or covering the siege; I believe I shall choose the latter." He adds, "We have nothing new of M. Tallard, which makes us apprehensive that he may be halted at Ulm, in order to repass the Danube, by which he may be more uneasy to us than if he joined with the elector." Tallard, however, did join the elector, and their united forces were encamped at Biberach, on the 8th of August. Marlborough had weakened his main army by dispatching Prince Louis to carry on the siege of Ingolstadt. Prince Eugene was encamped at Donawert. On the 9th, Eugene hastily rode into Marlborough's camp, to announce that the united Gallo-Bavarian army had advanced from Biberach towards Lauingen, with the supposed intention of passing the Danube. It was agreed that the prince should be immediately reinforced, and that the whole army should advance nearer the Danube, in order to join him.‡ Tallard and the elector passed the Danube on the 10th, and encamped at Dillingen. On that day Marlborough was encamped at Schonefeldt. It was a crisis of extreme danger; for if Tallard had attacked either army before their junction, his superiority in numbers would have assured him a victory. Eugene commanded a force of twenty thousand men, composed of Prussians, Danes, Austrians, and troops of the empire. Marlborough commanded a force of thirty-six thousand men, composed of English, Dutch, Hessians, Hanoverians, and Danes. Tallard, and his fellow-general Marsin, commanded forty-eight thousand Frenchmen, and the Bavarians numbered twelve thousand. On the 11th, Marlborough marched from Schonefeldt, and crossing the Lech at Rain, joined Eugene that night, having passed the Danube at Donawert. They intended to advance and encamp at Hochstet, "in order whereto," says Marlborough, "we went out on Tuesday [the 12th] early in the morning to view the ground, but found the enemy had already possessed themselves of it, whereupon we resolved to attack them." § It was no rash resolve, which

* Vol. i. p. 37.
‡ Dispatches, vol. i. p. 387.
† Wellington Dispatches, vol. vii. p. 358.
§ *Ibid.* p. 391.

dispensed with the necessary precautions to insure success. Marlborough and Eugene went up into the steeple of the church of Dapfheim; saw a camp being marked out upon a hill where the enemy's cavalry were stationed, and the infantry in full march towards it; carefully noted all the practicable ways from their own camp to that which they saw forming; and, to facilitate the movements of the next day, ordered a ravine to be levelled by their pioneers.* The allied army was encamped to the north-west of the river Kessel. The French and Bavarian army was encamped beyond the river Nebel, in the broadest part of the valley of the Danube, their right resting upon the great stream to which the Kessel, the Nebel, and two intervening rivulets are tributaries. The distance between the Kessel and the Nebel is four or five miles, with the wooded heights of the Schellenberg shutting in the valley, till it opens into the wide and fertile plain of Blenheim.

On the night of the 12th orders were given that the allied army should move before break of day. In the plain to the north-west of the Nebel there are three villages,—Kremheim, close upon the Danube; Unterglaugh, in the centre of the valley; Berghausen, at its eastern extremity. At three o'clock in the morning of the 13th of August, the army of Eugene, filing by the right, in four columns, and the army of Marlborough, also in four columns, were passing the Kessel, over bridges which had been constructed on the previous day. Two brigades, which had taken position in advance at Dapfheim the evening before, formed a ninth column. This column had a considerable accession of strength given to it, and, under the command of the gallant lord Cutts, marched along the Danube, upon the extreme left, by Kremheim, with orders to attack the village of Blenheim. Marlborough and Eugene, with the advanced guard, were sufficiently near by seven o'clock, to take a view of the positions of the Gallo-Bavarian army. Their right was at the village of Blenheim, where Marshal Tallard had his head quarters. Their left was at the village of Lutzingen, covered by a wood. The space occupied by their lines was in length about four miles, upon rising ground which commanded the whole plain to the Nebel, in front. The morning was hazy, and Tallard was somewhat unaccountably deceived as to the intentions of Marlborough and Eugene. In a postscript to a letter which he wrote at a very early hour, he says, "This thirteenth, the enemy beat 'la générale' at two o'clock, and at three 'l'assemblée' * * * * According to all appearance they will march to day, and the report of the country is that they are going to Nordlingen:" Tallard found his mistake when the sun cleared away the mist, and the columns of Eugene were seen coming out from the hill-side behind Berghausen. His first operation was to call in his foragers, and to set fire to the villages on that side of the Nebel on which the Allies were advancing. At eight o'clock the French began to cannonade, and the batteries of Marlborough and Eugene soon replied. Eugene, however, had found considerable difficulty in taking up his ground. His march upon the edge of the wooded hills had been rough and circuitous. He had rivulets to cross running through swampy ground. His wing had been necessarily extended. It was past noon when he had placed his troops, upon the extreme right, in front of the elector of Bavaria; and it had been agreed between the two commanders

* Hare's Journal: Dispatches, vol. i. p. 396.

that the battle should not commence till both were ready. The announcement from Eugene was made; and then Marlborough mounted his horse, and gave the command that the lines should move forward to cross the Nebel, and that Cutts should commence the attack upon Blenheim.

The village of Plentheim, or Blenheim, had been converted by Tallard into a strong post. It appeared to him that the Nebel was impassable in the centre of the plain, and he therefore concentrated his chief strength on the right, leaving his left equally strong under the elector. The military critics of the time of Tallard severely blamed him for this disposition of his force. St. Simon says, that by a blindness without example, he had placed twenty-six battalions of infantry, six regiments of dragoons, and a brigade of cavalry —an entire army—merely for the purpose of holding a village, and supporting his right, which would have been better supported by the Danube. An English marshal, who viewed the ground seventy years afterwards, writes, "As far as the disposition was concerned, the neglect of the centre, and the crowding so many battalions into Blenheim, whilst the flank of the village was not proportionally sustained, seem to me among the principal faults of M. Tallard." * The French marshal took extraordinary pains in the defence of Blenheim, by forming barricades between the village and the Danube, and by making every house and garden a little fortress. As far as regarded the attack upon this spot the means of defence were wholly successful. At one o'clock the allied troops under Cutts descended to the Nebel, and crossed by two water-mills which had been set on fire. Brigadier-general Rowe led the English to the attack, supported by a brigade of Hessians. When they were within thirty yards of the palisades which surrounded the village, a heavy fire of grape swept away their ranks. Rowe led his men to the barriers, determined to enter sword in hand. He fell, mortally wounded, and the irresistible fire of the enemy compelled a speedy retreat. Squadron after squadron crossed the rivulet, at other points, and advanced in front of the village. Three times were the assailants repulsed; but at last they held their ground, and were enabled to occupy the attention of the great body of troops within Blenheim, by keeping up a feigned attack, whilst the main body of Marlborough's army was crossing the Nebel. It was a difficult and dangerous operation, which occupied several hours. The stream in one part had two branches, with soft and marshy ground between each branch. "There was very great difficulty and danger," says the duke's chaplain, "in defiling over the rivulet in the face of an enemy already formed, and supported by several batteries of cannon; yet by the brave examples given, and great diligence used, by the commanding officers, and by the eagerness of the men, all passed over by degrees and kept their ground." † The reliance of Tallard upon the difficulty of passing the marshes would appear to have been the reason that he offered no opposition to the passage of the allied army, but that of a continual discharge of cannon. St. Simon severely blames him that he left a large space between his own troops and the brook, that his enemies might pass at their ease, "to be overthrown afterwards, as was said." The English, according to the same authority, speaking the opinions

* MS. Letter of Marshal Conway. The "Memoirs of St. Simon" were not published when this letter was written.

† Dispatches, vol. i. p. 403.

of French officers, had plenty of ground at their disposal, while Tallard, by a different arrangement might have been master of a vast plain. Nevertheless, as the columns of the Allies passed the stream, volleys of musquetry were poured upon them; and the charges of French cavalry were incessant. The conflict gradually extended from the left to the centre, as English, Dutch, Danes, and Hanoverians came into position. Marsin, who commanded the French at the west of the valley, near the village of Oberglaugh, repulsed the Danish and Hanoverian horse. The prince of Holstein Beck then led eleven battalions from the heights on the opposite side of the Nebel, and began to cross. His columns were immediately charged by nine battalions, including the Irish brigade in the French service, and the foremost battalions of Holstein Beck were cut to pieces. Marlborough then led a body of cavalry and infantry to the rescue, and compelled the enemy to retire. During the passage of the left wing of the Allies, prince Eugene had been fighting the elector on the right, with indifferent success. Three times had he attacked, and three times he had been compelled to retire to the wood, and re-form his broken ranks. As the sun was westering the issue of the battle might appear doubtful. The French, on the extreme left of the line of the Allies, held Blenheim securely. The French and Bavarians on the right, had repulsed all the spirited attacks of Eugene, and the combatants faced each other, exhausted and irresolute. The main bodies under Tallard and Marlborough had not yet come to a general encounter. Marlborough has formed his cavalry in two lines in the centre of the plain, with his infantry in their rear towards the left. At five o'clock the trumpets sound a charge, and the horse and foot mount the acclivity. The French receive the charge firmly, and the Allies fall back, but still keep the brow of the hill. Their cannon are brought up, and the fire on each side is close and incessant. It is the weak part of the French line, and they cannot stand against the storm of musquetry. Another charge, and now the French horse are scattered. Nine battalions of French infantry that had been intermingled with their cavalry, are cut to pieces. Marsin has fallen back to avoid a flank attack; and the centre of the French line is more and more in danger. Tallard dispatches orders to the little army shut up in Blenheim to come to his aid. It is too late. He sends for a re-inforcement to the elector. Eugene has given the elector enough to do in his own position. A third charge of Marlborough's horse, and the battle is won. The centre of the French lines is broken by these terrible charges, and now Tallard's cavalry endeavour to rally behind the tents of their camp. The Allies close upon them. The rout is now general. Some fly toward Hochstet, about two miles in the rear. Others crowd to the nearer village of Sonderheim, upon the bank of the Danube. General Hompesch pursues those who had gone in the direction of Hochstet. Marlborough himself, with his victorious cavalry, charges upon those who fled towards Sonderheim. Down the steep banks of the Danube rush the fugitives. Many attempt to swim the river, and are drowned. Others file towards Hochstet under the banks, and prepare to rally. The victorious squadrons appear, and again they flee. Marshal Tallard has reached Sonderheim, but he finds retreat impossible, and surrenders himself to an aide-de-camp of the prince of Hesse. One extraordinary document still in existence, exhibits the wonderful self-possession of the conqueror in this

agony of his triumph. The great duke pauses a minute in his pursuit of the flying enemy to write this note, in pencil, to his duchess, upon a slip of paper, torn from a memorandum-book:

"August 13th, 1704.

I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my Duty to the Queen, and let her know her Army has had a Glorious Victory. Mons^r Tallard and two other Generals are in my Coach, and I am following the rest. the bearer my Aid de Camp Coll Parke will give Her and account of what has passed, I shal doe it in a day or two by another more at large

Marlborough"

The fighting was over. And there was a large body of Bavarians and French at one end of the line, and there were twelve thousand French shut

Battle of Blenheim.—Medal.

up in Blenheim at the other end. The troops of the elector and of Marsin seeing the rout of Tallard, and being closely pressed by Eugene had set fire to their positions of Oberglaugh and Lutzingen, and were moving away in unbroken order. Night was coming on; the distance was indistinct from the clouds of smoke which hung over the battle-field; and Marlborough,—mistaking the troops of Eugene for part of the army of the elector, "marching in good order, and in such a direction as might have enabled them advantageously to flank our squadrons, had they charged the other part of the elector's force" *—offered no interruption to their retreat. The scene at Blenheim was of a far more stirring character. During the day, the French there had held out against every attack; but now, when the main body of Tallard's army was routed, the Allies closed round the barricaded village. Horse and foot were ready to assail the isolated forces in every direction. Artillery was brought up, and batteries constructed. All the great English generals were assembled to unite in this final struggle. Cutts was there, and Orkney with his Scotch Royal; Churchill, and Lumley; Ross,

* Hare, Dispatches, vol. i. p. 457.

and Ingoldsby; Webb, and Wood. The French finally surrendered as prisoners of war. St. Simon has told the story of this surrender, with a Frenchman's sense of national humiliation, but with a minuteness which leaves no doubt that he had his details from the first authority—that of the officer who signed the capitulation. This officer was Blansac, the camp-marshal, who had been left in command when his superior officer had abruptly withdrawn himself. Denonville, a young officer who had been taken prisoner, came towards the village, and waving a handkerchief, demanded a parley. He came to exhort Blansac and the troops to surrender. Blansac sharply dismissed him. Denonville returned again, with an English lord, who demanded a parley with the commandant. The Englishman told Blansac that the duke of Marlborough had directed him to say that he was marching upon Blenheim with forty battalions and sixty pieces of cannon; that he was beginning to surround the village on all sides; that there was no force left to support the position; that Tallard was in flight; that the elector had retreated; that he had no succour to hope; and that he had better surrender himself and all his men as prisoners of war. Blansac was for sending the lord back with a hasty refusal. But the Englishman pressed him to step out of the village with him, only a couple of hundred paces, and behold the state of things with his own eyes. Blansac could no longer doubt. He returned, and submitted to his chief officers that, however frightful would be the impression upon the French nation that twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons should have surrendered as prisoners of war, it was better to preserve so many brave men for the future service of their king. "This horrible capitulation" as St. Simon terms it, was forthwith signed. Marlborough was embarrassed by the number of his prisoners. In a few days he had more than twelve thousand on his hands; and he writes to sir Charles Hedges, "they are not only very troublesome, but oblige us to continue here, while we should be pursuing our blow and following the enemy." *

The post road from Ulm to Ratisbon traverses a part of the field of Blenheim. It "rests partly on a foundation of bones of men and horses, part of which were disinterred in constructing it a few years back." † This is more wholesale evidence of the mighty battle than when little Peterkin found "something large and round" beside the rivulet, and old Kaspar shook his head with a natural sigh:

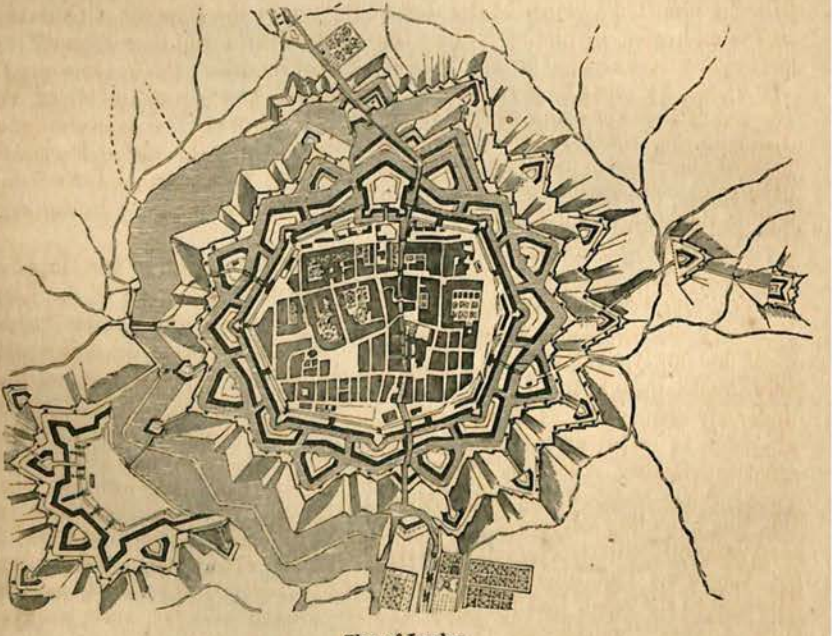
> "'Tis some poor fellow's skull, said he,
> Who fell in the great victory." ‡

It is computed that the two armies of Marlborough and Eugene had eleven thousand men killed and wounded; and the armies of France and the elector, fourteen thousand. It was supposed that the total loss of the French and Bavarians in the battle, and during their retreat, amounted to forty thousand men, including prisoners and deserters.§ The blow to the power of France was tremendous. All the prestige of her glories under Turenne and Luxemburg was gone. "There never," says Cunningham, "was a battle

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 414.
† Murray's "Hand-Book of Southern Germany," p. 137.
‡ Southey, "Battle of Blenheim."
§ Dispatch of Cardonnell to Harley. Dispatches, vol. i. p. 409.

fought within the memory of man, wherein either the courage of the soldiers, or the prudence of the generals, were more conspicuous than on this day, which first ruined the French fortunes, and put a stop to their long course of victories." Louis received the fatal news on the 21st, but without any details. For six days he remained in uncertainty as to the real losses. "We were not used to misfortunes," says St. Simon. "The grief of the king at this disgrace and this loss, at the moment when he believed that the fate of Europe was in his hands, may be imagined. When he might have counted upon striking a decisive blow, he saw himself reduced to act simply upon the defensive."

The day after a great victory rarely leaves the conqueror at his ease. Marlborough had no dread of a desperate enemy returning to a new contest. The French were flying through the Black Forest, and did not hold themselves safe until they had crossed the Rhine by the bridge of Strasburg. On the night of the battle the victors found a hundred slaughtered oxen in the French camp, with other food. On the 15th of August Marlborough was imploring the duke of Würtemberg to send him two hundred waggons to carry bread to the army, without which, he says, "we can neither stir nor remain where we are." The English soldiers, when the oxen were devoured,



Plan of Landau.

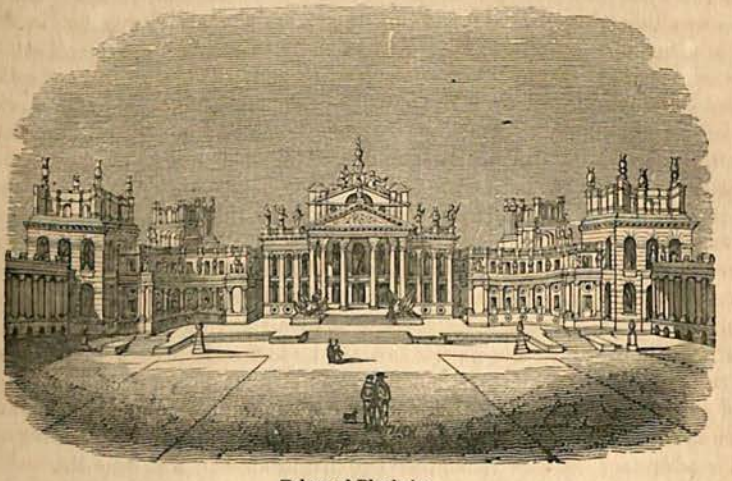
could not subsist upon the herbs and vegetables that they found in the French tents. In a previous letter Marlborough had said to Godolphin, "Our greatest difficulty is, that of making our bread follow us; for the troops that I have the honour to command cannot subsist without it; and the Germans,

that are used to starve, cannot advance without us." He had not only to feed his own camp, but had twelve thousand prisoners, who would be as clamorous under starvation as the English and Dutch. The 17th of August "was devoutly observed through the whole army, in returning thanks to Almighty God for his blessing upon the arms of the Allies." * The difficulties were speedily surmounted; and on the 20th the army was before Ulm. "We must not leave this city behind us," writes the provident general. "When we are masters of it, I believe the French will hardly attempt coming again into this country." † On the 12th of September Marlborough received the news that the garrison had capitulated. The Allies were then advancing to the siege of Landau, which the prince of Baden was to conduct, and Marlborough was to cover with his army, for Villeroy was hovering around, but would not come to battle. The defence of this strongly fortified place was very obstinate. On the 8th of November Marlborough writes to Harley, "our people are entire masters of the counterscarp, from whence we are now firing with near sixty pieces of cannon at the breach." ‡ He was impatient to go to Berlin, to conclude an agreement with the king of Prussia for a large addition to the allied forces. Meanwhile he had concluded a treaty with the electress of Bavaria, who was left regent, by which she agreed that all her troops should be disbanded. Honours were coming thick upon the conqueror. He was admitted a prince of the Roman Empire by the emperor of Germany, and is addressed by him as "Most Illustrious Cousin and dear Prince." A principality was created for him. Leaving what he calls "this tedious siege" of Landau, he posts to Berlin, and concludes his treaty with the king. On the 3rd of December he receives, at Hanover, the news of the capitulation of Landau. Trierbach, another strong place, also fell. On the 16th of December he is at the Hague, preparing to sail for England, with marshal Tallard and others, his distinguished prisoners. On the 22nd he embarked at Rotterdam; and on the 26th he dates from St. James's.

The duke of Marlborough took his seat on his arrival in the House of Peers. When he stood up to answer the congratulatory address of the Lord Keeper, who ascribed everything to the general, and nothing to his troops, he wisely and modestly replied: "My Lords, I am extremely sensible of the great honour your lordships are pleased to do me. I must beg, on this occasion, to do right to all the officers and soldiers I had the honour of having under my command. Next to the blessing of God, the good success of this campaign is owing to their extraordinary courage. I am sure it will be a great satisfaction, as well as an encouragement to the whole army, to find their services so favourably accepted." He replied in very similar terms to the complimentary address of the House of Commons. A reward more solid than congratulations was immediately bestowed upon him. Soon after the Commons had unanimously voted their Address, the queen sent a Message to the effect that her Majesty having taken into her consideration their Address, "relating to the great services performed by the duke of Marlborough, does incline to grant the interest of the Crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock, and hundred of Wootton, to him and his heirs," —desiring the assistance of the House to clear off the incumbrance of the

* Dispatches, vol. i. p. 417. † *Ibid.* p. 420. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 531.

property, the rents and profits having been granted for two lives Upon this noble estate of Woodstock—the ancient palace of the Plantagenets—the favourite haunt of Chaucer—the retreat of Elizabeth in her early days of fear and sorrow—was built the palace of Blenheim.



Palace of Blenheim.

Whilst Marlborough had been conducting his wonderful campaign of 1704, it had been felt by the violent Tory party in England that he had ceased to belong to them. The triumphant resistance to the power of France was not in harmony with their ancient hopes, which led them to look to some day when the great Louis should give them back a king with a more legitimate title, in their eyes, than any title that could be conferred by an Act of Settlement. The wife of Burnet had written to the duchess of Marlborough, after the news of the great day of Blenheim, that certain people said, "it was true a great many men were killed and taken, but that to the French king was no more than to take a bucket of water out of a river." The duchess transmitted this to her lord, and he replied, "if they will allow me to draw one or two such buckets more, I should think we might then let the river run quietly, and not much apprehend its overflowing and destroying its neighbours." * With this manifestation of contempt, we nevertheless find the equability of the duke disturbed by the acrimony of the party at home, who were still powerful in the House of Commons. He writes to the duchess, in October, "I will endeavour to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory. . . . . I shall certainly not care what any party thinks of me; being resolved to recommend myself to the people of England, by being, to the best of my understanding, in the true interest of my country." † When Marlborough came home he found the people of England ready enough to give him the heartiest welcome, without reference to the passionate quarrels of factions. The standards that had been taken in the campaign were carried

* Coxe, vol. ii. pp. 42—44.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 45—47.

in a grand military procession from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and there hung up, with the whole population of London shouting for Anne and Marlborough as a hundred and twenty pikemen each carried one of these tattered emblems of victory. When the hero was entertained by the City, the roofs and windows of the houses sent forth as hearty shouts of gratulation as when Raleigh and Drake went to St. Paul's to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The factions of the Commons cared nothing for a national triumph—they sought only the triumph of a party. They had for a third time brought forward the factious Bill against Occasional Comformity, before Marlborough returned home; and they had made the most strenuous efforts to tack it to a money bill which was to enable the war to be continued. The scheme was defeated. The tackers, as they were called, became ridiculous to the nation. The Commons then passed the Bill, without tacking it to a money bill. Marlborough arrived in time to vote against it in this amended form. It was thrown out by the Lords. On the 14th of March, the queen, in proroguing the Parliament, spoke of "unreasonable humour and animosity," and exhorted to prudence and moderation. "When this session," says Burnet, "and with it this Parliament, came to an end, it was no small blessing to the queen and to the nation, that they got well out of such hands. They had discovered, on many occasions, and very manifestly, what lay at bottom with most of them; but they had not skill enough to know how to manage their advantages, and to make use of their numbers. The constant successes with which God had blessed the queen's reign, put it out of their power to compass that which was aimed at by them; the forcing a peace, and of consequence the delivering all up to France."* Marlborough, though he still affected to be of no faction, saw the time had passed by when he could have the support of the party which the queen had first marked by her favour. Those who had attempted to stop the supplies by tacking to their vote the Occasional Conformity Bill were the High Tories, with whom he long conspired to make the life of King William a burden to him, by disturbing all his designs for the independence of nations. Marlborough, after the Session was ended, wrote to Godolphin, "As to what you say of the tackers I think the answer and method that should be taken is what is practised in all armies,—that is, if the enemy give no quarter, they should have none given to them." Godolphin's mode of giving no quarter was to deprive every man of public employment "who had given his vote for the tack." Whigs gradually were called by Godolphin into the public service; and political aspirants began to see that there was not only a virtue in moderation, but that it was a virtue which brought its own reward.

* "Own Time," vol. v. p. 494.

Gibraltar.

CHAPTER XIX.

The War in Spain—Expedition to Catalonia—Gibraltar taken by Sir George Rooke and the Prince of Darmstadt—Sea-fight off Malaga—Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards—Expedition to Spain under Peterborough—Siege of Barcelona—Peterborough surprises Montjouich—Barcelona taken—Peterborough's rapid successes in Valencia—Philip V. besieges Barcelona—It is relieved—The Allies enter Madrid—Supineness of the Austrian king—Disgust of Peterborough—He leaves Spain—Prince Eugene drives the French out of Italy.

Whilst Marlborough was leading the army of the Allies to the Rhine—an army upon whose success depended the great issue between the king of France, and the emperor of Germany—the archduke Charles, who had assumed the title of king of Spain, had landed at Lisbon, and was prepared to head the troops on the western frontier of the kingdom to which he laid claim. But instead of carrying the war into Spain, the army of English, Dutch, and Portuguese were completely held in check by the duke of Berwick; and the Allies were unable to prevent several of the Portuguese towns being taken by the Spaniards. At the opposite extremity of the Peninsula an attempt was made to rouse the Catalans to declare for king Charles. The prince of Darmstadt was sanguine of success; and a little army of five or six thousand men was put under his command. They embarked at Lisbon in May, in a fleet of which sir George Rooke was the admiral. The expedition landed at Barcelona; but receiving very little

support from the people, it re-embarked, and Rooke sailed down the Mediterranean, and passed through the Straits, where he effected a junction with the fleet under sir Cloudesley Shovel. It was not in the nature of English sailors willingly to return to port without effecting anything; and so the admirals planned an attack upon Gibraltar, in which the prince of Darmstadt agreed to join. The famous rock on which the Saracens had built their castle in the eighth century, and which they held till the middle of the fifteenth century, was strongly fortified by the Spaniards; but its vast importance as the key of the Mediterranean was not estimated as in more recent times. In 1704 there were not more than a hundred men within the works; but they were commanded by a brave veteran who rejected with disdain the summons to surrender. Two thousand marines, under the command of the prince of Darmstadt, landed on the Isthmus, now known as the Neutral Ground; and the supplies from the main land were thus cut off. On the 2nd of August Rooke commenced a bombardment from his ships, which was continued on the next day. That day was a great festival; and a part of the garrison went to pray to their saint, instead of standing by their guns. The eastern part of the rock was thus imperfectly defended, and the English sailors scaled the precipice. At the same time the South Molehead was stormed,—with a heavy loss to the assailants by the springing of a mine. But they gained the ramparts; and all resistance was at an end. The brave governor made honourable terms for himself and his garrison; and upon the rock which has defied every besieger through a century and a half, the English flag floated in an easy victory. Sir George Rooke took possession in the name of the queen of England; although the prince of Darmstadt would have hoisted the Spanish standard and proclaimed king Charles.*

The prince of Darmstadt remained at Gibraltar, with a force of two thousand men. The English fleet then went in search of a French fleet that had been equipped at Toulon, and was under the command of the high-admiral of France, the count de Toulouse. Rooke had been joined by some Dutch vessels; the French admiral had also been joined by some Spanish vessels. These two armaments, formidable in the number of their ships, met off Malaga. They fought all day; but not a ship of the hundred vessels engaged was sunk, or burnt, or taken, on either side. Nothing exhibits a more striking contrast to the naval engagements of the days of Nelson than this drawn battle. And yet we must not conceive that little damage was done, or that it was a bloodless action. Sir Cloudesley Shovel describes the fight as "very sharp." He says, "there is hardly a ship that must not shift one mast, and some must shift all." † The French fleet was even more disabled. The count de Toulouse sailed away to Toulon, and Rooke made for Gibraltar. Te Deum was sung in Paris for a great victory; and thanksgivings were offered up at St. Paul's for the blessing upon her majesty's arms. Three thousand English and Dutch were killed and wounded, and the estimated loss of the French was four thousand,—a terrible slaughter of brave men without any decisive results.

The capture of Gibraltar was considered a very serious blow by the court

* Mahon, "War of the Succession," p. 100.
† Letter printed in Tindal, vol. iv. p. 665.

of Madrid, and before the autumn of 1704 was passed, eight thousand men, under the marquis of Villadaria, commenced a siege. The earl of Galway, who in 1704 was appointed to the command of the troops in Portugal, sent four regiments to the aid of the garrison of Gibraltar, with supplies of ammunition and provisions.* The prince of Darmstadt made a brave and judicious resistance. The captain-general of Andalusia, whose energy had saved Cadiz in 1702, was unable to make any impression upon those who now held the rock with an adequate force. The English fleet constantly threw in fresh supplies to the besieged, which the French admiral, De Pontis, was powerless to prevent. The besiegers were ill supplied with necessaries. A French commander was sent to supersede Villadaria, but matters were not improved by the change. Sir John Leake, in March, attacked De Pontis, and swept away what remained of the French naval power. The siege was raised; and the Spaniards saw with dismay that a fortress which they had neglected properly to defend had been rendered impregnable. It was some time before the English government appreciated the true value of Gibraltar; but during the war of the Succession it was always vigorously defended against many attempts to retake it; and in 1713 its possession was confirmed to England by the peace of Utrecht.

In our brief relation of the great campaign of 1704, we have exhibited, however imperfectly, those wonderful qualities of Marlborough by which he appears, in all his movements, to have left nothing to accident. The most enduring patience; a temper never to be disturbed; a caution that allowed no surprise; a foresight that left no contingency unprovided for —these were qualities even more remarkable than his daring and courage when the hour arrived for their display. It has been said of Marlborough, —by a writer who has succeeded in the very difficult task of presenting the broadest aspects of history with the clearness and precision that are rarely obtained without minute detail—"for the first time, in English history at least, a march was equivalent to a battle. A change of his camp, or even a temporary retreat, was as effectual as a victory; and it was seen by the clearer observers of his time, that a campaign was a game of skill, and not of the mere dash and intrepidity which appeal to the vulgar passions of our nature." † As if to exhibit, upon a different theatre of the same great warfare, the most remarkable contrast to the character and actions of Marlborough, Charles Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough, took the command of an expedition to Spain. He has come upon the scene at times, in various characters. He has accompanied William of Orange to England in 1689. He has lost his position as a statesman; has been sent to the Tower; has been deprived of his places and emoluments, in carrying on a system of intrigues in the proceedings against Fenwick in 1696. He attempted to save the life of the accused,—endeavouring to implicate two of the leading Whigs in the conspiracy, by inducements to Fenwick to accuse them; and then he turned round upon the unhappy man when the scheme broke down, and was strenuous for his attainder. Restless and changeable, vain and flighty, too adroit to be wise, all parties became afraid of him. But with all his eccen-

* Galway's Narrative. Parliamentary Hist. vol. vi. col. 941.

† "Eighteen Christian Centuries," by the Rev. James White, p. 485.

tricities, his genius commands the admiration of the cleverest, and his profusion buys the flattery of the meanest. He adores the ladies with the homage of a knight-errant; and he rushes into war as if he were to be the first lance in a tournament. His craving for excitement kept him always in motion; and it was said that he had seen more kings and more postilions than any man in Europe. Pope declared of him, with sound judgment, "He has too much wit as well as courage to make a solid general." What he did in Spain is one of the marvels of history—a series of exploits beside which romance may "pale its uneffectual fire." When Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth, in June, 1705, having the command of five thousand men, and with general directions "to make a vigorous push in Spain," he had precisely that commission which suited his character. It was a service of hazard which was agreeable to his chivalric nature; for he scarcely did justice to his own courage when he said that it proceeded from his not knowing when he was in danger. He had very inadequate resources of men and money, and thus he had difficulties to overcome, which pleasurably tasked all his mental energies. He was left unfettered by minute instructions, and had unlimited authority over the land forces and a divided command with sir Cloudesley Shovel at sea,—which circumstances gave him, as he imagined, free scope for the pursuit of his own road to fame, by the shortest and steepest path. Macaulay calls Peterborough "the most extraordinary character of that age, the king of Sweden himself not excepted . . . . a polite, learned, and amorous Charles the Twelfth." * Swift pointed to some such comparison, in well known lines on Peterborough:

"Ne'er to be match'd in modern reading
But by his namesake, Charles of Sweden."

The wit, the learning, the accomplished manners, the very faults of Peterborough made him a favourite with the most celebrated men of his time. "I love the hang-dog dearly," wrote Swift to Stella. Johnson, with the same feeling of respect for Peterborough's brilliant qualities, was curious in the later years of his life to learn more about him, saying, "He is a favourite of mine, and is not enough known."

It is remarkable that the most trustworthy, as well as the most interesting, account of Peterborough's actions in Spain was for some time thought to be a fictitious narrative. "The Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton" have been unhesitatingly ascribed to Defoe—chiefly because "we are reminded of him by the plain matter-of-fact, and off-handed manner of telling a story," —and because the events, which are "matters of history, are related with all the minuteness and personality of an eye-witness, and an actor upon the spot." † The very existence of Captain George Carleton has been questioned. Lord Stanhope [Mahon] has settled this doubt ‡; and he believes, as Dr. Johnson believed, in the perfect authenticity of this, "the most valuable, perhaps, because the most undoubtedly faithful and impartial, of all our materials for this war." § We may safely follow this guide, in tracing the actions of a man who, "by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous,

* Essays.

† Wilson's Defoe, vol. iii. p. 590.

‡ "Carleton states in his Memoirs, that he was taken prisoner, with the garrison, at the petty siege of Denia, in 1708. After some search, I found in a large heap of military accounts and returns for that year, a list of the officers taken at Denia, and amongst them, 'Captain Carleton.'"

§ "War of Succession in Spain," p. 133.

had nearly put us into the possession of the kingdom of Spain; was left wholly unsupported; exposed to the envy of his rivals; disappointed by the caprices of a young inexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry; and at last called home in discontent." *

When Peterborough, with his troops, arrived at Lisbon, he was reinforced by two regiments of dragoons—men without horses, which the earl, who never made difficulties, had to provide. He here took on board the archduke Charles, and a numerous suite. At Gibraltar he received two veteran battalions, in exchange for the same number of recruits which he had brought from England. The prince of Darmstadt also here joined Peterborough. That prince had one dominant idea,—a siege of Barcelona. Peterborough opposed the plan. The archduke upheld his countryman, in the scheme of attempting, with seven thousand men, the reduction of a place which was far better prepared for defence than when the expedition of the previous summer had resulted in a complete failure, and which required thirty thousand men for a regular siege. With the squadron under sir Cloudesley Shovel, the fleet sailed from Gibraltar. Making Altea Bay, a landing was effected near Valencia; and here the people were found favourable to the cause of the Austrian prince, who was proclaimed, upon the surrender of the castle of Denia, as Charles III., king of Spain and the Indies. Peterborough, encouraged by this reception, conceived an enterprise, "which would, in all probability, have brought that war to a much more speedy conclusion, and at the same time have obviated all those difficulties, which were but too apparent, in the siege of Barcelona."† King Philip was at Madrid with few troops. All the Spanish forces were on the frontiers of Portugal, or in Catalonia. It was only a march of fifty leagues from Valencia to Madrid, and the centre of Spain was undefended. Such an exploit had every chance of success, if Peterborough could have dashed upon the capital, without being fettered by the hesitation of Charles or the preconceptions of Darmstadt. He was overruled. The Valencians were left to shout "Viva Carlos" in vain. The expedition went on, under the pressure of weak and timid, but truly rash counsels, to attack "one of the largest and most populous cities in all Spain, fortified by bastions, one side secured by the sea, and the other by a strong fortification called Montjouich." ‡ A council of war had decided against Peterborough's plan of a march to Madrid; but when the expedition arrived before Barcelona, another council thought the undertaking of a siege too formidable. Charles, however, pressed the enterprise with a tenacity that could not be resisted, and to which Peterborough at length yielded. The troops were landed on the 27th of August.

In three weeks there was nothing but dissensions amongst the great men of this expedition. Peterborough had received new instructions from home to respect the opinions of the princes and of councils of war. They were all differing in opinion. The prince of Darmstadt and the earl had come to an open rupture. The Dutch officers said their troops should not join in an enterprise so manifestly impossible of success for a small force. It was considered by them an act of madness to attack the town from the eastern plain where the troops were encamped—a position which involved the necessity of

* Swift, "Conduct of the Allies." † Carleton. ‡ *Ibid.*

making regular approaches, under the fire of heavy batteries. Peterborough conceived a plan of attack totally opposed to all the routine modes of warfare. The citadel of Montjouich, built on the summit of a ridge of hills skirting the sea, commanded the town. Peterborough went out secretly from the camp; viewed the ground; and determined upon attempting a surprise of a garrison that considered themselves safe in an impregnable place. He gave notice that he should raise the siege; sent his heavy artillery on board the ships; and made every preparation for embarking the troops. With twelve hundred foot soldiers and two hundred horse, he marched out of the camp on the evening of the 13th of September; and passing by the quarters of the prince of Darmstadt, told him that if he chose to come with him, he might see what troops could do that had been subjected to his reproaches. The prince took him at his word. They marched all night by the side of the mountains; and before day break were under the hill of Montjouich, and close to the outer works. Peterborough's officers thought that their general would make the attack in the dark. He showed them that when they were discovered at daylight, the enemy would descend into the outer ditch to repel them, and that then was the time to receive their fire, leap in upon them, drive them into the outer works, and gain the fortress by following them close. The scheme succeeded, and the English were soon masters of the bastion. A similar attack on the opposite side of the fortress was also successful. But the governor of the fort, having obtained some reinforcements from Barcelona, the men were welcomed with shouts by their comrades, which the prince of Darmstadt mistaking for a signal of surrender, he incautiously advanced, lost two hundred of his party as prisoners, and was himself killed at the moment when Peterborough came to his rescue. Intelligence then arrived that three thousand men were marching from Barcelona. Peterborough rode out to reconnoitre. As he returned, he was told by Carleton that the men were flying out of their posts, in one general panic, with lord Charlemont at their head. "Immediately upon this notice from me," says Carleton, "the earl galloped up the hill, and alighting when he came to lord Charlemont, he took his half-pike out of his hand; and, turning to the officers and soldiers, told them, if they would not face about and follow him, they should have the scandal and eternal infamy upon them of having deserted their posts, and abandoned their general." All the posts were regained; and the three thousand Spaniards returned alarmed to Barcelona. The citadel held out for several days, but was finally reduced by a bombardment from the hills, the cannon having been relanded from the ships. The reduction of Montjouich by this extraordinary act of daring was very soon followed by the surrender of Barcelona. Success gave spirit to those who had before been hopeless. The sailors dragged heavy guns up the hills, and joined the land-troops in forming intrenchments. The town was so fiercely bombarded that a breach was soon effected; and the besiegers were preparing to storm, when the governor beat a parley, and agreed to surrender, with all honours of war. His soldiers had mutinied; the people of the city were in a state of riot; and the governor, who was unpopular, was in danger of his life. Peterborough with the same indomitable courage that he had shown in the assault of Montjouich, being apprised of the tumult, demanded admittance at one of the gates. Carleton, who accompanied him, describes a scene very characteristic

of this modern Amadis. He met a lady of extraordinary beauty flying from the fury of the Miquelets—the armed peasants of the province—who implored his protection. Peterborough took the lady by the hand—she proved to be the duchess of Popoli—and conveyed her through the wicket by which he entered, to a place of safety without the town. "I believe it was much the longest part of an hour," says Carleton, "before he returned." When he did return, he saved the governor; got him on board one of the ships; and by that extraordinary ascendancy which a determined will and the total absence of fear have over the passions of a multitude, "wherever he appeared the popular fury was in a moment allayed."

The possession of Barcelona, in which king Charles III. was proclaimed with great solemnity, was followed by the adhesion to his cause of the chief towns of Catalonia. Peterborough was for following up his wonderful success by other daring operations. The German ministers and the Dutch officers opposed all his projects. At length a pressing request came to Charles to send assistance to San Mateo, which was besieged by the count of Las Torres. There were twelve hundred troops at Tortosa, to which Peterborough sent orders to cross the Ebro. He was with them as soon as his messenger, expecting to find a large army of peasantry ready to join him, as he had been informed. The army was a mere illusion. But there was a small force only, he was told, before San Mateo. He found seven thousand; and yet, by a series of daring efforts, he raised the siege, and entered the town in triumph. But for him there was no repose. He determined to follow Las Torres. "His foot were marching on the stony mountains, and in a winter season, without clothes or shoes, and his few dragoons were upon horses that could hardly go on."* He received an express, commanding him to send his troops back to Barcelona, for the safety of the king's person. He sent back his infantry, and followed the retreating army of Las Torres with only two hundred cavalry. What would have been mere desperation in another man, was, in his conduct of such a warfare, the most perfect strategy. By his rapid marches; his confident tone; his disguise of his real strength, he kept up the terror of the thousands who were flying before his two hundred, and towns opened their gates to him without a blow. But a more important service awaited Peterborough. The magistrates of Valencia, which city had thrown off its allegiance to king Philip, sent messengers to implore the aid of Peterborough; for a body of ten thousand men was approaching to invest their city. He managed to recall the infantry which he had sent back to Barcelona, and obtained some other reinforcements. On the 1st of February, 1706, Peterborough had about three thousand men under his command. The duke of Arcos, the Spanish general, was encamped upon a wide plain, over which Peterborough must pass on his way to Valencia. Between him and the plain was a formidable pass under the walls of Murviedro, built under the hill upon which Carleton saw "the ruins of the once famous Saguntum; famous sure to eternity, if letters shall last so long, for an invincible fidelity to a negligent confederate, against an implacable enemy." The classic mind of Peterborough might have thought of Hannibal's eight months' siege of Saguntum; but he was not to be stopped by any such

* Friend's Account, quoted by Lord Mahon, p. 163.

tedious process. The commander at Murviedro, Mahoni, was of Irish extraction, and was not unknown to Peterborough, having been related to his first wife. By a stratagem of no very worthy character,—more resembling some of his old political manœuvres than the frank honesty of a soldier,—he succeeded in throwing Mahoni off his guard, and then in inspiring the duke of Arcos with suspicion of his faithful officer at Murviedro. Peterborough requested a conference with Mahoni; endeavoured in vain to induce him to join the cause of king Charles; drew from him an admission of the advice which he meant to give to Arcos, which was to remain in the plain; and then contrived to send the duke an intimation, through two of his men, who pretended to be deserters, that Mahoni had undertaken to betray his post, and to advise the duke to remain in his position, that he might there be sacrificed. When the frank Irishman's letter of advice was delivered to Arcos, he determined to move precisely in an opposite direction to that which was advised. He thus left the way open to Peterborough to march to Valencia; for Mahoni was arrested, and as Arcos was gone, the pass of Murviedro was undefended.* Peterborough had not long rested in this pleasant city when he sallied forth to attack a body of four thousand horse; came upon their encampment with a force not a third of their number; and returned to Valencia with six hundred prisoners, having utterly routed the troops of king Philip. "Here," says Carleton, "the earl of Peterborough made his residence for some time. He was extremely well beloved; his affable behaviour exacted as much from all; and he preserved such a good correspondence with the priests and the ladies, that he never failed of the most early and best intelligence."

Whilst Peterborough was carrying on this astonishing warfare in Valencia, the news of the fall of Barcelona had reached England; and the queen had gone to Parliament in great exultation, to recommend the Commons especially "to improve the opportunity which God Almighty is pleased to afford us, of putting a prosperous end to the present war."† Such was the estimation in which the deeds of Peterborough were then regarded. A sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds was voted, "for her Majesty's proportion of the charge of prosecuting the successes already gained by king Charles III., for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria." It was soon found that king Charles was incompetent to follow up the successes which Peterborough had accomplished for him. The young Bourbon king, Philip V., took a vigorous resolution. He marched from Madrid with a force which, being joined by that of Marshal Tessé, enabled him to enter Catalonia with twenty thousand men. Charles in April was shut up in Barcelona, whilst a large army was investing the city by land, and it was blockaded by a French fleet. The officers of Charles exhorted him to fly. Though he wanted energy he had passive courage; and he remained in the beleaguered city, animating the population with appeals to their superstitious feelings, for he declared that the Holy Virgin had manifested herself to him,

* Carleton's Memoirs relate this strange story in considerable detail. The captain does not appear to think that his general was doing anything beyond his duty in carrying out this complicated deception. It is satisfactory to know that honest Mahoni, though sent a prisoner to Madrid, was acquitted and promoted.

† Parliamentary History, vol. vi. col. 477.

and told him that the Catalans would never forsake him. Nevertheless Montjouich fell, after being bombarded for twenty-three days. Peterborough, meanwhile, had rapidly marched from Valencia, with two thousand foot and six hundred horse, and from the mountains above Barcelona he kept the besieging forces in perpetual alarm. But he had a project of more importance than this partisan warfare, however suited to his genius. A fleet was coming from England under admiral Leake, on board of which was general Stanhope with reinforcements. Leake, whose caution was in signal contrast to Peterborough's daring, would not risk an encounter with the French squadron before Barcelona until he was joined off the Spanish coast by another fleet, under admiral Byng. Stanhope, by an ingenious device agreed upon with Peterborough—that of transmitting a blank sheet of paper cut in a particular form—apprised him of the junction which had been so long delayed. Peterborough had a commission to command at sea. He immediately marched to a small sea-port, Stigea; made every preparation for his troops to embark; and for two nights, to the amazement of his officers and men, went out to sea in an open boat. He at last discerned the fleet; leapt on board one of the ships, and hoisted his flag; sent orders to Leake and Stanhope; had his men soon on board; and hoped to reach Barcelona in time to fight the count de Toulouse. But the Frenchmen had sheered off. The English troops were, however, thrown into Barcelona; and the French general Tessé, filled with apprehensions of defeat if he should attempt to storm the city, raised the siege, and the great army moved off, leaving their heavy cannon behind. King Philip retired to Madrid. But he had little time for resting there. The Allies from the Portuguese frontier were marching upon the capital; and the Court having fled, they entered Madrid on the 25th of June. Here they wasted their time, instead of marching after the duke of Berwick, who had been joined by Philip. In the same way Charles lingered at Barcelona, when it was no longer in danger. But success still followed the House of Austria. Aragon had imitated Catalonia and Valencia in acknowledging king Charles. It seemed as if the dominion of Spain was melting away from the House of Bourbon.

At this crisis, if one tenth of the energy of Peterborough, and even a smaller portion of the common sense of Stanhope, could have been infused into the slow and formal Austrian prince, the contest might have been decided. Charles was urged by them to take the road to Madrid through Valencia, whither Peterborough had gone by sea with his men. Charles lingered at first, without showing any inclination to move at all. His equipage was not ready, he said, to enable him to enter the capital with proper state. "Sir," said Stanhope, "our William III. entered London in a hackney, with a cloak-bag behind it, and was made king not many weeks after." * When Charles did move, he went into Aragon and loitered at Saragossa. Peterborough was disgusted that his advice was not followed; and he gave himself up to the same inaction, which appeared a fatality in this summer. When he was sailing to Valencia he wrote a letter to Halifax, "aboard the Somerset," which sufficiently shows his gay temper under the most serious responsibilities: "There cannot be worse company than a

* Mahon, p. 99.

beggarly German and a proud Spaniard, particularly to my humour; and were it not for the revenge we seek in the disagreeable men with the agreeable ladies, our condition were intolerable, black eyes and wit in the wives being what alone can make us endure the husbands."* But a cloud was to come over even Peterborough's gaiety. All that he had accomplished was to be thrown away.

Whether any energy on the part of Peterborough could have made effectual resistance against the spirit which was rising up in Spain may be doubted. Charles had done nothing to identify himself with the nation. The majority of the nation felt that foreign invaders had come against them. The Castilians took up the cause of Philip as if it were a national cause. The western provinces were imbued with the same spirit. Charles advanced towards Madrid. Peterborough was ordered to join him. But Berwick, knowing the full value of the enthusiasm which had gone so thoroughly in favour of Philip, compelled the Allies to evacuate the capital. Peterborough saw that the game was up; and declared "that all the force of Europe would not be sufficient to subdue Castile."† Charles and he met, as the one was leading his forces from Saragossa, and the other from Valencia. They were unsuited to act in unison. The impetuosity of the one, and the frigid obstinacy of the other, made them natural antagonists. Peterborough, resolving, or affecting to resolve, upon transferring his services to another field, proposed that he should go to the relief of Turin. He was taken at his word. Charles and his advisers were left to their own ruinous course. What Peterborough's feelings were at this juncture may be collected from a letter of singular interest, addressed by him on the 25th of August to admiral Wassenaer: "Our circumstances, in a few words, are brought to this: from being sure of the monarchy of Spain without a blow, without further expense or hazard, it is now, not only a doubtful case, but I fear worse. Our army in the midst of an enemy's country (as it has been managed) without magazines, without any place of strength, without bread, or a farthing of money, the communication being cut off with Portugal, the enemy stronger in horse, and almost equal in foot: we lost Madrid like fools, with our army superior in number, without a blow, and such confusion and want of discipline was never known, the troops subsisting upon nothing but rapine. These are the effects of a young prince's giving ear to such wretched creatures who, contrary to such solemn councils of war, and measures so unanimously agreed to, contrary to the protestations of ambassadors and ministers, the repeated instances of generals and all mankind, have lost, perhaps, such an empire to their prince, by carrying him up and down, selling offices, and picking up little sums of money in exchange for Peru and Mexico."‡ From this time we do not find Peterborough in any of the more important transactions of the war. He returned early in 1707 to Spain as a volunteer; and he offered judicious advice which was rejected. He then received his formal recall to England; rushed about Europe, sometimes on public business and oftener for his private pleasures; seems to have looked with something like contempt upon his military vocation, when he said, "A general is only a hangman in chief;"§

* Kemble, "State Papers and Letters," p. 445. † Mahon, p. 207.
‡ Kemble, "State Papers and Letters," p. 452.
§ Spence's Anecdotes, edit. 1858, p. 116.

and exhibited the versatility of his talents in dictating to nine amanuenses at once, and in superintending Pope's horticulture at Twickenham.

> "He whose lightning pierced the Iberian lines,
> Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my vines."

Peterborough, we have seen, had proposed to go to the relief of Turin. The duke of Savoy, having been enabled through the subsidies of England and Holland to expend large sums in preparations for the defence of his capital, treated with contempt the summons to surrender of La Feuillade, the French general, who invested the city with an immense army. The successes of the French in the early part of the campaign had been very great; and though Victor Amadeus lost not heart, even when he left Turin with a part of his forces, whilst the siege was carried on for three months with a fearful loss of life, it appeared very doubtful whether Savoy could be saved. Prince Eugene was beyond the Adige with an army of Imperialists. By a series of movements, in which he displayed that skill and energy which fitted him to be the colleague of Marlborough, he united his forces with the cavalry of the duke of Savoy in September; attacked the French in their entrenchments; obtained a complete victory; and finally drove them out of Italy.

The great campaign of Marlborough in 1706, which we shall have to relate in the next chapter, completed a series of triumphs for the Allies, which made this year one of the most memorable of the great war of the Succession.

Medal to commemorate the Battle of Ramilies.

CHAPTER XX.

Marlborough's Campaign of 1705—His disappointments and anxieties—He forces the French lines—Retreat of the French under Villeroy—New Parliament—State of Parties—The Regency Bill—Cry of the Church in danger—Marlborough's Campaign of 1706 in the Netherlands—The French and Bavarian armies under Villeroy pass the Dyle—The battle of Ramilies—Results of the Victory.

"I NEVER knew the duke of Marlborough go out so full of hopes as in the beginning of this campaign," says Burnet.* He embarked at Harwich on the 31st of March. His ardent expectations were soon cooled by the opposition which the Dutch made to his plans. It was a month before he could get the States to agree to his design of leading the English and Dutch troops to the Moselle, there to co-operate with the forces under prince Louis of Baden; and, marching from Treves between the Moselle and the Saar, to penetrate into Lorraine and thus carry the war into the French territory. Without waiting for the force of Baden, Marlborough crossed the Moselle and the Saar on the 3rd of June. The French armies under Villars and Marsin had united. Marlborough was anxious to give them battle; but they retreated; and he followed, though ill-provided with artillery. He encamped at Elft, and there waited for reinforcements. On the 9th he wrote to Harley, that he had not one man with him but those in the English and

* "Own Time," vol. v. p. 203.

Dutch pay. He was desirous to begin the siege of Saar-Louis; yet for want of the troops under the prince of Baden and the Prussians, "we are obliged to be idle a good part of the campaign, while the enemy are pursuing their designs without any manner of interruption." * Such was the essential disadvantage of an army composed of the various contingents of Allied powers, compared with an army of one great military state. In the campaign of the Danube, the English commander, by wonderful exertions, contrived to make a compact body out of many heterogeneous parts. In the campaign of 1705, he had to prove the full difficulty of divided counsels and petty jealousies. Whilst in camp at Elft the weather was bitterly cold; and to this circumstance he attributes in some measure the desertions which weakened his army. On the 15th of June he writes to the States General, that the season is so inclement that there is nothing on the earth—that all the grass and oats have been destroyed by the cold—that he has no horses or carriages for the conveyance of heavy artillery, the German princes having utterly failed in their engagements.† Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria were rapidly advancing so as to threaten Holland; and the States, in great alarm, sent express upon express to Marlborough, to march with all haste to their succour. Villeroy had taken Huy, and was investing Liège. Marlborough apprehended that the Dutch would be frightened into a negotiation for peace. The imperturbable general is very nearly broken down with anxiety. He writes to Godolphin on the 16th, "I have for these last ten days been so troubled by the many disappointments I have had, that I think if it were possible to vex me so for a fortnight longer, it would make an end of me. In short, I am weary of my life." ‡ A vigorous resolution roused Marlborough out of this despondency. On the 17th of June, at midnight, he broke up the camp at Elft, and marched back to the position which he had occupied a fortnight before. By a series of rapid movements he united his army with that of the Dutch general, D'Auverquerque; and Villeroy retreated within the formidable lines which the French had constructed, extending from the Meuse, near Namur, to the Scheldt at Antwerp. Marlborough's first object was to regain possession of Huy, in which he succeeded by the capitulation of the garrison on the 11th of July. But this success was accompanied by a bitter mortification. Upon the approach of a French detachment, the Palatine general D'Aubach abandoned Treves and Saarbruch, and burned the magazines which contained stores that were essential to the further prosecution of the operations on the Moselle. Marlborough's disappointments in the campaign were matters of rejoicing to the High Tories in England, who were now distinguished as "the tackers." The great general took this so to heart that he writes to Godolphin, "this vile enormous faction of theirs vexes me so much, that I hope the queen will after this campaign give me leave to retire." § In answer to a consolatory letter from the queen, he writes to her majesty that he has received a list of the new parliament, by which he sees that there are enough tackers returned, to stir everything that may be uneasy to the government; "to prevent which, I think your majesty should advise with lord treasurer [Godolphin], what encouragement may be proper to give the Whigs." But Marlborough does not want the Whigs to be in power.

* Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 87.
‡ Coxe, vol. ii. p. 122.
† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 103.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 127.

The lord treasurer, he writes "is the only man in England capable of giving such advice as may keep you out of the hands of both parties, which may at last make you happy, if quietness can be had in a country where there is so much faction." *

The great operation of this campaign was the forcing of the French lines on the 17th of July. This formidable barrier between Dutch Brabant and the Austrian Netherlands, had been three years in construction. In part of their extent the lines followed the course of the river Gheet, and the river Demer; and, at various intervals, were fortified posts of considerable strength. Distributed along convenient parts of the lines was the French army of seventy thousand men. Marlborough maintained his usual secrecy, confiding his plans to no one but Auverquerque. He had determined to attack the lines by passing the Gheet near Leuwe—a part where the greatest difficulties appeared to present themselves. The weaker part of the lines was to the south of the Mehaigne; and thither D'Auverquerque was directed to march, "to give the enemy a jealousy that they were to be attacked on that side, and so oblige them to draw their greatest strength that way." † The feint had its effect. Villeroy collected his main strength on that weak part where D'Auverquerque had crossed the Mehaigne. "But the bridges prepared over the Mehaigne served equally to bring back Auverquerque's troops to the left of that river, and to unite them to the army of Marlborough; and the movements being all made under cover of night, the object aimed at was attained before the enemy could discover which was the real point of attack. The lines were, however, of the most formidable description: for, besides the height of the ramparts and the largeness of the ditch, they were further defended by the difficulties of the ground over which they were to be approached; and by the river Gheet, which could not be crossed without laying bridges over it, and which was near enough to the lines to be defended by the fire from the parapet. All these obstacles would have been sufficient to have rendered the lines unassailable, though defended by a very inferior body against a whole army, but for the ability with which the attention and the main force of the enemy was diverted from the real point of attack, and the energy with which that attack was conducted." ‡

During the day of the 17th Villeroy was employed in watching the movements of Auverquerque. At eight o'clock at night a detachment of Marlborough's army began its march towards the Little Gheet river; and at the same time Auverquerque recrossed the Mehaigne, and connected his vanguard with the rear of Marlborough. When the morning dawned, the English and Dutch were approaching the French works, concealed by a thick fog. They carried the castle of Wange, and without waiting for the construction of bridges, the troops scrambled through the marshy ground, crossed the Gheet, mounted its slippery banks, rushed into the trench, and were within the enemy's lines. They were encountered by the marquis d'Allegre with twenty battalions of infantry and fifty squadrons of horse. Marlborough himself headed a charge of cavalry, and for a short time, having only a trumpeter and a servant with him, was surrounded as the French repulsed

* Coxe, vol. ii. p. 132. † Bulletin in Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 174.
‡ Sir George Murray's Account, in Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 177.

his charge. But the English troops rallied to his rescue; and a second charge left them masters of the lines. Villeroy came up too late, and had no resource but a retreat. Marlborough was anxious to pursue, but the Dutch thought a pursuit hazardous, and he encamped near Tirlemont. L'Allegre was taken prisoner, with four other general officers and a thousand men. Harley wrote to Marlborough, after the news of the success, "Your friends and servants here cannot be without concern upon your grace's account, when we hear how much you expose that precious life of yours upon all occasions, and that you are not contented to do the part of a great general, but you condescend to take your share as a common soldier." *. Harley's friend, Swift, ventured to insinuate, after a few years, that Marlborough wanted courage.

Villeroy retreated beyond the Dyle, and there established a strong position near Louvain. Marlborough was prevented taking any immediate offensive measures through the constant interference of the deputies of the States. The English general was indignant, and sent an officer to the Hague, to represent "that unless the command be more absolute in one person, we shall hardly be able to do anything." Councils of war, he said, were called on every occasion, "which entirely destroys the secrecy and dispatch upon which all great undertakings depend." † He wanted to force the passage of the Dyle; and he traversed ground which, somewhat more than a century after, became familiar to every Englishman. On the 27th of August he writes to the duke of Shrewsbury, "I had at the camp at Meldert with great difficulty brought together a provision of about ten days' bread; and having marched four days together through several defiles, and part of the Bois des Soignies, the army came the 18th instant into a spacious plain, with only the Yssche between us and the enemy. About noon we were formed in order of battle, and having visited the posts with M. D'Auverquerque, we had resolved upon making the attack, thinking there was no more to do but to order the troops to advance, when the Deputies of the States, having consulted their other generals, would not give their consent, so that I was with great regret obliged to quit the enterprise, which promised all imaginable success." ‡ There was a skirmish on the plain of Waterloo. But for the interference of the Dutch Deputies there might have been a decisive battle on that ground, of which Byron wrote, after the eventful day of the 18th of June, 1815, "Waterloo seems marked out for the scene of some great action, though this may be mere imagination." The opportunity was lost of anticipating the later glories of that plain. Marlborough wrote to Harley on the 2nd of September, entreating that the government should not take any formal notice at the Hague of his "late disappointment," for "I am persuaded if an opportunity should now offer before our leaving the field, the greatest part of the generals who were against engaging the enemy are so sensible of their error, that they would not obstruct anything that might be proposed for our advantage." He was looking forward to a new pleasure when he returned home. Mr. Vanbrugh had informed him that "the first stone at Woodstock" had been laid, and he compliments the architect upon his plans, saying, "the greatest satisfaction I enjoy on this side is from

* Coxe, vol. ii. p. 149. † Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 197. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 237.

the hopes I have of finding the house in good forwardness at my return in the winter." *

The Elections of 1705 roused up a bitterness of party-feeling that had rarely been equalled in England. It is difficult to look back upon these times and not to be moved to pity, if not to despise, the people that could be

Sir John Vanbrugh.

stirred into the most violent wrath against each other by the cry that was raised from the Land's End to Berwick. That cry was, "The Church in danger." The queen had manifested less disinclination to transfer a portion of her favour to the Whigs. The High-churchmen gave out the rallying-cry from their pulpits. The Jacobite and Tory pamphleteers told the nation "that the Church was to be given up; that the bishops were betraying it; that the Court would sell it to the Dissenters." † The elections seem to have been managed in a most extraordinary way, if we may judge from Defoe's description of the election which he saw at Coventry. Mobs, drawn up in battle-array, were fighting in the streets; whilst freemen, or pretended freemen, went up to vote, without any examination of their qualifications—no list of voters—no oath tendered—no books kept. "The Dissenters" says Burnet, "who had been formerly much divided, were now united entirely in the interests of the government, and joined with the Whigs everywhere." It was seen that the Whigs would have a parliamentary majority; so Godolphin declared in their favour "more openly than he had done formerly." The duke of Newcastle was made Lord Privy Seal in the place of the duke of Buckingham. The incapable and violent sir Nathan Wright was removed

* Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 207.

† Burnet, vol. v. p. 218.

from the office of Lord Keeper, and Mr. William Cowper was appointed to that high place.

When the Parliament met at the end of October, the contest of the Commons began with the election of Speaker. The Whig candidate, Mr. John Smith, had a majority. The queen's speech complained of the malicious insinuations that the Church was in danger. "I will always affectionately support and countenance the Church of England as by law established. I will invariably maintain the Toleration. I will do all I can to persuade my subjects to lay aside their divisions, and will study to make them all safe and easy." This was plainer language than had been spoken since the time when William uttered what he thought from that throne. The Tories were angry with the queen, and they took a course which they judged would annoy her. Anne looked with little real complacency upon the Act of Settlement. Lord Haversham, one of the Tory leaders, moved in the Lords, that the princess Sophia of Hanover should be invited to reside in England, as presumptive heir of the crown. The motion was negatived, although very strongly supported by Buckingham, Rochester, and other Tory peers. The queen was indignant, for "these very persons, having now lost that interest in her and their posts, were driving on that very motion which they had made her apprehend was the most fatal thing that could befall." * So queen Anne writes to the duchess of Marlborough, "I believe dear Mrs. Freeman and I shall not disagree as we have formerly done; for I am sensible of the services that those people have done me that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them; and am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of them that you have always been speaking against."

The question of the Succession being thus stirred again by the Tories, the Whigs proposed a measure which had some practical utility. They brought forward a Bill for appointing a Regency, which should carry on the government, in the case of the demise of the queen, until the arrival of her successor. The regents were to consist of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and four great officers of state. The bill was carried. Halifax moved in the Lords that an inquiry should be made into the alleged danger of the Church. After a long debate it was voted by a majority of sixty-one peers against thirty, that the Church was not in danger. The Lords and Commons then subsequently agreed in the following resolution: "Resolved by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in parliament assembled, that the Church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III., of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition, and whosoever goes about to suggest and insinuate, that the Church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the Church, and the kingdom." The queen then issued a proclamation, at the instance of Parliament, declaring that "we will proceed with the utmost severity the law should allow of, against the authors or spreaders of the said seditious and scandalous reports"—namely, that the Church is in danger. To us, at the distance of a century and a half, the whole affair seems ludicrous and beneath the gravity of parliamentary proceedings.

* Burnet, vol. v. p. 227.

In three years more, we shall see the nation stirred to a temporary frenzy by the same spirit of ecclesiastical controversy, displaying itself in absurdity still more outrageous, as it now must appear. But, after all, we cannot regard these things with the eyes of our forefathers, and must judge the actors in them with that charity in which they appear to have been themselves deficient.

Godolphin and Marlborough are dining in perfect cordiality with Halifax, Cowper, and Sunderland, at Harley's house; and Harley drinks "to love and friendship and everlasting union, and wishes he had more Tokay to drink it in." * Marlborough is setting his face against jobbery, with exemplary fortitude. Lord Albemarle wants a commission for some lower-school boy of Eton or Westminster. The queen, replies Marlborough, "has lately shown so much aversion to anything of that kind, upon notice taken in Parliament, of children's being commissioned in the troops, that she has given me repeated orders to the contrary." † Disinterested is he also in the management of one of the corruptions of that day, which still flourishes in its original luxuriance,—the sale of commissions. Mrs. Selwin is unreasonable enough to be "dissatisfied with the offer I have made Mr. Selwin of a company in the Guards, upon his laying down eight hundred pounds. . . . I could wish Mr. Selwin might have it for nothing, but there is a necessity of applying this sum at least in charity to the widows, and to satisfy other pretensions." ‡ Such are the occupations of the great captain, before he gets out of England to his accustomed battle-ground. He goes at last, and is at the Hague on the 27th of April. His notion of a campaign in 1706 was to shift his ground; to go to the relief of the duke of Savoy, who was expecting to be besieged; and to co-operate with prince Eugene in freeing Italy from the French armies. This plan had the countenance of the English ministry. But the elector of Hanover would not consent that his troops should assist in Marlborough's project; and the Danes and Hessians also refused their co-operation. Meanwhile the French on the Upper Rhine had obtained some successes; and thus the Dutch again became alarmed for their own safety. Marlborough consented to remain in the command of the English and Dutch armies, provided that his power was unfettered. To this the States consented; and the troops began to march from the Hague on the 7th of May. They were to be joined by various garrisons, and to encamp near Maestricht. On the 15th Marlborough wrote to the duchess to inform her that, in all likelihood, he should make the whole campaign in the Netherlands—not such a campaign as would please him. "Let me say for myself that there is more credit in doing what is good for the public, than in preferring our private satisfaction and interest; for my being here in a condition of doing nothing that shall make a noise, has made me able to send ten thousand men to Italy, and to leave nineteen thousand more on the Rhine." § The great general scarcely saw the opportunity of "making a noise," that he would be able to insure in little more than a week after he had reluctantly turned away from the plan that would best promote his "private satisfaction and interest." On the 20th of May, he wrote to Harley to express his hope that he might bring the enemy to a battle, for the French had drawn all their garrisons together, had passed the

* Lord Cowper's "Diary"—Hardwicke Papers.
† Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 437.
‡ Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 441.
§ Coxe, vol. ii. p. 335.

Dyle, and were posted at Tirlemont. In a letter of the next day to M. Hop, at the Hague, he says that this movement of the enemy "has quite broken the measures we were projecting at Maestricht. . . . We design to advance to gain the head of the Gheet, to come to the enemy if they keep their ground. For my part, I think nothing could be more happy for the Allies than a battle; since, I have good reason to hope, with the blessing of God we may have a complete victory." * There is nothing more remarkable than the unswerving confidence of Marlborough in his own happy fortune. Here were no particular circumstances to inspire him with this confidence. He had no superiority of numbers; for his English, Dutch, and Danes amounted to sixty thousand men, whilst Villeroy's army of French and Bavarians amounted to sixty-two thousand. He had no superiority in the distribution of his forces in his advance to battle; and in the same way as at Blenheim, he found the enemy in possession of the ground which he had hoped to take up. The famous novelist, who has described the men and manners of these times with a rare fidelity, has truly said, "The great duke always spoke of his victories with an extraordinary modesty, and as if it was not so much his own admirable genius and courage which achieved these amazing successes, but as if he was a special and fatal instrument in the hands of Providence, that willed irresistibly the enemy's overthrow. . . . And our army got to believe so, and the enemy learnt to think so too." †

It was Whitsunday, the 23rd of May, when Marlborough began his march, at three o'clock in the morning, to gain the open space between the Mehaigne and the Great Gheet.‡ That position was found to be occupied by the enemy. The Allies, in eight columns, passed the once formidable lines which had been demolished in the preceding year; and having cleared the village of Mierdorp, formed in order of battle in the plain of Jandrinœuil. The enemy was posted in two lines on eminences above the marshes, stretching from the Little Gheet to the Mehaigne, having the village of Ramilies in the centre. It was a formidable position. From Mierdorp, near which the Allies crossed the lines, to Ramilies, was a distance of nearly three miles. The whole plain, about three miles in breadth, is bounded on the north by the Little Gheet, on the south by the Mehaigne. The plain narrows towards the west, being bounded by the rising ground through which the Little Gheet flows from its sources near Ramilies.§ Villeroy waited for the attack in his camp, on the rising ground of Mont St. André, a plain with gentle undulations and interspersed with coppices. Behind this rising ground is the Great Gheet. The Allies formed their order of battle in the plain, between the village of Boniffe, on the Mehaigne, and the village of Foulaz, on the Little Gheet,—having two lines, the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the wings, with twenty squadrons of Danes to support the left of the infantry. In this order Marlborough advanced to the western extremity of the plain. Ramilies, an enclosed village, was defended by twenty battalions of French. Between Ramilies and the marshes of the Mehaigne, were posted nearly the whole of the French cavalry. Their centre and left, composed of infantry, extended from the village of Autre-église to the village of Offuy, and thence behind

* Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 118. † Thackeray, "Esmond," chap. xii.
‡ Letter to Eugene, "Dispatches," vol. ii. p. 525.
§ There is an excellent plan in the Atlas to Coxe; and another, not very dissimilar, in Tindal

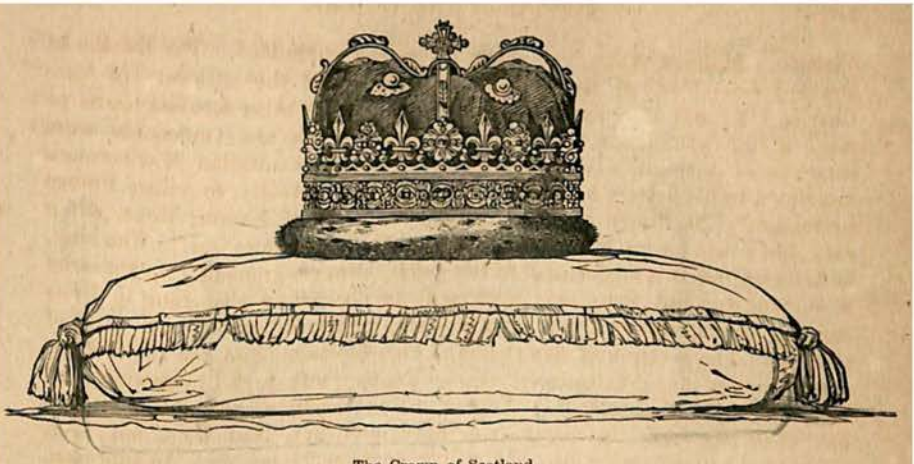
Ramilies. Marlborough determined to make a demonstration of attack upon the left of the French, at Autre-église and Offuy. Villeroy immediately drew his troops from the centre to support his left. Marlborough had the advantage of moving in a smaller space than the enemy, whose position formed an arc on the hills, while the Allies could traverse the chord of the plain. Directly Villeroy had weakened his centre, Marlborough ordered the second line of the troops that were advancing to Autre-église, to defile to the left, by a hollow way that concealed them. The first line of his right wing ascended the rising ground at Autre-église, and opened their fire. But the main brunt of the battle was on his left, where the French were attacked at Ramilies and at Tavieres, a village on the Mehaigne. The assault on Tavieres by the Dutch infantry was successful. But the French cavalry then came into conflict with the Dutch cavalry under Auverquerque, and repelled them in great disorder. This was the crisis of the battle. The vast body of French and Bavarian horse had every chance of taking in the rear the Allied infantry who were attacking Ramilies. Marlborough saw the danger. He put himself at the head of seventeen squadrons, and charged the French cavalry. This was indeed a fight of horse to horse, to be decided by main strength more than strategy. Marlborough, who was recognised, was surrounded and nearly made prisoner. He cut his way through; his charger fell; his equerry had his head shot off by a cannon ball as he held the stirrup for his general to mount another horse. But now a reserve of cavalry that Marlborough had sent for, came up; and an irresistible charge determined the battle on the left. The Allies mounted the heights above Ramilies, and the shout of victory announced that the position had been gained which insured an ultimate success. The conflict was not over in and around the village of Ramilies. The fight amongst the cottages was long and doubtful. But the ever watchful general ordered up a reserve of infantry, and the Allied horse descending from the heights, their united force completed the triumph of the left and centre. Three hours had been occupied in these terrible encounters. But the changes of fortune had been so various—the confusion of onset and retreat so great—the disorder attendant upon troops of all arms being mixed in one common effort so extreme, that Marlborough was compelled to form his forces again upon the ground they had won. Villeroy now endeavoured to take up a new line, but was impeded by his own baggage. Before he could get his battalions formed, Marlborough ordered a general advance to the sources of the Little Gheet; but before the morasses were crossed the French began to fly, and one headlong panic and slaughter closed that fearful evening. Onward went the pursued and the pursuers towards Louvain. Marlborough did not halt till he had reached Mildert, thirteen miles from the battle-field. The elector of Bavaria and Villeroy reached Louvain at two o'clock on the morning of the 24th; held a council in the market-place by torchlight; and determined to abandon their fortified towns, and save the remnant of their force by a hurried retreat. The French and Bavarians lost seven thousand men, killed and wounded, and six thousand prisoners. The Allies lost nearly four thousand men. The artillery, baggage, and eighty standards, were the spoil of the victors.

On the 3rd of June Marlborough wrote to St. John, "it is very astonishing that the enemy should give up a whole country, with so many strong places, without the least resistance." He had entered Louvain without meeting any

obstacle. Malines, Alost, and other places had submitted. The Estates of Brabant assembled at Brussels had acknowledged the authority of king Charles III., and they sent out their commands to other fortified towns to make a like submission. Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Oudenarde were surrendered without a shot being fired. In his exultation Marlborough exclaimed in his letters home, "now is the time, certainly, to reduce France to reason." St. Simon says, "with the exception of Namur, Mons, and a very few other places, all the Spanish Low Countries were lost." The king, he tells us, felt this misfortune to the quick, however tranquilly he appeared to sustain it. But there was work still to do, before that campaign was ended. Ostend was besieged by a powerful land force and by nine ships of the line. The garrison of five thousand men capitulated on the 7th of July. Menin, one of the greatest fortresses of Vauban, was carried by assault, with immense loss, on the 22nd of August. Dendermonde surrendered on the 5th of September. It might long have held out, had there not been seven weeks of excessive drought, which enabled the besiegers to approach, without being held back by the inundation which the besieged could command in ordinary seasons. Ath was the last fortress to fall on the 4th of October.

Marlborough returned home to receive the thanks of Parliament, and to take part in the great event of the Session of 1706-7,—the union of England and Scotland into one kingdom. But the victor at Ramilies had already done far more for this object than anything he could do by his political influence. "If it were to be asked what one man did most for the accomplishment of the Union, it would not be unreasonable to say it was the duke of Marlborough." * At the precise juncture when the campaign of 1706 had inflicted a blow upon France that left her in dread of her own dismemberment, instead of holding the fate of Europe in her hands, the Jacobites of both kingdoms, and some not so honest as the Jacobites, were looking to the aid of the great Louis to prevent the ruin of Scotland, by preventing her entering upon an equal partnership in the liberties, the power, and the glory of England. The king of France was invited to invade Scotland. The invitation was not responded to, for the very obvious reason that the policy of William III., and the victories of the duke of Marlborough, had saved England from being a tributary of France, and now stood between Scotland and the real degradation which some of her children would have regarded as independence.

* Burton, "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 438.



The Crown of Scotland.

CHAPTER XXI.

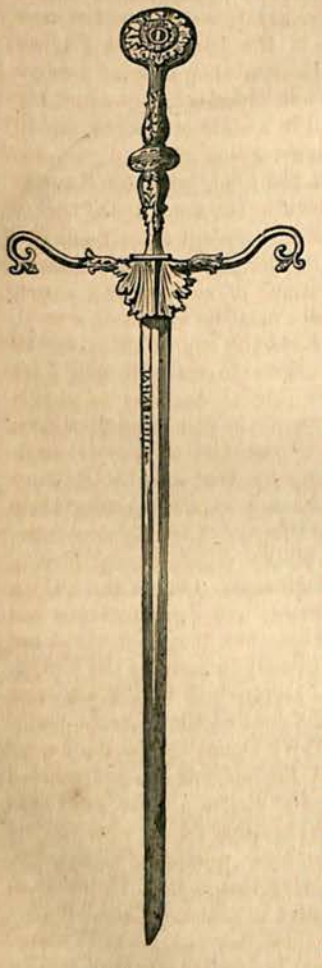
Scotland—New Parliament assembled in 1703—Irritation against England—Proposal for a Treaty of Union—Meeting of Commissioners of each nation—Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners—Charges of Corruption—Demonstrations against the Union—Debates in the Scottish Parliament—Lord Belhaven's oration—Material interests of Scotland—Views of the Union by Seton of Pitmedden—Provision for the Church of Scotland—Riots—Demonstration of the Cameronians—The Act of Union passed in Scotland—The Act passed in England.

"It may be done, but not yet," said King William to Defoe, speaking of that Union which he so fervently desired.* When Commissioners were appointed in 1702 by an Act of the English Parliament, and the Scottish Parliament responded by also appointing Commissioners, each body being empowered to negotiate for a Union, the difficulties of accomplishing this great measure were, probably, not correctly estimated. The "not yet" was not sufficiently manifest. These Commissioners debated for six months, without any result. The demands of the Scotch for a participation in the colonial trade were treated with indifference, as well as the demand for other commercial privileges that were to rest upon a perfect equality.

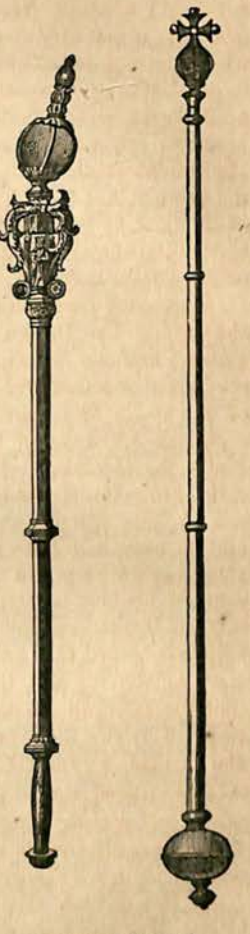
The Scottish Parliament, or Convention of Estates, had sat from the time of the Revolution. A new Parliament was assembled in May, 1703. All the old feudal usages were strictly observed in the procession on this occasion called a "Riding." Every member was on horseback,—the Commons in dark mantles, the Nobles in splendid robes. Lackeys walked by the side of every horse, numerous in proportion to the rank of the rider. The regalia of Scotland were borne in solemn state, amidst a cluster of heralds, and pursuivants, and trumpeters, guarding the crown, the sceptre, and the sword.† This wondrous pageantry was not without its significance at this period.

* "History of the Union," p. 64. † Burton, "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 348.

This Parliament of 1703 was not in a temper of conciliation towards England. Glencoe and Darien were still watchwords of strife. The failure of the negotiations for Union necessarily produced exasperation. Whilst Marlborough was fighting the battles of the Allies, the Scottish Parliament manifested a decided inclination to the interests of France, by removing restrictions on the importation of French wines. The "Act for the Security of the Kingdom" was a more open declaration not only of the independence of Scotland, but of her disposition to separate wholly from England—to abrogate, on the first opportunity, that union of the crowns which had endured for a century. The Act of Settlement, by which the crown of England was to pass in the Protestant line to the electress Sophia and her descendants, was not to be accepted; but on the demise of queen Anne without issue, the Estates of Scotland were to name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the Stuart line, and that successor was to be under conditions to secure "the religious freedom and trade of the nation from English or any foreign influence." For four months this matter was vehemently debated in the Scottish Parliament. The Act of Security was carried, but the Lord High Commissioner refused his assent. Following this legislative commotion came what was called in England the Scottish plot—a most complicated affair of intrigue and official treachery, with some real treason at the bottom of it. The House of Lords in England took cognizance of the matter, which provoked the



Sword of Scotland.



Sceptres of Scotland.

highest wrath in Scotland, that another nation should interfere with her affairs; and this embroilment led to a dispute between the two Houses of the English Parliament about their privileges. When the Scottish Estates re-assembled in 1704, they denounced the proceedings of the House of Lords, as an interference with the prerogative of the queen of Scotland; and they again passed the Security Act. The royal assent was not now withheld; whether from fear or from policy on the part of the English ministry, is not very clear. The Parliament of England then adopted a somewhat strong measure of retaliation. The queen was addressed, requesting her to put Carlisle, Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Hull in a state of defence, and to send forces to the border. A Statute was passed which in the first place provided for a treaty of Union; and then enacted that until the Scottish Parliament should settle the succession to the crown in the same line as that of the English Act of Settlement, no native of Scotland, except those domiciled in England, or in the navy or army, should acquire the privileges of a natural-born Englishman; and prohibiting all importations of coals, cattle, sheep, or linen from Scotland. It was evident that there must be Union or war.

One other circumstance of national rivalry filled the cup of bitterness to the brim. The Darien Company was making efforts to trade to the East Indies; and one of their vessels going into an English harbour to obtain seamen, was seized and condemned for a violation of the chartered privileges of one of the two East India Companies. An opportunity of revenge soon occurred. A vessel of the other East India Company went into the Frith of Forth for repairs; and the Darien Company, having a power under their charter to make reprisals, seized this vessel by stratagem. A suspicion arose, out of some incoherent talk, that the captain of this vessel, named Green, and his crew had been guilty of crimes on the high seas. One of the Darien Company's vessels had not returned from its voyage; and captain Green and some of his men were prosecuted, upon the belief that they had murdered captain Drummond and his men, on board the Speedy Return, as the Darien ship was named that had not returned at all. Green and two of his crew were convicted; and they were executed, in defiance of the queen's desire that the execution should be postponed. The Privy Council of Scotland were terrified by the Edinburgh mob, who threatened the magistrates and rabbled the chancellor; and the three sailors were hanged at Leith. "The poor men were sacrificed, not to penal laws, but to national hostility—they were victims of war rather than of justice." Mr. Burton adds to this expression of his opinion, "there was afterwards abundant reason for believing that captain Drummond, whom they were charged with murdering, was alive in a distant land." *

In this defiant attitude towards England stood Scotland in 1704 and in 1705. Her mobs were howling for English blood before her courts of justice; her patriots were hooting and hissing when the name of the princess Sophia was uttered in the Parliament House. "If a member said anything that could be construed as a leaning to England, cries to take down his words, or to send him to the Castle, imported that scornful denunciation of his sentiments for which his opponents could not find argumentative expressions sufficiently powerful." † This temper, which had lasted for several years,

* Burton, "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 378. † *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 360.

had filled the northern population of England with apprehensions of a Scottish war. The zealots of Scotland talked loudly of girding on their swords, and thought of Bannockburn. The rumours of border-feuds revived, and the stout borderers of Cumberland and Northumberland thought of Dunbar. There were words of common sense uttered in the English Parliament by lord Haversham: "There are two matters of all troubles; much discontent, and great poverty; and whoever will now look into Scotland, will find them both in that kingdom. It is certain, the nobility and gentry of Scotland are as learned and as brave as any nation in Europe can boast of; and these are generally discontented. As to the common people, they are very numerous, and very stout, but very poor. And who is the man that can answer what such a multitude, so armed, so disciplined, with such leaders, may do, especially since opportunities do so much alter men from themselves. And there will never be wanting all the promises and all the assistance France can give." * These apprehensions were happily averted by a show of moderation in the Scottish Parliament; and by a consummate exercise of prudence on the part of Godolphin, who, as the head of a ministry chiefly composed of moderate Whigs, had greater power than he had possessed when reconciling the divided opinions of the first years of his administration. In August 1705, the draft of an Act for a treaty of Union was brought into the Scottish Parliament. Violent were the debates; but it was at last passed, by a majority of two; but accompanied by a Resolution that the Commissioners for the treaty should not meet those in England, until an offensive Statute of the English Parliament which had been recently passed should be repealed. It was proposed that this resolution should form part of the Scotch Statute for a treaty; but the more moderate members carried that the resolution should be embodied in an address to the queen. In the new English Parliament of 1705, the Address of the Scots' Parliament, "against any progress in the treaty of Union, till the Act which declared them aliens by such a day should be repealed," was laid before the two Houses; and to the surprise of all parties the ministers of the queen advocated the repeal, not only as regarded the question of denying the Scots the privileges of native-born subjects, but as to the restrictions of that Statute upon commercial intercourse. The friendly hand was cordially held out; and if it were not as cordially grasped—if, at some stages of the coming negotiations it were roughly pushed aside—it is to the immortal credit of the English statesmen that they went calmly forward with their great work, and accomplished it by honest perseverance, without trickery and without coercion. The reflecting politicians in both countries saw the perils that would result to both from being swayed by national prejudices and popular jealousies. There were old wounds to be healed; old injuries to be forgiven; existing injustice to be redressed; friendship to be established upon conditions of equal rights and liberties. The people of both countries were not wholly insane. Defoe has said with a vigour which sometimes bursts forth out of the dry details of his History of the Union, "God's providence unravelled all the schemes of distinction, which madmen had drawn for the ruin of their native country; and as many times things evil in their design are overruled by an invisible hand, and bring to

* Parliamentary History, vol. vi. col. 370.

pass that very good which they were prepared to destroy, even so it was here; for these confusions were the very things that brought both the nations to their senses: I mean, brought them both to better temper. The consequences of a bloody war just breaking out in the bowels of their native country, in the ruin and certain desolation of which they must necessarily have a great share, opened the eyes of the most thinking people on both sides, even of those who in themselves had no real inclination to the conjunction of the kingdoms, and thus the necessity of taking new measures began to appear both ways." *

In the spring of 1706, thirty-one Commissioners were nominated on the part of each kingdom, for negotiating the terms of Union. The nomination of the Scottish Commissioners was left to the queen, after a violent opposition by those who desired the nomination to be in the Estates of Parliament. To the surprise of many, that nomination included several violent opposers of the Union—a "courageous policy," as Mr. Burton truly observes. On the 16th of April, the Commissioners assembled in the Cockpit at Whitehall. The Lord Keeper, Cowper, delivered an Address on the part of England, and the Scottish Chancellor on the part of Scotland. The success of these negotiations may be attributed in no small degree to the wisdom and justice of Lord Somers, one of the Commissioners, although he held no office. His ruling principle was that of acting with perfect fairness to Scotland. The Commission sat till the 22nd of July, when the Articles of Union were finally agreed upon.

A complete union of two independent nations, to be brought about by common consent, and the terms to be settled as in a commercial partnership, was an event which seems natural and easy when we look to the geographical position of the two nations, and to the circumstance that they had been partially united for a century, under six sovereigns wearing the crown of each kingdom. But when we look to the long-standing jealousies of the two nations—their sensitive assertions of ancient superiority—the usual haughty condescension of the wealthier country—the sturdy pride of the poorer—the ignorance of the bulk of each people of the true character of the other—the differences of the prevailing forms of religion—the more essential differences of laws and their modes of administration—we may consider the completion of this Union as one of the greatest achievements of statesmanship. "If those continental nations which had been for centuries accustomed to see annexations, partitions, and the enlargement of empires by marriage and succession, had been told how many different parties and interests it was necessary to bring to one set of conclusions, before the desired end could be accomplished, they would have deemed the project utterly insane, as, indeed, it would have been, if laid before two nations less endowed with practical sense and business habits." † At the very outset of the treaty, the vital principle of Union was to be debated;—that fundamental article upon which all other articles were to be based—an entire Union of the two kingdoms—one kingdom, one crown, one parliament. This article was proposed at the opening of the negotiations, by the English Commissioners. The Scottish Commissioners demurred. The descent of the crown of Scotland might go according to the Act of Settlement; mutual free-trade—mutual

* "History of the Union," p. 80 † Burton, vol. i. p. 398.

rights—a federal union. The English Commissioners declined to proceed upon such terms, "convinced that nothing but an entire Union of the two kingdoms will settle perfect and lasting friendship." The Scottish Commissioners yielded; but at the same time demanded reciprocity of citizenship and of privileges of trade. Unquestionably so, replied the English Commissioners. It was "a necessary consequence," they said, of the first great condition.

The fundamental principle of the Union was thus settled, in the words of the resolution of the English Commissioners, to be "an entire and incorporating Union, by which the two nations should be formed into one Government, be under one sovereign head, in one represented body, standing upon one foundation, enjoying equal privileges, and in common bearing one general proportion of burdens, the same in end and mean, having but one common interest, one name, and being for ever hereafter but one people." * How to carry out this amalgamation, in the several relations of "one represented body"—"one general proportion of burdens,"—might have presented insuperable difficulties to any set of negotiators who were not thoroughly convinced of the necessity of making a compromise of many supposed particular interests. The question of "proportion of burdens" claimed precedence of that of "one represented body." The English Commissioners cleared away many objections, by proposing an equivalent to Scotland in a money payment, for any disadvantages she might be subjected to in a joint principle of finance. By a system of equal duties upon imports and exports, the freedom of trade was established, and to that system no objection could be rationally offered. There were long discussions about duties of excise—about malt, and salt, and ale,—which were satisfactorily adjusted. The Land Tax was arranged in a manner eminently favorable to Scotland. All these matters were got over, when the complex question of representation arose. The English Commissioners proposed that Scotland should have thirty-eight members in the united House of Commons. The Scottish Commissioners proposed fifty. The number was settled at forty-five—about one-twelfth of the whole House. The system of electing Peers to sit in Parliament was also settled; sixteen being taken out of the hundred and fifty-four who were then Peers of Scotland. The laws of Scotland, with the exception of those relating to trade, customs, and excise, were to remain in force, though subject to alterations by the Parliament of Great Britain, as the united kingdom was to be called; it being provided "that laws relating to public policy are alterable at the discretion of the Parliament; laws relating to private right are not to be altered, but for the evident utility of the people of Scotland." † The standards of the coin, of weights, and of measures, were to become uniform with those of England. For removing national distinctions, the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were to be conjoined when used in flags, banners, standards, and ensigns. "The coat armorial was to be quartered according to heraldic rules, so that in its employment for Scottish national purposes, the arms of Scotland might have the dexter, or pre-eminent side—a privilege for some time adopted, and not lightly esteemed." ‡ In the negotiations of the Commissioners all matters relating to the Church of Scotland were excluded. The preservation intact of the constitution and rights of that

* Defoe, "History of the Union," p. 107.

† Blackstone, Kerr's edit. vol. i. p. 79.

‡ Burton, vol i. p. 423.

Church was provided for in the Acts of Parliament under which the Union was established.

Great Seal after the Union.

The history of these negotiations has been told by Sir Walter Scott with a bias which can only be attributed to that nationality which, in its intensification, may cease to be a virtue. He, who in the political questions of his own time was strenuously opposed to what may be called democratic principles, complains that the population of Scotland being as one to six, if the rule of population, "which seems the fairest that could be found, had been adopted, Scotland would have sent sixty-six members to the united Parliament," instead of forty-five.* The Whig, Hallam, takes a very different view from the Tory, Scott: "The ratio of population would indeed have given Scotland about one-eighth of the legislative body, instead of something less than one-twelfth; but no government, except the merest democracy, is settled on the sole basis of numbers; and if the comparison of wealth and of public contributions was to be admitted, it may be thought that a country which stipulated for itself to pay less than one-fortieth of direct taxation, was not entitled to a much greater share of the representation than it obtained."† Scott, again, takes occasion to accuse the Scottish commissioners of having "sold their own honour and that of Scotland," upon "being given to understand that a considerable sum out of the equivalent money would be secured for their especial use." He then goes on to state, in the most precise way, from the papers of Lockhart, a furious Jacobite, the names of the many recipients of the sum distributed, being £20,540 17*s.* 7*d.*; and says, "it may be doubted whether the descendants of the noble lords and honourable gentlemen who accepted this gratification, would be more shocked at the general fact of their ancestors being corrupted, or scandalized at the paltry amount of the bribe. One noble lord accepted of as low a sum as eleven guineas." Mr. Burton has shown that the sum which was unquestionably

* "Tales of a Grandfather," chap. lx. † "Constitutional History," chap. xvii.

advanced by the English government was "employed in paying arrears of salary, or other debts. . . The general fact that at that time all classes of public creditors in Scotland were in arrear is too palpably notorious." The mere circumstance that arrears were paid out of an advance by England does not imply that there was a previous promise to pay, if the statesman should give a vote against the interests of his country. We lament, with the more sober historian of Scotland, that "Sir Walter Scott's national pride seems to have been so entirely overwhelmed by his prejudice against the Union, that no tale against its supporters is too degrading to secure his belief." *

It was on the 12th of October, 1706, when the Estates of Scotland began to consider the Articles of Union. Immense pains had been taken by the opponents of the measure to rouse the people to a tumultuous opposition. They were in some degree successful. There was a riot in Edinburgh on the 23rd of October, when the populace broke the windows of Sir Patrick Johnson, who had been Lord Provost, and one of the Commissioners of the treaty. They were dispersed without any loss of life. Those who consider that the outbreak of a mob—that appears to have been really very harmless—is evidence of the opinions of a nation, may agree with Lockhart that this midnight riot made "it evident that the Union was crammed down Scotland's throat." † Unprecedented pains had been taken to rouse the passions of the people; and yet any tumult making an approach to insurrection cannot be traced, even in the most exaggerated narratives of those who represent the Union as hateful to the Scottish people. Addresses, indeed, came from many places to the Parliament against the incorporating principle of the Union. Defoe, who was busily engaged in Edinburgh, in a sort of semi-official capacity—chiefly from his knowledge of commercial matters, on which he had made useful suggestions—had represented these Addresses as got up by the political opponents of the treaty. Lockhart writes: "That vile monster and wretch, Daniel Defoe, and other mercenary tools and trumpeters of rebellion, have often asserted that these Addresses, and other evidences of the nation's aversion to the Union, proceeded from the false glosses and underhand dealings of those that opposed it in Parliament;" and then he admits that "perhaps this measure had its first original as they report." ‡ Such arts were natural to be used, especially by the Jacobites. They saw that the Union would go far to destroy their hopes of a Stuart king for Scotland, if England persisted in her resolution of having no more right-divine sovereigns. The Cameronians held that the wicked Union was a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, they having been sworn to do their endeavour to reform England in doctrine, worship, and discipline. But these were very far from representing the opinions of the dispassionate middle classes. Edinburgh shopkeepers were alarmed at the possible loss of customers; but calculating merchants saw very clearly the opening for successful enterprise, when the commerce of the two nations should be put upon an equal footing. The popular arguments against the Union were chiefly appeals to nationality, which has always its amiable side, however it may sometimes exhibit a want of judgment in exact proportion to its enthusiasm.

* Burton, vol. i. p. 494.
† Lockhart Papers, quoted by Scott.
‡ Quoted in Burton, note vi. p. 447.

There was an interval in the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament when the parties for or against the Union were gathering up their strength for a mortal conflict. The first great oratorical display was made by a young man, Lord Belhaven—a speech, says Defoe, "which, being so much talked of in the world, I have also inserted here." * It was, indeed, "much talked of in the world," being wholly addressed to "the world;" and not very much fitted for a sober Scottish audience. Yet the "bended knees," and the choking passion of tears, of this orator, have had imitators in other solemn assemblies. The speech "was circulated in all known shapes among the people, passed through unnumbered editions, and was so plentifully dispersed that a book-collector seldom buys a volume of Scottish political pamphlets of the early part of the eighteenth century, which does not contain 'The Speech of the Lord Belhaven on the subject-matter of an Union betwixt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England.'"† This singular production has many of the characteristics of a noble eloquence; it has also not a few of those qualities which are most acceptable to a false taste. But it is not our province here to criticise this oration. It is desirable, however, to look at it, as indicating the topics which were then best calculated to rouse and embitter the popular passions and prejudices. We therefore print the exordium, which will at least amuse our readers. It may, perhaps, incline most of them to say, as Lord Marchmont said when the speaker sat down, "Behold, he dreamed, but lo, when he awoke, he found it was a dream." Lord Belhaven thus commenced his oration:

"My Lord Chancellor: when I consider the affair of an Union betwixt the two nations, as it is expressed in the several Articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time; I find my mind crowded with variety of melancholy thoughts, and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them, by laying them before, and exposing them to, the serious consideration of this honourable house. I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that, which all the world hath been fighting for since the days of Nimrod; yea, that for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and dukedoms of Europe are at this time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were, to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and counsel of any other. I think I see a national Church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and most pointed legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, &c. I think I see the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies, upon their own proper charges and expenses, now divested of their followers and vassalages, and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think I see a petty English exciseman receive more homage and respect than what was paid formerly to their quondam Macallamores. I think I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, over-ran countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now walking in the Court of Requests like so many English

* "History of the Union." † Burton, vol. i. p. 450.

attorneys, laying aside their walking swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder. I think I see the honourable estate of barons, the bold assertors of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips and a guard upon their tongues, lest they be found guilty of scandalum magnatum. I think I see the royal state of boroughs walking their desolate streets, hanging their heads under disappointments, wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitate to become 'prentices to their unkind neighbours; and yet after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein. I think I see our learned judges laying aside their practiques and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with Certioraries, Nisi Priuses, Writs of Error, Verdicts, Indovar, Ejectione Firmæ, Injunctions, Demurs, &c., and frighted with appeals and avocations, because of the new regulations and rectifications they may meet with. I think I see the valiant and gallant soldiery, either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad; or at home petitioning for a small subsistence, as a reward of their honourable exploits; while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest English corps kept standing. I think I see the honest industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactures, and answered by counter-petitions. In short, I think I see the laborious ploughman, with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expense of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry or do worse. I think I see the incurable difficulties of the landed-men, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands and their sons for want of employment. I think I see our mariners delivering up their ships to their Dutch partners, and what through presses and necessity, earning their bred as underlings in the English navy. But above all, my lord, I think I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with an '*Et tu quoque, mi fili.*" *

The Scottish orator was a bold imitator of him who "fulmin'd over Greece." But his rhetoric and his logic would appear to have been ill companions. He contrasts England and Scotland. Our neighbours in England are great and glorious; provinces and kingdoms are the results of their victories; the royal navy is the terror of Europe; their trade and commerce extends through the universe, encircling the whole habitable world, and rendering their own capital city the emporium for the whole inhabitants of the earth. Scotland, he says, is quite otherwise. We are an obscure, poor people, though formerly of better account; removed to a remote corner of the world, without name and without alliances; our posts are mean and precarious. "Our all is at stake," he then exclaims: "Hannibal is at our gates. Hannibal is come within our gates. Hannibal is come

* Lord Belhaven's Speech is printed at length in "Parliamentary History," vol. vi.; and in Defoe's "History of the Union."

the length of this table. He is at the foot of this throne; he will demolish this throne. If we take not notice, he'll seize upon these Regalia; he'll take them as our *spolia opima;* and whip us out of this House never to return again." Hannibal did some of these terrible things. But Caledonia did not, "ruefully looking about her, covering herself with her royal garment," sit idly upon the oak-chest in which the *spolia opima* were locked up. She bestirred herself to make her obscure poor people great and glorious as their neighbours;—to make their joint trade and commerce extend through the universe, in a generous rivalry;—to change the mean and precarious posts of Scottish administration into a more than equal participation in the greatest offices and distinctions of the British commonwealth;—to divest, indeed, the peerage of Scotland of feudal jurisdiction, of followers and vassalages, and thus to make them truly noble and honourable in their obedience to laws which should override the old local tyrannies;—to inspire the soldiery of Scotland with the true patriotism that has survived the false glory of border hatred, and made the Abercrombies, and Moores, and Campbells fight for the island as the heritage of one free people;—to make the artisans and tradesmen of decayed royal burghs, instead of walking their desolate streets, or becoming 'prentices to their unkind neighbours, raise up factories that might rival the proudest of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and fill the Clyde and the Forth with forests of masts;—to cure the difficulties of the landed men by increasing their rents ten-fold, and twenty-fold;—to convert the laborious plough-man, with his patch of oats, into the most flourishing, because skilful, farmer on the face of the earth. Caledonia, with a few occasional heart-burnings, has been smiling to see this process going forward for a century and a half; and though she duly believes that her younger sister had the best of the bargain of 1706, she rejoices with her inmost heart that, under that partnership, enmity gradually passed into mutual confidence, and then into reciprocal esteem and firm friendship.

Great Seal—Reverse.

Standing as we now do upon the platform of a hundred and fifty years' experience, it would be manifestly unwise and unjust to speak of the convictions of such minds as those of Belhaven and Fletcher, and others of the honest patriots at this great crisis of their country's destiny, as manifesting their incapacity of looking beyond their own immediate times. They rested their opposition to an incorporating Union upon their belief that it would destroy the nationality of Scotland, without any corresponding public benefits. "Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' valour and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits," ejaculated Belhaven. "Are our noble predecessors' souls got so far into the English cabbage-stock and cauliflowers that we should show the least inclination that way?" Their watchword was "our ancient kingdom"—a kingdom with a long uninterrupted line of kings, even a hundred and twelve kings, whose veritable portraits are in Holyrood. Belhaven had a right to be proud of the great memories of his nation;—of its historical prowess blending with its mythic glories. The fables of such a nation are not to be despised. England could match Scotland in traditions of

"Bratus' sacred progeny,
Which had seven hundred years this sceptre borne." *

She could match Scotland also in "fathers of war-proof." But it was the mistake of the Scottish patriots to believe that Englishmen were degenerate—wholly given up to money-getting and luxurious gratification—"epicures," as they were called of old—devoted to Dutch cabbages and wheaten-bread, and despising honest kale and oatmeal. Yet if the Scots had their prejudices so had the English. Defoe told his countrymen, "Those who fancy there is nothing to be had in Scotland but wild men and ragged mountains, storms, snows, poverty, and barrenness, are quite mistaken." † John Taylor, the Water Poet, had maintained, a century before, that in his "Pennilesse Pilgrimage" he had never seen "more plenty or more cheap" than in Scotland. But both English and Scots knew full well that the superiority of England was not in the fertility of her land, but in the activity of her commerce. Her capital, from the days of the Tudors, had been steadily devoted to the extension of her trade. In truth, the strongest argument which the advocates of the Union could present to the sober Scottish mind,—an argument which overthrew all appeals to "free and independent kingdom,"—"national Church"—"noble ancestors"—was that the trade of the world should be as open to the Scot as to the Englishman. This was a concession which the Englishman long grumbled against. "It was a common apprehension in England, before the Union," says Hume, "that Scotland would soon drain them of their treasure, were an open trade allowed." ‡ The Scots were somewhat amazed when Godolphin at once consented to renounce most of the rubbish of prohibitory statutes, and when the Scotch woollen manufacture was absolutely to receive encouragement. Yet when the Articles of Union agreed to by the Commissioners were known, there were many in Scotland who maintained that the commercial advantages might be equally gained by a federal, instead of an incorporating Union. Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden, who was one of the Commissioners, contended in the Scottish Parliament that

* "Faery Queen." † Review. ‡ Essay, "Of the Balance of Trade."

this notion was a delusion: "This nation is behind all other nations of Europe, for many years, with respect to the effect of an extended trade. This nation being poor, and without force to protect its commerce, cannot reap great advantages by it, till it partake of the trade and protection of some powerful neighbour nation, that can communicate both these." He then shows that, "supposing an entire separation from England," the established commerce of the English and Dutch, especially, would prevent any successful rivalry. The alliance of a neighbour nation was therefore essential. There was no chance of such an alliance with Holland, for they were each dealers in the same goods. With France "few advantages can be reaped, unless the old offensive and defensive league be revived between France and Scotland," and then there would be war with England. The possible results of such a war are thus gravely stated by Seton: "Allowing the Scots, in such a juncture, with the assistance of France, to conquer England,—Scotland, by that conquest, could not hope to better its present state; for it is more than probable the conqueror would make her residence in England, as formerly the northern people used to do in their southern expeditions." The conquering Scot could not "quaff the pendent vintage as it grows;" but when the commerce of the Thames poured into his lap all the treasures of the East and of the West, he would leave the port of Leith to the petty gains of her fleet of herring-busses, and would drink "the blude-reid wine" with his king at Westminster, who would scorn to sit "in Dumferling toune." It was long the dream of the Jacobites that Scotland, with the assistance of France, might conquer England. The dreamers awoke, in 1745, to the dirge of "Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn." The strong common sense of Seton of Pitmedden sums up the benefits to Scotland of an incorporating Union, in words which sound more like a true prophecy than the rhetorical visions of the young seer, Belhaven: "I may assert, that by this Union we will have access to all the advantages in commerce which the English enjoy: we will be capable, by a good government, to improve our natural products, for the benefit of the whole island; and we will have our liberty, property, and religion, secured under the protection of one Sovereign, and one Parliament, of Great Britain." * It is satisfactory to contrast the manifestations in the Scottish Parliament of an enthusiastic exclusiveness, and of a less self-satisfied patriotism. It is satisfactory, because out of the fervid nationality and the practical wisdom have been formed that Scottish character, which has tardily but surely amalgamated with the English character, "for the benefit of the whole island"—a character upon which the old English belief in the real and the stage Macsycophants has left no enduring taint—which has survived the growls of Johnson and the libels of Churchill; which has ceased to be violently combative when any assimilation of the laws and institutions of the northern and southern sides of the Tweed is proposed; which calls up all the old fire of as true a nationality, when a common enemy of the whole island is to be fought, a common injustice to be redressed, or a common reform to be struggled for.

When the vote was taken upon the first Article of the Treaty of Union,—viz., "That the two kingdoms of Scotland and England shall, upon the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof, and for ever after, be united into

* Seton's statesmanlike speech is given in Defoe's "History of the Union;" and in Parliamentary History of England," vol. vi.

one kingdom by the name of Great Britain,"—there was a majority of thirty-three in favour of this fundamental proposition. There was a majority in each Estate—of peers, of barons or representatives of counties, of representatives of towns. The second Article for the Succession of the Monarchy, and the third for representation by one Parliament, were also carried within the next fortnight. The question which was excepted from the Treaty, that of the Church of Scotland, was then agitated; and it was resolved in a way which abated the fears of the Presbyterians, by passing a separate Act to provide for the Security of the Church; which Act was to be repeated as a part of any Act of the Scottish or English Parliament adopting the Union. Under this Statute, every sovereign of Great Britain, upon his or her accession, is to take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland. The Estates then proceeded to the consideration of the minute details of the remaining twenty Articles of the Treaty. This discussion lasted till the middle of January, 1707.

The opposition to the Union beyond the walls of the Scottish Parliament could scarcely be called national, in a large sense of the word. But it was nevertheless a formidable opposition, manifesting itself amongst very various parties and conditions of society. The duke of Queensberry, the queen's High Commissioner, was instrumental in disarming the violence, both within the Parliament and without, by his patience and moderation. "The duke, in all the heats and animosities of the party, in all the convulsions of the kingdom, carried on the treaty with easiness, temper, and extraordinary conduct, not taking advantage of the rashness and madness of the people, pitying, rather than apprehending danger from their folly." * Queensberry was threatened with assassination. He was told that two and twenty had subscribed an oath with their blood, by which they were bound together to assassinate him. No attempt was made to commit this crime. There was a second outbreak in Edinburgh, but there was no bloodshed. Those who have been described as the fiercest mob in Europe were singularly harmless during the three months of excitement which preceded the passing of the Act of Union. There was a more serious riot at Glasgow on the 7th of November, which lasted several days. Those who had been fighting at Bothwell Brig with a fury which Claverhouse and Balfour have impersonated for history and romance, were now united to hunt after an obdurate provost who had declined to sanction a city-address against the Union. Jacobites and Cameronians,—Papists and Hill-preachers —were masters for a time of the city of Glasgow. "They ranged the streets and did what they pleased; no magistrate durst show his face to them; they challenged people as they walked the streets with this question, Are you for the Union? and no man durst own it but at his extremest hazard." † They searched for arms in private houses; and their rudeness, says Defoe, is not to be described. But this rude mob took no life away. "Except that there was no blood shed, they acted the exact part of an enraged ungoverned multitude." A few of the leaders of these riots were taken, and the Glasgow baillies were soon relieved of their fears.

There is a grave record of an important demonstration of this period, in a work which might pass for such an ingenious fiction as the famous "Gil Blas

* Defoe, "History of the Union," p. 212. † *Ibid.* p. 272.

de Santillane," or "The History of the Life of Mr. Jonathan Wild, the Great," if the author were not a distinguished personage known by "his several transactions and negotiations in Scotland, England, the courts of Vienna, Hanover, and other foreign parts," as the title-page of his book duly sets forth.* John Ker describes the three great parties of Scotland, the Presbyterian, the Cameronian, and the Episcopal. The Presbyterian were divided into the complying and the non-juring; the non-jurors taking exception to the oath which referred to the English statute under which the sovereign was required to be of the communion of the Church of England. He paints the Cameronians, as cleaving to the form of Church government established in 1648; despising the Indulgence of Charles II., the Toleration of James II., and the Revolution establishment; they continue to preach in the fields, still retaining the doctrine of resistance and self-defence, however peaceable. The Episcopal party, he says, "are generally in the Pretender's interest, and are near one-half of the nation," among whom are to be reckoned the most part of the Highland Clans. John Ker was considered as one of great influence amongst the Cameronians. But, as he himself professes, he was strenuously opposed to the schemes of the Jacobites, who were endeavouring to engage the Presbyterians and Cameronians on their side, to prevent the Union. "I soon perceived," says the man of influence, "abundance of private transactions in favour of the Pretender; for it was impossible for the Jacobites to carry them on without my knowledge, considering the great interest I had with the Cameronians." The duke of Queensberry sent for Mr. Ker, for the government had advices that the Cameronians and Jacobites were to meet in arms on the river Nith, near Sanquhar, to put an end to the Parliament, and that the French king would send over troops, "to improve the opportunity." The laird of Kersland said he was always an enemy to Popery and the Pretender; but then was he able to dissuade the Cameronians from their purpose? He could not resist the duke's "rhetorical arguments;" and so an ingenious device occurred to the loyal man: "If I purposed to do any effectual service, I must enter into all their measures, and then probably they would honour me with the chief command, and by being at their head in rebellion against the queen and government I should expose myself to their displeasure; and therefore it would be proper I should have a Privy-seal, authorising me to act as I found convenient."† So John Ker wends his thoughtful way from Edinburgh to Killoch Side, near Sanquhar, where the Cameronian leaders were assembled; and they admitted him forthwith into their general meeting. He gives his harangue to this meeting. Matters are now brought to a crisis. All that is dear to us, as Protestants, is likely to be rendered precarious by the proposed Union. Are we to oppose this Union or not? "If you agree in the affirmative, then what sort of opposition this shall be; for it is very evident that the Parliament resolves to ram it down our throats." Prevail upon them, said Queensberry, to decline their desperate resolutions. The eloquence of Ker produced a determination to do something more decided. "I pretended—and would to God I had dealt more sincerely—to join with them in all their measures, and offered to fortify their resolutions

* "The Memoirs of John Ker, of Kersland, in North Britain, Esqre." 2 vols. 3d edit. 1737.
† Memoirs, p. 31.

with some arguments of my own." Then they resolved to burn the Articles publicly at the Market-cross of Dumfries, and to publish their declaration that all who supported the Union were enemies and traitors to their country. On the 20th of November the burning was "very solemnly performed, by a considerable party of horse and foot under arms, with sound of trumpet and beat of drum." The worthy orator of Killoch Side quieted the apprehensions of the government that horse and foot and beat of drum meant insurrection: "I despatched an express to the duke of Queensberry, and told him, though I had given way to such a solemn execution of the Union Articles, that he might be easy notwithstanding, for it was necessary to keep up to the decorum they expected, in order to prevent their prosecution of such measures as must infallibly disappoint him. And farther, I told him, it might be found expedient to burn the houses of some that had been most instrumental in carrying on the Union; but nevertheless, I doubted not to order matters so, as that nothing was to be feared from the Cameronians upon this conduct, which looked very like earnest. I am convinced the whole body of the Cameronians were resolved, my unworthy self only excepted."

John Ker, of Kersland, is the type of many an intriguing spy, who, in dangerous times, has encouraged the agitation which he was employed to watch. It was fortunate that the Cameronians were not driven to carry their zeal beyond the Market-cross at Dumfries. Vast things were expected from the junction of the true League and Covenant men with the Jacobites, Papists and Episcopalians. They were to march to Hamilton, seven thousand in number. The duke of Athol was to lead his Highlanders through the famous pass where Dundee scattered six thousand veterans. The duke of Hamilton was to head this motley army. The duke was wiser. He sent orders to the Highlanders and Cameronians to disperse and return home. The duke was unstable in his modes of opposition to the Union. All parties began to look with suspicion upon his alternations of a hot and cold policy, and upon the blandishments of his mother towards the Presbyterians. "It was suggested," says Burnet, "that she and her son had particular views, as hoping that if Scotland should continue a separated kingdom, the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after king James's posterity." *

Despite the Jacobites and the Cameronians, the timid Presbyterians and the semi-Papist Episcopalians, the Act of the Scottish Estates for the Union was finally passed on the 16th of January, by a hundred and ten votes against sixty-nine. "And there's an end o' an auld sang," said the Chancellor. It was an insult, cries the chivalrous Sir Walter Scott; "for which he deserved to be destroyed on the spot by his indignant countrymen." † Belhaven complained that the Union would compel the peers of Scotland to "lay aside their walking-swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be called murder." We have outgrown the use of walking-swords, even for the self-defence which the Scottish peer thought a privilege of his order; certainly so for such homicide as the Scottish poet thought a fitting propitiation to the shades of the hundred and fourteen kings whose line began when Cheops was unborn.

* "Own Time." vol. v. p. 277. † Note in Burton, p. 482.

Before the Scottish Parliament separated, they regulated the election of the Representative Peers, and the proportion of county and borough members of the Commons. They had to arrange the division of the Equivalent money, of which the Darien or African Company had a large share. The last meeting of the Scottish Estates was on the 26th of March, 1707.

The Order of the Thistle, which had been revived by queen Anne in 1703, was not filled up by elections till some few years had elapsed. James II. had contemplated the restitution of the Order, but no patent for this object had passed the Great Seal. There was now in the possession of the Crown the means of bestowing a great distinction, essentially national; for in the Statutes of 1703 the number of knights was limited to twelve peers of Scotland, the sovereign being the head. This number somewhat profanely kept in view the precedent of our Saviour and the twelve apostles. George I. broke through the principle of exclusive nationality by bestowing the honour upon a few English peers. George IV. overturned the scriptural character by raising the number of knights to sixteen.

Collar of the Order of the Thistle.

The Parliament of England had met in December, during the anxious discussion in Scotland of the Articles of the Treaty of Union. At the end of January the queen sent to the House of Peers, and announced that the Treaty for an Union had been ratified by Act of Parliament in Scotland, with some alterations and additions. The Articles were then presented. In the Lords, a Bill was brought in for the Security of the Church of England as by law established; the movers having, of course, a slight apprehension that the sovereign's oath to preserve the Church of Scotland might be liable to misconstruction unless thus qualified. The debates in the English Parliament on the principle of the Union were animated, but were not violent. The ministry were anxious to pass the Bill for the Union, without making any alteration in the Articles as adopted by the Scottish Parliament. They succeeded in preventing a debate on each clause by inserting the Articles in

the preamble of the Bill, with the two Acts for the Security of the Churches of each country. By this device the measure was to be accepted or rejected as a whole. It was passed without difficulty, and on the 6th of March the queen gave the royal assent in these words:—"My Lords and Gentlemen: It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have given my assent to a Bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom. I consider this Union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and, at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it in the course of above a hundred years have proved ineffectual; and, therefore, I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all my subjects, of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people. This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this Union. And I cannot but look upon it as a peculiar happiness, that in my reign so full provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant Succession throughout Great Britain."

GEORGE I.

GEORGE. II

Crown Piece, 1707.

CHAPTER XXII.

Warlike Addresses of Parliament—Reverses—Battle of Almanza—Marlborough's visit to Charles XII. of Sweden—Indecisive Campaign of 1707—Siege of Toulon—Wreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel—Naval miscarriages—Complaints in Parliament—Discontents in Scotland—Jacobite Plots—Attempted Invasion—Dismissal of Harley and St. John from the ministry—Campaign of 1708—Ghent surrendered to the French—Battle of Oudenarde—Sardinia and Minorca surrendered to the Allies—Death of the Prince of Denmark—Surrender of Lille—Proposals of France for Peace—Campaign of 1709—Surrender of Tournay—Battle of Malplaquet.

The Parliament which met in December, 1706, is chiefly memorable for its ratification of the Treaty of Union. The ministry was all powerful, chiefly through the splendid successes of Marlborough in the Netherlands, and from the favourable aspects of the war in Spain and Italy. An indirect overture for peace had been made by Louis; but the English Parliament was in no pacific attitude. The queen called for supplies, "sufficient for carrying on the war next year in so effectual a manner, that we may be able to improve everywhere the advantages of this successful campaign." The Lords congratulated her majesty upon "the ever-memorable victory of Ramilies," and expressed what they called "the universal satisfaction of your people," at the public declaration which the queen had made "that no negotiations for peace should be entered into, but in conjunction with all the members of the Grand Alliance." The Commons promised "such speedy and effectual supplies as, by the continuance of God's blessing upon your majesty's arms, may establish the balance of power in Europe, by a safe, honourable, and lasting peace." The supplies were granted with unusual rapidity; and the pension of 5000*l.* per annum to the duke of Marlborough was settled upon his posterity. When the Parliament was prorogued, it was renewed by Proclamation, declaring that the first Parliament of Great Britain should be held on the 23rd of October.

The warlike successes of the Allies during this year were by no means commensurate with the expectations of the government. In Spain there was a fatal reverse. We have already seen how the insurrection of Catalonia and

Valencia had utterly failed, through the incompetency of the Austrian prince and his generals. When Peterborough no longer animated their courage by his daring, and combated their hesitation by his energetic sagacity, the good fortune which gave the Allies Barcelona utterly forsook them. Madrid had been retaken by marshal Berwick, and king Philip was again seated in the Escurial. The so-called king Charles, instead of remaining with the army in Valencia, to lead them against Berwick, returned to Barcelona. In April, lord Galway and the Portuguese general, Das Minas, took the field, with about seventeen thousand men. The French and Spanish army was superior in numbers, especially in cavalry. They met on the plain of Almanza; and there a battle was fought, in which the Allies were utterly routed. Four thousand of the English, Dutch, and Portuguese were slain on that fatal Easter Monday, the 25th of April, and eight thousand were taken prisoners. A letter from Mr. Methuen, the English minister at Lisbon, to the duke of Marlborough, says, "Our infantry is wholly taken or destroyed; but of the horse three thousand five hundred are saved, the greater part of which are Portuguese, who, being on the right, gave way upon the first shock of the enemy, and abandoned the foot."* The towns of Valencia and Aragon were surrendered to the victor. Peterborough's exploits were nearly fruitless. In Catalonia alone had king Charles any adherents. That province continued the seat of warfare, with English assistance, for three more years; but the spirit which only could secure success was gone. It was no longer an insurrection in favour of the House of Austria against the House of Bourbon; it was a national demonstration for king Philip against a foreign enemy. The terrible defeat of Almanza went to the heart of the humblest in England, if we may judge from Addison's amusing Essay upon omens. The salt is spilt by an unlucky guest, and the lady of the house says to her husband, "My dear, misfortunes never come single. Do not you remember that the pigeon-house fell the very afternoon that our careless wench spilt the salt upon the table?" "Yes, my dear, and the next post brought us an account of the battle of Almanza."†

Marlborough, the diplomatist, was more busy in 1707 than Marlborough, the general. There was a young king of Sweden, with a passionate desire for war and conquest, who would not take the orthodox course of heartily joining the Grand Alliance against France, or of throwing his weight into the scale of France against the Grand Alliance. Charles XII. had plans of his own, which he pursued with a self-will which had very little respect to the power or influence of any state or confederacy of states. He had defeated the Russians in 1700. He had first conquered, and then deposed, king Augustus of Poland, and had set up a man of noble family, Stanislaus, as king; Augustus was also elector of Saxony. Charles led his army into Saxony; held its elector in a sort of honourable captivity; and from his camp at Alt Ranstadt, near Leipsic, demanded the submission of Europe to his decrees. Louis XIV. in the reverses of 1706 turned his views to Charles as an ally; bribed his ministers; even solicited him to become the mediator between the Bourbons

* Dispatches, vol. iii. p. 353.

† Lord Macaulay, in his "Essays," has quoted this passage, to observe that much clearer omens indicated disaster in Spain. We quote it to show the impression which public disasters made upon the popular mind at home.

and the Allies. The English government had also its alarms; and Marlborough was in communication with general Grumbkow, who had been sent on a mission to Charles by the king of Prussia. The Prussian gave the young Swede a glowing account of Marlborough and his actions, which was duly reported to him whom the general styles "his hero:"—"Among other particulars, he asked me if your highness yourself led the troops to the charge. I replied, that as all the troops were animated with the same ardour for fighting, your highness was not under the necessity of leading the charge; but that you were everywhere, and always in the hottest of the action, and gave your orders with that coolness which excites general admiration. I then related to him that you had been thrown from your horse; the death of your aide-de-camp, Brinfield, and many other things. He took such pleasure in this recital, that he made me repeat the same thing twice. I also said that your highness always spoke of his majesty with the highest esteem and admiration, and ardently desired to pay your respects. He observed, 'that is not likely, but I should be delighted to see a general of whom I have heard so much.'" * The general of whom Charles had heard so much was not slow to gratify him. On the 27th of April Marlborough was at Alt Ranstadt. He writes to Harley that he had that day his audience of the king; delivered the queen's letter; and that his majesty seemed very well inclined to the interest of the Allies.† Lediard, the biographer of Marlborough, who was in the camp of Alt Ranstadt, gives us a more precise view of the courtly management of the duke at this audience. "He presented to his Swedish majesty a letter from the queen of Great Britain, and, at delivering it, made him the following compliment in French: 'Sir, I present to your majesty a letter, not from the Chancery; but from the heart of the queen, my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented it, she would have crossed the sea, to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I am, in this particular, more happy than the queen; and I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a general as your majesty, that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war." ‡ Charles was very gracious in return. He said he would do nothing to prejudice the common cause in general, or the Protestant religion in particular. He cared very little for the common cause. Voltaire has shown what he did really care for. Marlborough, Voltaire says, "fixed his eyes attentively upon the king. When he spoke to him of war in general, he imagined that he saw, in his majesty, a natural aversion towards France, and that he took a secret pleasure in speaking of the conquests of the Allies. He mentioned the Czar to him, and took notice, that his eyes kindled whenever he was named, notwithstanding the moderation of the conference. He, moreover, remarked, that the king had a map of Muscovy lying before him on the table. This was sufficient to determine him in his judgment, that the king of Sweden's real design, and sole ambition, were to dethrone the Czar, as he had already done the king of Poland." Marlborough promised pensions to the Swedish minister, count Piper, and other functionaries, paying one year in advance; and then he returned to the Hague, to go to his accustomed fighting-ground.

* Coxe, vol. iii. p. 159.
† Dispatches, vol. iii. p. 347.
‡ Lediard, "Life of Marlborough," vol. ii. p. 166.

Marlborough wrote from Brussels to Harley, in the middle of May, "All our troops are in motion. . . . Since their success in Spain, the enemy talk very big, and pretend to give us battle; for my part, I think nothing could be more for the advantage of the Allies." * But there was no battle in the Netherlands during that campaign. Vendôme commanded the French army, and he was content with defensive operations. The States controlled Marlborough's plans. Thus the two generals were constantly occupied in watching and counteracting each the strategy of the other. But if Marlborough was unable to strike any decisive blow, he had consulted with prince Eugene for the accomplishment of a plan that was calculated to injure France in a vital part. An attempt was to be made, by land and sea, to penetrate into the south-eastern part of Louis's own territory. The land forces, under the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, were to invade Provence. An English and Dutch fleet, under sir Cloudesley Shovel, were to co-operate in this bold attempt. In the beginning of July, Victor Amadeus and Eugene crossed the Alps by the pass of the Col di Tende; on the 11th they made the passage of the Var; dislodged the French from their intrenchments on the right bank of that river; and on the 25th encamped near Toulon. The difficulties of this attempt at invasion are described by a high military authority. The fortifications of Toulon were "respectable;" the neighbouring heights presented many strong positions, difficult to be acquired or to be retained; the force of the Allies was wholly incompetent to invest the place, so that the communication between the garrison and the army of marshal Tessé could not be impeded; the besiegers were wholly dependent upon the fleet for provisions and military stores. † In less than one month, the object of the expedition was abandoned. To revenge, it is said, the bombardment of Turin, the duke of Savoy resolved to bombard Toulon, in which act of destruction the fleet was the chief agent. The "diversion," as it was called, drew off some of the forces of France from other quarters; but the fires of Toulon blazed for no sufficient object, unless success in war is to be measured by the amount of havoc and misery which man can inflict on man.

All that naval daring could effect in the siege of Toulon was accomplished by the fleet under the command of sir Cloudesley Shovel. This admiral was faithful and incorruptible, at the time when James II. employed every art to seduce the commanders of the English fleets to betray their trusts. "He was not a man to be spoken to," was the tribute of a Jacobite emissary to the character of sir Cloudesley Shovel. Returning home from the siege of Toulon, with fifteen ships of the line, his flag-ship was wrecked on the rocks of Scilly, with two other vessels, on the night of the 22nd of October. The crews of the Associate, the Eagle, and the Romney all perished. The body of the admiral, supposed to be cast ashore by the waves, was found after some days, and was brought to Westminster Abbey for interment with all honour; and in that house of the illustrious dead may be seen his sumptuous monument. But there is a remarkable story connected with his fate, which was published under the authority of the earl of Romney, grandson to sir Cloudesley Shovel. Many years after the wreck, an aged woman confessed

* Dispatches, vol. iii. p. 369.

† Sir George Murray, in Dispatches, vol. iii. p. 380.

to the parish minister, on her death-bed, that, exhausted with fatigue one man who had survived the wreck reached her hut, and that she had murdered him to secure the valuable property on his person. This worst of wreckers then produced a ring taken from the finger of her victim, and it was afterwards identified as one presented to sir Cloudesley Shovel by lord Berkeley. Burnet has described the catastrophe of the wreck: "When sir Cloudesley Shovel was sailing home with the great ships, by an unaccountable carelessness and security, he, and two other capital ships, ran foul upon those rocks beyond the Land's End, known by the name of the Bishop and his Clerks; and they were in a minute broke to pieces; so that not a man of them escaped. It was dark, but there was no wind, otherwise the whole fleet had perished with them: all the rest tacked in time, and so they were saved. Thus one of the greatest seamen of the age was lost, by an error in his own profession and a great misreckoning; for he had lain by all the day before and set sail at night, believing that next morning he would have time enough to guard against running on those rocks; but he was swallowed up within three hours after."*

There was another disaster at sea, which in the ensuing session of Parliament led, with other accidents, to serious complaints of naval miscarriages. A convoy of five ships of the line were to guard a fleet of merchantmen to Lisbon, chiefly laden with stores and horses for the king of Portugal. Fourteen sail of French ships from Brest and Dunkirk met the English ships off the Lizard; and of this convoy one vessel was blown up and three taken. Most of the merchantmen escaped, and reached their destination. The posture of affairs was not agreable; and the first Parliament of Great Britain met on the 23rd of October, in no very placable temper. The prince of Denmark was Lord-high Admiral; and against his management, or rather that of his Council, to whom he deferred in all things, were the complaints of Parliament openly or covertly directed. Lord Haversham's denunciations spoke, to some extent, the murmurs of the people: "Your ships have been taken by your enemies, as the Dutch take your herrings, by shoals, upon your own coasts; nay, your royal navy itself has not escaped. And these are frequent misfortunes, and big with innumerable mischiefs. Your merchants are beggared, your commerce is broke, your trade is gone, your people and manufactures ruined. * * * My lords, the face of our affairs is visibly changed in the space of one year's time, and the temper of the nation too."† In all wars, the English have ever been impatient of misfortune, and even of the absence of success. It was time that Marlborough and the Whigs should make some strenuous exertions to recover their popularity. They turned out Harley, and compelled St. John to resign; for these very able but not very scrupulous coadjutors were intriguing against them. Two more years of fierce warfare, in which the national excitement was abundantly kept up; and then a season of polemical fury, of court intrigue, an outcry for peace, and a total change of men and measures.

The Union, as might be expected, has not worked very smoothly in Scotland. The general taxation of the two countries being assimilated, there were perpetual differences about the collection of the Excise. The Scots

* "Own Time," vol. v. p. 324. † "Parliamentary History," vol. vi. col. 599.

had been accustomed to have their duties farmed, upon a system of composition for the tax payers. When the gauger came with his accurate measurements, and the loose system would no longer prevail, the indignation was very general, though very unreasonable. The Customs were also obnoxious; and a contraband trade was very soon established. The Equivalent money, too, was delayed in its arrival, from the somewhat low state of the English exchequer. When it was paid there were only a hundred thousand pounds sent in specie, and the remainder in bills. Even the specie was not welcomed; for the populace of Edinburgh were incited to stone the carters who conducted the precious deposit to the Castle. The people at first refused to take the bills; but regularity of payment soon removed the difficulty. There had been a year of grumbling on both sides of the Tweed; for the English merchants looked with aversion, upon the system that had been attempted, of sending foreign goods to the Thames as Scottish merchandise. There were seizures of French wine and brandy, which were held to be smuggled from abroad. The interference of the government prevented a collision, by remitting the penalties which the Board of Customs would have exacted. But there was mutual exasperation; and very angry commercial jealousy.

After the discussions in the Scottish Parliament upon the question of Union, a Jacobite agent from France had been busy in stirring up the disaffected to an insurrection. This ambassador from St. Germain's was colonel Hooke; and he came with offers of French assistance, to unite with the Scots to whom the Union was held to be hateful, for the invasion of England. The legitimate king was to lead the conquering forces of his ancient realm; and he should wear the two crowns, as his royal ancestor, the sixth James, had worn them. This enthusiastic agent had communications with several peers of well-known Jacobite principles. He was also endeavouring to work among the Cameronians; and he received assurances from our amusing friend, John Ker, of Kersland, that five thousand of these fighting zealots should take the field. This worthy patriot had again seen the duke of Queensberry, and told him that there was a project to bring in the Pretender. "The duke was much surprised when he understood a French power was to land in Scotland, and desired me to go into their measures in order to discover the plot." Ker had scruples: "I told him I was afraid I had gone through too much dirty work already." The duke went to London. "I retired," he says, "to Kersland, to breathe some honest air in the country." But "the bugbear of Popery" still troubled his head. The agents came from St. Germain's; let him into the whole affair; promised that nothing should be wanting to secure the Protestant religion; settled that five thousand troops should be sent from France; and forthwith, says the candid autobiographer, "I acquainted the duke of Queensberry with what had passed." In this juncture Ker exercised his influence with the Cameronians, not to excite them to insurrection, and then betray them, but in persuading them not to rise. His information, however, from the Jacobite agents was correct, and his warnings to the government were useful. But he received small personal benefit for his "good services;" and he adds, out of the depth of his frank soul, "Truly, I dare say, I was rewarded just as I deserved." *

* "Memoirs," p. 40 to p. 61.

In January, 1708, the British government, with a full knowledge of the contemplated invasion, was carefully observing preparations for an armament at Dunkirk. Sir George Byng was cruising in the Channel, with sixteen men-of-war. At the beginning of March, fifteen French battalions and three hundred volunteers were embarked; and prince James Edward, known as the Pretender, having gone on board, a fleet of twenty-eight vessels, commanded by the French admiral Fourbin, came out of Dunkirk. At Ostend, Byng learnt that they had evaded him; and from the state of the wind and tide, they had eight hours' start of him in their voyage towards Scotland. The French admiral overshot the Frith of Forth; but returned southward from the coast near Montrose, and lay off May Island. When the English squadron appeared, Fourbin sailed in hot haste into the North Sea, without making any attempt to land his troops. The Scots, it was said, made no response to his signals. Byng did not make any pursuit, and the troops and their leader were re-landed at Dunkirk.

Had the French expedition made a descent, the government might have been seriously embarrassed, for the queen's troops in Scotland were very few, and there was little preparation for resistance. Previous to the attempt, there had been a serious disorganization in the ministry. Harley was carrying on, through his influence over the queen, schemes for the construction of a party opposed to the powerful ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough with whom he had been serving. A clerk of Harley, named Gregg, was detected in a correspondence with the French secretary-of-state, to whom he had communicated important secrets of office. He was tried, and convicted of treason on his own confession; but he persisted to the end in averring that Harley had no part in his treachery. Various revelations were made of the subtle minister's intrigues at court; and Godolphin and Marlborough insisted on his dismissal. The queen would not consent. The lord-treasurer and the commander-in-chief did not appear at the Cabinet Council, refusing to meet Harley. The queen reluctantly yielded to necessity, and the secretary resigned the seals. St. John and other official persons also resigned. The wretched Gregg was executed. The dismissal of Harley was the prelude to that change in the councils of Anne which divided the nation more completely into Whig and Tory factions, and produced a struggle for political ascendancy as remarkable as any in the history of parties. The Whigs, for a time, were in the ascendant. The resignation of St. John opened the important office of secretary-at-war to Robert Walpole.

It was not till the beginning of July, 1708, that the war in the Netherlands assumed any decisive character. There was a French army of a hundred thousand men advancing to Brabant, under the command of the duke de Vendôme. The Dutch had conducted themselves with so much harshness in the fortified places which had been surrendered after the battle of Ramilies, that the inhabitants had become thoroughly adverse to the cause of the Allies, and they looked with joy at the advance of the French. Marlborough was inactive through June, waiting for prince Eugene and his army, marching from Vienna. In the mean time the gates of Ghent and Bruges had been opened to the French; and Marlborough wrote to Godolphin, on the 9th of July, "The States have used this country so ill, that I no ways doubt but all the towns in it will play us the same trick as Ghent has done, whenever

they have it in their power."* At the date of this letter Marlborough was marching day and night, to come up with the French who were preparing to invest Oudenarde. Prince Eugene had joined him alone, having hurried on before his troops. They immediately determined to attack Vendôme, and to take a line of march that would interpose between him and the French frontier.

But Marlborough, at this most important juncture, would have been little fitted for conducting a great battle, had he been formed of the same yielding materials as ordinary men. In the letter to Godolphin of the 9th of July, in which he attributes the surrender of Ghent to the harsh conduct of the Dutch to the people of the Spanish Netherlands, he says, "I should answer two of your letters, but the treachery of Ghent, continual marching, and some letters I have received from England, have so vexed me, that I was yesterday in so great a fever, that the doctor would have persuaded me to have gone to Brussels; but I thank God I am now better, and by the next post I hope to answer your letters." This impassive man can feel then. His plans of warfare are disconcerted; he is exhausted by wearisome marches; but, worst of all, he has the agitation of letters "received from England." The future greatness of the ambitious commander, who has more of the dizzy heights of fortune yet to scale, may altogether depend upon those letters. He had written at the end of May to Godolphin, "I am very glad to find by yours of the 11th, that you have hopes that Mrs. Morley, though late, will do what you desire. Nothing else can make us happy in serving her well; for though I should have success, that might give safety abroad, but could not hinder disagreeable things at home."† Mrs. Morley (the queen), though she had dismissed Harley from her councils, kept up her correspondence with him, through her new favourite, Mrs. Masham. Mrs. Freeman (the duchess) had not yielded up her old influence without an attempt to subdue Mrs. Morley entirely to her will, not by blandishments, but by an imperial contempt of her majesty's understanding and conduct. The duchess, when, in the autumn of 1707, she remonstrated against the appointment of two high-churchmen to vacant benefices, employed the following extraordinary language:—"I hope your majesty will not be so much offended with me as you have lately been, if I believe those things for your good that are thought so by those that have served you with so much success—men that have a view of all things and all sorts of people, whereas your majesty has had the misfortune to be misinformed in general things. Even from twelve years old, you have heard in your father's court strange names given to men by flatterers in these former reigns, for no reason in the world but that they would not continue to carry on Popery. That, and many other things too long to repeat in a letter, has given your majesty very wrong notions, and you are like people that never read but one sort of books,—you can't possibly judge unless you heard all things stated fairly."‡ The ascendancy of Mrs. Masham was, under the tuition of Harley, rapidly driving Mrs. Morley to cast off her dear friend Mrs. Freeman, who used such plain speaking. Upon such slight things do the fates of nations depend. Marlborough had a fever-fit: but he roused himself, and, three days after, won the great victory of Oudenarde.

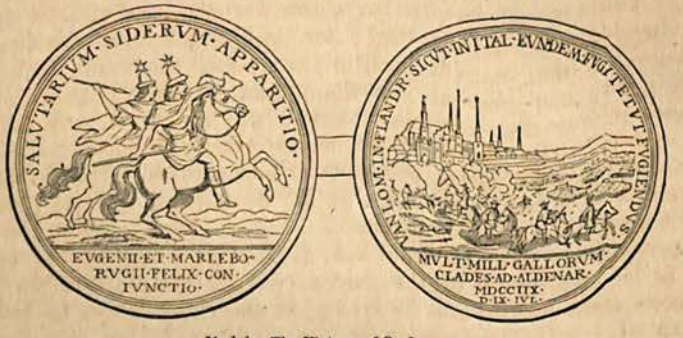
* Coxe, vol. iv. p. 133, edit. 1820. † Coxe, vol. iv. p. 108.

‡ Correspondence of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough.

Those letters to the ministry at home in which Marlborough relates the results of a battle rarely contain any precise military details. In the instance of his victory at Oudenarde, he sends a note of a few lines to the Secretary of State, referring him to the aide-de-camp he has sent "to give the queen an account of his great success." But five days after this battle of the 11th of July, he writes a letter of very minute information to count Piper, the minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, in which he describes his operations, for the information of that king to whom fighting was the great object of existence. We translate a few passages of this letter, written in French, which may still be read with interest. Having described the occupation of Ghent by the enemy, after they had remained some weeks in their camp of Braine-la-Leude, he says, "their army marched at the same time to make assurance of their new conquest, believing that by that they would become masters of all Flanders. They first desired to besiege Oudenarde, which they had invested on the 9th, and to cover the siege their army marched on the 10th to seize on the camp of Lessines. They were only two leagues from it, when they found that we had anticipated them, by forced marches. Seeing that we had already begun to pass the Dender at Lessines, they recalled their forces from before Oudenarde, to fall back upon Gavre, upon the Escaut [Scheldt] previous to passing that river. This passage they commenced at four o'clock on the morning of the 11th: and the same day we continued our march towards Oudenarde, five leagues distant from our camp." * It was this march of unexampled rapidity that gave Marlborough his triumph. The French were quite unprepared for the sudden presence of his army, ready to give immediate battle, after a fatiguing march through a close country, with a great river to cross at the end of that march: Saint Simon relates that when it was reported to the French Commander, the duke de Vendôme, that all the army of the Allies was in sight, having crossed the Scheldt, he maintained that it could not be true. An officer arrived to confirm the news; but Vendôme still continued obstinate in his opinion. A third messenger, and then he mounted his horse, saying "that all this was the work of the devil, and that such diligence was impossible." He soon was relieved of his incredulity. We turn again to Marlborough's own narrative. Bridges had been constructed by an advanced detachment. The main body of the army reached these bridges at noon. "The enemy moved forward, and took their ground, which obliged our detachment, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, to attack their advance; which was executed with success. A brigade, having defeated and killed or taken seven battalions, had thus given time to a part of our army to join them, while the enemy formed in lines. Although many of our troops were not yet come up, between five and six o'clock the battle commenced, principally between the infantry; and it lasted till night, when the enemy retreated towards Ghent in great confusion." In this battle scarcely any use was made of artillery. Marlborough's march had been too rapid to allow him to bring more than a few pieces of cannon into the field; and the French appear to have been equally short of this great arm of war. In a dispatch to M. de Thungen, Marlborough says, "if we had had two more hours of day, it is probable that the enemy would have been entirely defeated. We have, how-

* Dispatches, vol. iv. p. 114.

ever, about seven thousand prisoners, besides more than seven hundred officers, many of distinction, with a great number of colours and standards." * The great general was very far from considering the battle of Oudenarde a total victory. He wrote, indeed, to Godolphin, "I hope I have given such a blow to their foot, that they will not be able to fight any more this year." † But Marlborough had work still to do before that campaign was finished. On the 26th of July, he wrote to Godolphin, that although the success at



Medal. The Victory of Oudenarde.

Oudenarde had lessened the French army by at least twenty thousand men, he was uneasy. He had difficulty in getting cannon; he was in a country where the people had been commanded to abandon their dwellings, and retire to the strong towns. He had a notion, it is related, of penetrating into France by the northern frontier, having masked Lille. Even prince Eugene, with his fiery courage, regarded the attempt as too dangerous. The siege of Lille was therefore to be undertaken. That siege lasted till the winter. Meanwhile the fortified lines of the French near Ypres were destroyed, and Ghent again fell into the power of the Allies. There were successes of importance in other quarters. The island of Sardinia was taken by the English admiral, sir John Leake; and the same enterprising commander, in conjunction with general Stanhope, who had retrieved the fortunes of the Allies in Catalonia carried Port Mahon by storm; and thus the island of Minorca came into the possession of the English, who retained it for half a century. Other triumphs, in the Mediterranean and in South America, again established the naval superiority of England.

At the end of October died the husband of queen Anne, prince George of Denmark. For some time previous to his decease there had been a struggle on the part of some of the great Whig leaders to remove him from his office of Lord High Admiral, for which he was certainly incompetent. His death settled the dispute, and opened the way to the completion of a more decided Whig ministry. Upon the pedestal of a statue of prince George, in a niche at one end of the Town-hall of Windsor, it is recorded, in flattering falsehood, such as many another Latin inscription has recorded of the living and the

* Dispatches, vol. iv. p. 111. † Coxe, vol. iv. p. 154.

dead, that he was "a hero in every age to be venerated." The sarcasm of Charles II., that he "had tried him drunk and sober, and could find nothing in him," will probably outlive the incense of sir Christopher Wren, who erected the statue in 1713. The great architect could certainly do no less than make prince George "a hero," when in the inscription under the statue of the queen at the opposite end of the same Hall, the sculptor is told that his art is vain, for if he would exhibit the likeness of Anne, he must carve "a goddess." In the eyes of the duchess of Marlborough, whose ascendancy over the queen was gone, the goddess was now something less than Mrs. Morley; for the spiteful Mrs. Freeman says, "Her love to the prince seemed, in the eyes of the world, to be prodigiously great; and great as was the passion of her grief, her stomach was greater, for that very day he died she ate three very large and hearty meals." Dire had been the offence which the queen had given to the haughty duchess during this summer and autumn. Harley had been dismissed, but in the small house at Windsor which she had purchased, Anne "staid all the sultry season . . . . . because, from the Park, such persons as Mrs. Masham had a mind to bring to her majesty, could be let in privately by the garden." After the death of the prince, the queen spent many hours every day in the closet where he had been wont to sit. "The true reason of her majesty's having this closet to sit in was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. Masham's lodgings, who, by that means, could secretly bring to her whom she pleased. And that a correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. Harley became every day more and more manifest, by the difficulties and objections which her majesty had learnt to raise against almost everything proposed by her ministers." Such is the testimony, no doubt in great part true, which the duchess of Marlborough has handed down, of the commencement of that system of political intrigue which is so difficult to unravel, for the remainder of this reign. There is only one clue to this labyrinth, which must be steadily kept in view if we would wish to escape from its mazes. Queen Anne was secretly hostile, with all the zeal of which her cold nature was capable, to the settlement of the Crown upon the electress Sophia of Hanover and her descendants. She is believed to have cherished a natural, although dangerous, wish that her brother should be her successor, in spite of solemn Acts of Parliament. Whoever would adroitly foster this humour would have her real favour; and Harley was precisely the man to carry his Jacobitism to the point where it might be safe and profitable. The duplicity of too many of the statesmen of England and Scotland was of the same character; and with those of more ambition than honesty, it was merely a matter of calculation whether the elector of Hanover should come to the throne upon Revolution principles, or the chevalier St. George, by divine right; when that queen, who was something like a compromise of the two principles, should be no more—an event not generally regarded as very distant.

The temper of the queen, during the summer and autumn of 1708, nearly drove Marlborough to a resolution which certainly must have been the most ungenial to his nature, whether we regard his love of power or his avarice. He resolves, about six weeks after his victory of Oudenarde, to "take the first occasion that can be practicable to retire from business."

Yes: his homely phrase is "to retire from business." He writes to the duchess in much the same way as a junior partner in a commercial house would write to his wife, complaining of the obstinacy of the head of the firm: "I can't with patience think of continuing much longer in business, having it not in my power to persuade that to be done which I think is right." * It was worth while to pause before the dissolution of partnership was announced—for to him, at least, the business was a very profitable one. Exclusive of Blenheim, the duke's fixed yearly income, from offices and emoluments, was very nearly fifty-five thousand pounds; and the income of the duchess, from her offices at court, was nine thousand five hundred pounds. The vast income of the duke principally depended upon the continuance of the war. The income of the duchess depended upon her possession of the favour of the queen.† We shall have to note how, in a very short period, the eminent services of the victor at Blenheim and Ramilies were forgotten, and the people became persuaded,—to use the somewhat prejudiced language of Johnson, in noticing the most successful of the bitter pamphlets of Swift,—"that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have been continued without end if he could have continued his annual plunder." ‡

The siege of Lille was one of the most sanguinary operations of the war in the Netherlands. It was an enterprise of great difficulty, not only from the extreme strength of the place, which had been fortified with all the skill of Vauban, but from the difficulty of the allied armies in obtaining supplies of provisions and military stores. Prince Eugene directed, and Marlborough covered, the siege. The defence was intrusted to marshal Boufflers. The covering forces of the besiegers had to contend with the constant determination of the French to intercept their supplies. One of the most gallant actions of the campaign was that of general Webb. He was conducting a large convoy from Ostend, with a detachment of six thousand men, when he was attacked at Wynendale, by a French force of more than twenty thousand. For two hours Webb fought with admirable skill and resolution; compelled the French to retreat, with immense loss; and brought his convoy in safety to the camp before Lille. The Speaker of the Commons, in conveying the thanks of the House to the general, said, "We are all sensible how much the reducing the fortress of Lille is owing to your courage and conduct." This must have been painful enough to Marlborough, who, with almost incredible meanness, had attributed Webb's victory to general Cadogan, who had a very small share of the responsibility of the action. Webb left the army in just indignation; published an account of the matter; and received the thanks of the Commons in his place in the House. Lille finally capitulated on the 29th of December. Its loss to France was considered almost irreparable. A real desire for peace was now manifest in the court of Versailles. During the protracted siege of nearly five months, the allies lost at least twelve thousand men. The sufferings of the troops were very great. The veteran Auverquerque closed the last of

* Coxe, vol. iv. p. 200.

† The details are given in Lord Stanhope's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht," vol. i. p. 27.

‡ "Lives of the Poets," Cunningham's edit., vol. iii. p. 170.

fifty campaigns in the camp before Lille, worn out by age and sickness. In the besieged citadel, the brave Boufflers and his garrison were, at the last extremity, subsisting upon horse-flesh.

INSVLA · FLANDR · GALLIS · A · FOEDERATIS · EREPTA
INDEFESSA · VIRTVTE · IN · VICTISSIMI · EVGENII · SAB · PRINCIPIS · MDCCIX
SPES · HOSTIVM · PER · TERRITORIVM · PRAECISA
PRVDENTIA · FORTISS · DVCIS · MARLEBVRG · OBSIDIONEM · INAVLAM · PROTE GESTIS ·

Medal. The Surrender of Lille.

The first Session of the second Parliament of Great Britain was opened by Commission on the 16th of November. The Whig interest preponderated; and Sir Richard Onslow was chosen Speaker. The Session was continued till the 24th of April, 1709. In the proceedings of this Session there was one public Act passed, which is still of effect. The ambassador of the czar of Russia having been arrested for a debt to a London tradesman, the czar resented the offence against the privileges of the representatives of sovereignty; and the Statute was passed by which all process against an ambassador, or any of his domestic servants, is declared null and void.* Another Statute presents a curious illustration of the habits of the people. The "Act to prevent the laying of Wagers relating to the Public," declares that "all wagers to be laid upon any contingency relating to the present war, and all policies of assurance, &c., payable upon any such contingency, shall be utterly void;" and that all persons making such wagers, &c., or their notaries or agents, shall forfeit double the sum for which the wager is laid.† Whether for the issue of a battle or a horse-race, we have been ever a betting people, since we passed out of barbarism into the civilization of which gambling is a feature.

The practice of laying wagers about matters of war and government, according to the preamble of the Act, "hath been found inconvenient to the public." This allegation is not very precise. When the frequenters of Will's Coffee-house, or White's Chocolate-house, were staking their guineas or their crowns upon the doubtful fortunes of Godolphin or Harley, of the elector of Hanover or the king over the water, their brawlings might have disturbed the wits and courtiers, but they could very slightly affect the general convenience of the public. Nevertheless, the betting was a form in which the opinions of Englishmen displayed themselves; and the odds given might indicate sentiments not very agreeable to the official mind. The war

* 7 Anne, c. 12. † 7 Anne, c. 16.

was beginning to be unpopular; the French were making advances for peace. A treaty, or another campaign, was a question of chance rather than of calculation at the beginning of 1709; for if France was suffering and exhausted, Marlborough was flourishing. Let us turn from the betting politicians of London, to the suffering population of Paris. Let us, while we behold at home public credit so high, that the Bank of England obtained subscriptions in four hours of more than two millions for the purpose of doubling their stock and of circulating two millions and a half of exchequer-bills for the aid of the government—let us look upon a picture of misery in France, and learn the price which a people has to pay for the mistaken ambition of its rulers; and for that absolute authority upon which some Englishmen looked with envy and admiration.

The winter of 1709 was unusually severe in France. There was an intense frost of long duration; then a sudden thaw; and then again a frost. By this second frost the grain in the earth, the vines and olive-trees, were destroyed. The price of bread rose enormously. But the natural price of corn was further raised by the interference of the government. Royal commissioners bought up the corn, and the official monopolists sold it at a great advance. The sums which this scheme produced, says Saint Simon, "were innumerable, and innumerable were the people who died literally of hunger." The depopulation of Paris in this terrible year offers sufficient evidence of the condition of the kingdom. The average annual number of deaths in the capital was sixteen thousand; in 1709 they were above twenty-nine thousand. The number of marriages decreased one fourth.* Dividends upon public loans were unpaid; taxes were exacted with extreme rigour; the coin was depreciated; everything rose in price. "The king," says Saint Simon, "had no resources, except in terror, and in his unlimited power, which, boundless as it was, failed also for want of having something to take and to exercise itself upon." In this state, when the realm was nearly exhausted, envoys were sent into Holland to negotiate for peace.

If the rulers of nations were ordinarily moved with pity for suffering humanity, the ministers of the Allied powers might have held out the hand of friendship to France, without any compromise of their just pretensions. If Marlborough had taken a generous and lofty view of public affairs, instead of urging upon Godolphin the necessity for another campaign, a far better peace might have been accomplished than their political enemies at last effected. "Marlborough," says his biographer, "was apprehensive that the king of France was not yet sufficiently humbled to agree to the terms which the Allies were entitled to demand; and consequently represented the expediency of obtaining such an augmentation of force as might enable him to dictate the conditions of peace." † The advice of Marlborough resulted in the most sanguinary and most useless of his battles; with the conditions of peace less under his dictation than before he had lost eighteen thousand killed and wounded in the slaughter of Malplaquet. And yet so complicated were the interests of the States General, of the Emperor, of the duke of Savoy, of Great Britain,—in some cases those interests were so conflicting,—

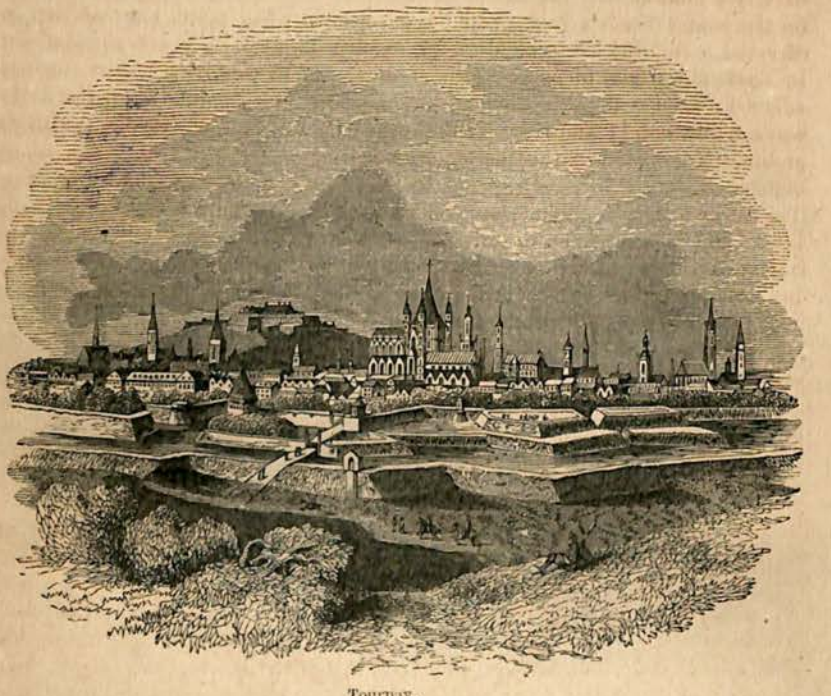
* Buffon. Quoted in Somerville's "History of the Reign of Anne," p. 339.
† Coxe, vol. iv. p. 370.

that it would be unjust to represent Marlborough as the adviser of the harsh and humiliating terms which the Allies thought it politic to demand from France. It is difficult, however, to believe that if he had counselled the ministry at home to treat with Louis in a magnanimous spirit, they would have stood out against the advice of their own negotiator. Marlborough had the grace to refuse enormous bribes from France; but he had also the want of decency to sanction the demand, that if Louis gave up Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria, which he stipulated to do, he should join the Allies in dethroning his own grandson, if Philip should be obstinate in holding a throne in the possession of which he was supported by the Spanish people. The pride of the magnificent despot was roused by this demand. He condescended to recollect that he had subjects, who were interested in the national honour. He appealed to their patriotism, in a circular letter addressed to all local authorities. It was no longer a war for courtly interests. The country was threatened with dismemberment; and the king and the people roused their drooping courage, even in the midst of their domestic miseries, and a harder campaign had to be fought, with loftier resolution on the side of France, than had ever been called forth by the proud delusions of the world-grasping Bourbon. Voluntary contributions for the support of the war had been freely bestowed upon the court. Louis sent his silver plate to the mint to be coined. The rich, whether nobles or traders, followed his example. There was specie to pay the forces; and recruits flocked to the army, glad to obtain that subsistence which the visitation of Providence had denied to their peaceful labours.

On the 21st of June, a hundred thousand men, under the command of Marlborough and Eugene, were encamped in the plain before Lille. Marshal Villars had thrown up intrenchments between Douay and the Lys, which probably interrupted a design of penetrating into France. The Allies then commenced the siege of Tournay. The city surrendered in three weeks. The citadel held out during July and August. During this siege, four thousand of the Allies were killed and wounded. Immense slaughter was occasioned by the system of mining and countermining,—a mode of warfare which was then rarely practised to the same extent as in this siege. Service in the trenches was always faced by the English soldier with alacrity; but to burrow like a mole, whilst the sound of the enemy's pickaxe was close to his ear—to believe he was treading upon firm earth, and then in a moment to be blown into the air—these were strange dangers which required an unaccustomed exercise of courage and fortitude.

The Allied army, after the fall of Tournay, was proceeding to the siege of Mons, when Marshal Villars followed them, and took up a strong position at Malplaquet. His wings were protected by two thick woods. His centre was placed on rising ground between the woods, with intrenchments thrown up in front of the camp. The Allies had about eighty thousand men; the French ten thousand less. Marlborough was encamped in the plain, fronting the opening between the woods. His determination to attack the enemy in so commanding a position has been considered rash; but he had only the alternative of a battle or the abandonment of the siege of Mons. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th of September that attack was made. The right of the French was covered by a morass; but this obstacle was

rapidly overcome by Marlborough's left wing; and that portion of the enemy was driven back. Villars was himself commanding the left wing of the French, and was to a great extent successful, when he was wounded; and according to the French accounts, that accident was the main cause of the



Tournay.

retreat from their position. The French were dislodged from their wooded height after a most sanguinary struggle of four hours, when the conflict was renewed in the plain. At three o'clock they retreated; and the Allies encamped on the field of battle, amidst thirty thousand of their fellow-men dead or wounded. When the British Parliament met two months afterwards, the queen was congratulated "upon the continued successes of the last campaign, particularly the victory obtained near Mons."

In the year 1709, no great comet burns

> "In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
> Shakes pestilence and war;"

but never was war amongst civilized nations more general or more destructive. There is desperate fighting in the Netherlands; a smouldering flame of battle in Spain and Portugal; and a Northern war as terrible and more decisive than the war of the Succession. It is the year of the fatal death-struggle of Pultowa, when the old dominion of Sweden in the North was struck down by one great blow, and the czar, whose rule over hordes of half

savage tribes was little heeded in the struggle for the Balance of power, first planted his foot upon the Baltic, and bequeathed to the world a new Balance to settle from generation to generation. In April, 1707, Marlborough was propitiating the victorious Charles the Twelfth with the most transparent flattery; but the wily negotiator of the Allies has seen the map of Muscovy on the young Swede's table, and he guesses to what point his ambition is directed. In 1698 Peter of Muscovy was learning the trade of a ship-builder in England. He had gone home to build ships; to discipline barbarians into soldiers; to pant for an outlet from his shut-up wastes into the great highways of the world; and so he went to war with the king of Sweden, a lad of eighteen, from whom he and other northern powers hoped to win possessions which had been wrested from them by the Sweden of Gustavus and Christina. The czar was left to fight single-handed for the provinces which had been lost. In 1700 he was signally defeated by Charles at the battle of Narva; but in 1702 he had won territory in Livonia, and in 1703 had founded St. Petersburg on the banks of the Neva. There were five or six years of

very doubtful warfare, during which time Peter was forming armies and teaching them how to fight. Charles would no longer endure this teazing and obstinate rival. He had dethroned Augustus of Poland; he would march to Moscow, and treat with the czar in his capital. Five months after Marlborough's visit to the camp at Alt Ranstadt, Charles set out with his army for the invasion of Russia. He traversed Poland, and he wintered at Grodno. In June he defeated the Russians upon the Beresina; and in September, he was again victorious at Smolensko. Peter was alarmed, and made proposals of peace. The Swede rejected them; and marched into the Ukraine, to effect a junction with the Cossack chief, Mazeppa. In the Ukraine the Swedish army sustained the severest privations. But the resolution of Charles was unshaken:

> "He comes, nor want nor cold his course delay;—
> Hide blushing glory, hide Pultowa's day." *

In the spring the Swedish army invested the strong town of Pultowa, on the

* Johnson, "Vanity of Human Wishes."

Vorskla. The fortifications protected the military stores of Peter. The place commanded the passes to Moscow. In June the czar advanced to the relief of Pultowa, with an army of about sixty thousand men. Charles had only twenty-four thousand, not half of whom were Swedes. He despised the security of his entrenched lines, and on the 8th of July he marched out to attack the Russian redoubts. He thought that nothing had changed since he had won the battle of Narva with a similar disparity of numbers. The two kings were in the battle; and the troops on both sides fought with desperation. In two hours ten thousand Swedes lay dead or wounded in the field; hundreds perished in the Vorskla and Borysthenes; the Swedish army was annihilated; and Charles having swum over the Borysthenes with a few hundred followers, at length reached the Turkish frontier, and for five years was a troublesome fugitive in the dominions of the sultan.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel—Proceedings in Westminster Hall—Articles of the Impeachment—Passages from the Speeches of the Managers—Popular Manifestations—Sentence upon Sacheverel—Sentence regarded as a triumph of the High Church—Prosecutions of Rioters for High Treason—Trials of Rioters—Progress of Sacheverel—His character.

THE well-known hypothesis that a deaf man, looking for the first time upon a ball-room, and hearing no note of the music which inspired the quadrille or the waltz, would think the company mad, may be paralleled by him who, reading of some mighty national ferment, and vainly endeavouring to trace the latent causes of senatorial declamation and popular fury, concludes that a general lunacy can only account for the frantic gallopade. Nevertheless, there is always the piper to direct this sort of dance—sometimes to lead it to a tragical end, as the Pied-piper of Hamelin piped the town rats into the Weser. Such a piper was Henry Sacheverel, Doctor of Divinity, who, on the 5th of November, 1709, having to preach at St. Paul's before the lord mayor and aldermen of London, laid his magic pipe to his lips, and speedily had half the nation dancing like drunken satyrs to the tune of "The king shall enjoy his own again," and breaking heads and burning conventicles amidst their pious cry of "God save the Church."

The famous impeachment of Doctor Sacheverel, which for a time absorbed all other public questions, may be regarded as an inexplicable demonstration of party madness, or a grand assertion of party principle. Lord Campbell tells us, that the Whigs "probably would have continued undisturbed in their offices till their tenure had been confirmed by the accession of the House of Hanover, had it not been for their most preposterous prosecution of the contemptible sermon preached before the lord mayor of London." * In another place, the Chief Justice delivers his judgment that the Whigs "seem to have been deprived of their understanding, and they were given as a prey into the hands of their enemies." † Against this authority may be cited that of one to whom the historian is bound to listen with profound

* Life of Somers, "Chancellors," vol. iv, p. 204.
† Life of Cowper. *Ibid.* p. 317.

respect—Edmund Burke. The greatest of philosophical politicians says, "It rarely happens to a party to have the opportunity of a clear, authentic, recorded declaration of their political tenets upon the subject of a great constitutional event like that of the Revolution. The Whigs had that opportunity, or, to speak more properly, they made it. The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel was undertaken by a Whig ministry and a Whig House of Commons, and carried on before a prevalent and steady majority of Whig peers. It was carried on for the express purpose of stating the true grounds and principles of the Revolution; what the Commons emphatically called their *foundation*. It was carried on for the purpose of condemning the principles on which the Revolution was first opposed, and afterwards calumniated, in order by a juridical sentence of the highest authority to confirm and fix Whig principles, as they had operated both in the resistance to king James, and in the subsequent settlement; and to fix them in the extent and with the limitations with which it was meant they should be understood by posterity." * If this view of the matter be correct, the impeachment of Sacheverel was not the act of a party "deprived of their understanding;" although, looking at it as a mere question of expediency, it might have led to the party being "given as a prey into the hands of their enemies." The temporary removal of a ministry from power is a small question, compared with the question of the principles which were brought into conflict on this occasion. It is the business of the historical inquirer to endeavour to trace what may have a real and abiding interest in this extraordinary proceeding. One great and permanent lesson may be derived from the contemplation of this battle of opinions—a lesson which has been briefly but emphatically proclaimed by him who, "thinking the ecclesiastical history of our country might advantageously be presented to view in verse," has touched on the great controversial points in a truly Christian spirit:—

"High and Low,
Watch-words of Party, on all tongues are rife;
As if a Church, though sprung from Heaven, must owe
To opposites and fierce extremes her life—
Not to the golden mean and quiet flow
Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife." †

About a month after the Session of Parliament had been opened, without any very manifest signs of a party-conflict, Mr. Dolben, the member for Liskeard, son to the late archbishop of York, complained that two sermons preached by Dr. Sacheverel, one at Derby and one at St. Paul's, contained dangerous matter. Printed copies having been laid upon the table of the Commons, the House voted that "the two sermons were malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting on the queen and her government, the late happy Revolution, and the Protestant Succession." The preacher was ordered to attend at the bar the next day; when it was resolved that he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. The puppets are in action; but who is pulling the strings? It is told of Harley, that he, being one of those who spirited Sacheverel to undertake an

* "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."
† Wordsworth, "Ecclesiastical Sketches."

enterprise so suited to his vain and turbulent nature, "having an entertainment one day at his house in Herefordshire, there came in after dinner a packet of expresses from London; which having read, he looked with an air of joy upon his friends, and snapping his fingers, cried out in exultation, 'The game is up! get the horses ready immediately.'"* No lover of "woodcraft" in the Shaksperean age, singing "Hunt's up to the day," could show more eagerness for a run than Harley, one of the most famous professors of state-craft. If Swift is to be believed, the impeachment of Sacheverel "arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on, under the name of Volpone, as my lord Somers, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time, that he had earnestly, and in vain, endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. . . . . Mr. Harley, who came up to town, during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Masham, privately brought to the queen; and in some meetings easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the Church, and against the measures of those in her service."† Here, then, we have the two great rivals face to face to fight the battle for office. Neither Godolphin nor Harley cared very much for the great principles that were called forth in the proceedings against Sacheverel. A keen observer of English politics, Baron von Steinghens, Minister at London from the Elector Palatine, thus describes the factions of the latter years of Anne: "Give them whatever name you will, they will at all times be reducible under two principal heads, namely those who are in office, and those who want to be. In short, it may be asserted that office is the source of the animosities of the most envenomed divisions of this nation."‡ Unquestionably there was a higher class of politicians at this time than the mere office-seekers. But the title of the reigning sovereign was so peculiar, and the principle of the Succession so open to controversy, that the holders of office, and the strugglers for office, had to deal with party-questions of more than ordinary vitality; and hence "the most envenomed divisions of this nation" were represented in their strongest force by the great men in place and the great men out of place. The controlling power of public opinion over public men was as yet imperfectly formed. The multitude might be stirred to fury by party-leaders; but political knowledge was too little diffused to give the people, properly so called, any effectual influence over those who claimed to be the guardians of the national interests. People and Mob were synonymous terms with the oligarchs of the eighteenth century.

The preliminary debates, meetings of Committees, preparations of Articles of Impeachment, answers of the accused, messages between the two Houses, and other formal proceedings, occupied ten weeks, before the day of trial came. The metropolis and the country were now in a ferment. On the 27th of February, Westminster Hall was filled with as gorgeous an assembly as when Strafford stood at the bar. The Queen was there in a private box.

* Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. i. p. 68.
† "Memoirs relating to the change in queen Anne's Ministry."
‡ Kemble, "State Papers," p. 509.

The Peers were seated in the centre of the Hall. The Commons were ranged on one side. A galaxy of ladies filled the other side. The commonalty, described as "the populace," were also accommodated with seats in galleries. The crowd without the doors was unusually large and noisy. The Articles of Impeachment, Doctor Sacheverel's Answer, and the Replication of the House of Commons, being then read, Mr. Lechmere opened the charges of the Managers. The Sermon on the 5th of November was next read. It was described by Harley as "a circumgyration of incoherent words without any regular order." * Of real eloquence the pulpit demagogue had no conception. But he had the power of stringing sentences together which appeared to have some logical sequence, but which were meant to stand alone as axioms of a party. The sermon defies analysis. Its separate dogmas were taken as texts by the managers of the impeachment, to refute the principles thus proclaimed as the bases of the Constitution.

The reading of the Doctor's sermon closed the proceedings of the first day. Wearisome must these proceedings have been, especially to "the noble ladies who attended the trial." We are told that these ladies who came "to see or be seen," were troubled by a matter even more serious than their apprehension "that the Church of England would be ruined by the punishment which was to be inflicted upon this one priest." They "were very much afraid lest somewhat in their dress or behaviour there should give occasion to the 'Tatler' or 'Observater' to turn them into ridicule in their papers." † The great masters of humour had found a fit vehicle for their good-natured pictures of social follies. Bickerstaff was in his chair, and fashion, usually so bold, was afraid of his laugh. But Steele and Addison wisely kept their charming little paper clear of the prevailing madness of this time; and we have few traces of the great trial in their lucubrations. Defoe says that Sacheverel stopped all lighter matters of social interest:—"The women lay aside their tea and chocolate, leave off visiting after dinner, and, forming themselves into cabals, turn privy-councillors, and settle the affairs of State . . . . Nay, the 'Tatler,' the immortal 'Tatler,' the great Bickerstaff himself, was fain to leave off talking to the ladies, during the Doctor's trial, and turn his sagacious pen to the dark subject of death and the next world." ‡ This is exaggeration. Steele did talk to the ladies, and very agreeably, after the 27th of February, "although the attention of the town is drawn aside from reading us writers of news." § He laughs to think "how many cold chickens the fair ones have eaten since this day sevennight for the good of their country;" for Westminster Hall, while the court adjourned, had become "a dining-room." ‖ Addison did not "turn his sagacious pen" to Homer's description of a future state, till the trial of Sacheverel was over, and his sermon was burnt by the common hangman.

The managers of the impeachment divided themselves into groups, each group to take charge of one of the four articles into which the charge was divided. The first article set forth that Doctor Sacheverel in his sermon maintained. "That the necessary means to bring about the Revolution were

* Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 285.
† *Ibid.* p. 290.
‡ "Review," quoted in Wilson, vol. iii. p. 125.
§ Tatler, March 4.
‖ *Ibid.* March 6.

unjustifiable; That his late majesty, in his Declaration, disclaimed the least imputation of Resistance: and that to impute resistance to the said Revolution, is to cast black and odious colours upon his late majesty and the said Revolution." * Sacheverel, with a cunning that was evidently prompted by professional statesmen, pretended to vindicate the Revolution—for to hold it altogether odious was to compromise the title under which queen Anne reigned. But, on the other hand, to say it was founded upon Resistance was to shake the doctrine of absolute Non-Resistance, the belief of which he asserted to be the pillar upon which the government of England stands. He therefore pretended that when the prince of Orange disclaimed that he came for conquest, he disclaimed the principle of Resistance. "The managers of the impeachment," says Mr. Hallam, "had not only to prove that there was Resistance in the Revolution, which could not, of course, be sincerely disputed, but to assert the lawfulness, in great emergencies, or what is called in politics necessity, of taking arms against the law—a delicate matter to treat of at any time, and not least so by ministers of state and law officers of the crown, in the very presence, as they knew, of their sovereign." † They asserted that all the opposition to the measures of king William, and during the reign of the queen, had come "from those who had questioned the lawfulness of the Resistance made use of in the Revolution; that the principle of unlimited Non-Resistance had been revived by the professed and undisguised friends of the Pretender." ‡ The great doctrine of constitutional government is then set forth by the same speaker. "To make out the justice of the Revolution, it may be laid down, that as the law is the only measure of the prince's authority, and the people's subjection, so the law derives its being and efficacy from common consent: And to place it on any other foundation than common consent, is to take away the obligation this notion of common consent puts both prince and people under to observe the laws. And upon this solid and rational foundation, the lawyers in all ages have placed that obligation, as appears by all our law-books. But instead of this, of later times, patriarchical and other fantastical schemes have been framed to rest the authority of the law upon; and so questions of divinity have been blended with questions of law; when it is plain, that religion hath nothing to do to extend the authority of the prince, or the submission of the subject, but only to secure the legal authority of the one, and enforce the due submission of the other, from the consideration of higher rewards and heavier punishments."

The principle of Resistance, as justified by the Revolution, was necessarily held to be an exceptional case to the general doctrine of the subject's obedience. Robert Walpole put this as forcibly as any other of his fellow-managers; and we may quote his argument, especially as it lies in a short compass: "Resistance is nowhere enacted to be legal, but subjected, by all the laws now in being, to the greatest penalties; it is what is not, cannot, nor ought ever to be described or affirmed, in any positive law, to be excusable: when, and upon what never-to-be-expected occasions, it may be exercised, no man can foresee, and ought never to be thought of, but when an utter

* "State Trials," vol. xv. col. 33. † "Constitutional History," chap. xvi.
‡ Sir Joseph Jekyll, "State Trials," vol. xv. col. 96.

subversion of the laws of the realm threatens the whole frame of a constitution; and no redress can otherwise be hoped for: it therefore does, and ought for ever to stand, in the eye and letter of the law, as the highest offence. But because any man, or party of men, may not, out of folly or wantonness, commit treason, or make their own discontents, ill principles, or disguised affections to another interest, a pretence to resist the supreme power, will it follow from thence that the utmost necessity ought not to engage a nation in its own defence for the preservation of the whole?"*. Walpole then adds, with the sagacity of a practical statesman dealing with an abstract question: "The doctrine of unlimited, unconditional, Passive Obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had not designs some time or other of making use of it: what then can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, where the law is the only rule and measure of the power of the crown, and of the obedience of the people?"

Major-general Stanhope was even more practical than Walpole, in his application of the question of Sacheverel's impeachment to the High Church doctrines which had so long been the cause of national disgust; and which continued to prevail for half a century, till the common sense of the people had become too strong for their reception: "There is such an affinity, my lords, between this sermon, and the doctrines which are preached and propagated by a certain set of men, that I cannot but observe to your lordships on this occasion, how industrious they have been, ever since the Revolution, to prepare a way for another. They are the pure and undefiled Church of England! The only men of loyal and steady principles! They never took the oaths to the government; never bent their knee to Baal! They have their own archbishops, bishops, and pastors, and constitute the only true and pure Church of England! We are all schismatics, that is, all the rest of England are schismatics, heretics, and rebels! Now, pray, my lords, what are the peculiar and distinguishing characteristics, the favourite and darling tenets of these men? What else but Passive Obedience, Jus Divinum, an hereditary, indefeasible right of succession, which no necessity, no act of parliament, no prescription of time, no natural or legal incapacity, can ever invalidate or set aside? If they are in the right, my lords, what are the consequences? The queen is not queen; your lordships are not a House of Lords, for you are not duly summoned by a legal writ; we are no House of Commons, for the same reason; all the taxes which have been raised for this twenty years have been arbitrary and illegal extortions; all the blood of so many brave men, who have died (as they thought) in the service of their country, has been spilt in defence of an usurpation; and they were only so many rebels and traitors." †

If the egregious Doctor felt that he was on dangerous ground when he was opposing the principle of the Revolution, he had no hesitation when he had to deal with one of the best consequences of the Revolution, the toleration of Dissenters. The second Article of the impeachment imputed to Sacheverel that he maintained that the toleration granted by law was

* "State Trials," vol. xv. col. 115. † *Ibid.* col. 181

unwarrantable, and that he was a false brother, with relation to God, religion, or the Church, who defends toleration or liberty of conscience. This view of Dissent was set forth in a spirit quite worthy of the darkest ages of persecution: "Whoever presumes to innovate, alter, or misrepresent any point in the Articles of the Faith of our Church, ought to be arraigned as a traitor to our State; heterodoxy in the doctrines of the one naturally producing, and almost necessarily inferring, rebellion and high treason on the other; and consequently a crime that concerns the civil magistrate as much, to punish and restrain, as the ecclesiastical." The charitable man denounced bishop Grindall as "a false son of the Church,"—"a perfidious prelate," who had advised queen Elizabeth to tolerate the "Genevian discipline," the professors of which she was afterwards obliged utterly to suppress "by wholesome severities." It is unnecessary to follow out the arguments by which the second Article of the impeachment was supported, or to detail the equivocations of those who had the charge of Sacheverel's defence. The tendency of these extreme High-church principles was sufficiently exhibited in the events which followed the third day of the proceedings in Westminster Hall.

"Sacheverel," says Burnet, "was lodged in the Temple, and came every day, with great solemnity, in a coach to the hall. Great crowds ran about his coach, with many shouts, expressing their concern for him in a very rude and tumultuous manner."* On the third day the manifestation of the populace was more remarkable. "Money was thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down some meeting-houses, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the pews in them. This was directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were seen sending messages to them. The word upon which all shouted was The Church and Sacheverel."† These outrages were made the subject of several trials for high treason, of which we shall have presently to give some account, especially as the law upon which the rioters were indicted has been very justly called in question. These trials have also a more popular interest, as the evidence furnishes a vivid picture of what one of the witnesses terms a "mobbish night."

The third article of impeachment against Sacheverel was, that he had asserted, contrary to a Resolution of Parliament, that the Church was in a condition of great peril and adversity under her majesty's administration. In the fourth article he was charged with keeping up factions, instilling groundless jealousies, and exciting the queen's subjects to arms and violence. It is unnecessary that we should enter upon any details connected with these points. They have ceased to have a permanent interest. Nor is it essential that we should attempt any analysis of the defence of Sacheverel, which was conducted with great ability by sir Simon Harcourt and four other counsel. Burnet has fairly stated their course of argument. "They very truly acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance in extreme cases, and plainly justified the Revolution, and our deliverance by king William. But they said, it was not fit in a sermon to name such an exception; that the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent without supposing an

* "Own Time," vol. v. p. 426. † *Ibid.* p. 430

extraordinary case; and therefore Sacheverel had followed precedents, set by our greatest divines, ever since the Reformation, and ever since the Revolution."* In his reply to sir Simon Harcourt, the concessions made by the counsel for Sacheverel were received by sir Joseph Jekyll as the triumph of free principles: "My lords, the concessions are these, that necessity creates an exception to the general rule of submission to the prince: that such exception is understood or implied in the laws that require such submission: and that the case of the Revolution was a case of necessity. These are concessions so ample, and do so fully answer the drift of the Commons in this Article, and are to the utmost extent of their meaning in it, that I cannot forbear congratulating them upon this success of their Impeachment; that in full parliament this erroneous doctrine of Non-Resistance is given up and disclaimed. And may it not, in after ages, be an addition to the glories of this bright reign, that so many of those who are honoured with being in her majesty's service, have been, at your lordship's bar, thus successfully contending for the national rights of her people, and proving they are not precarious or remediless."

After very animated debates in the House of Lords, sixty-nine peers voted Dr. Sacheverel Guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours charged on him by the impeachment of the House of Commons, and fifty-two found him Not Guilty. His sentence was, that he was enjoined not to preach during the term of three years, and that his two sermons should be burnt by the common hangman. On the 21st of March, Godolphin wrote to Marlborough: "Our sentence against Dr. Sacheverel is at last dwindled to a suspending him for three years from preaching, which question we carried but by six; and the second, which was for incapacitating him during that time to take any dignity or preferment in the Church, was lost by one; the numbers were sixty to fifty-nine. So all this bustle and fatigue ends in no more but a suspension of three years from the pulpit, and burning his sermons at the Royal Exchange."† Not altogether so, my lord treasurer. The Whigs will be driven from power; the queen will bestow her smiles upon those who would rest her title upon hereditary right; the managers of the impeachment have scorned to adopt the falsehood that the birth of the queen's brother was supposititious, and have therefore cut away the popular argument against his claim to the throne. But they have asserted the principles upon which the Act of Settlement rests. When the sober-thinking people of England shall have read in the report of this trial, circulated amongst them in numbers unparalleled, the manly arguments by which the rights of a nation to civil and religious freedom are upheld, they will turn from the exile of St. Germains' who claims to rule upon the doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, and will think it fortunate that another House, with a parliamentary title, may continue the security which they have enjoyed under the Revolution of 1689. We of the present time, when no one disputes the principles which the managers of the impeachment of Sacheverel upheld, have still to cherish their assertion, and to be grateful to their assertors. These principles have an enduring interest for us, beyond their historical importance. They live and reign in our Constitution.

* "Own Time," vol. v. p. 427. † Coxe, vol. v. p. 156.

The great orator and temperate reformer, who has lived to see the full value of these principles, thus maintained them when the best victories of the people had been won—many of them by his own exertions. "The National Resistance was not only, in point of historical fact, the cause of the Revolutionary settlement, it was the main foundation of that settlement; the structure of the government was made to rest upon the people's Right of Resistance as upon its corner-stone; and it is of incalculable importance that this never should be lost sight of. But it is of equal importance that we should ever bear in mind how essential to the preservation of the Constitution, thus established and secured, this principle of Resistance is; how necessary both for the governors and the governed it ever must be to regard the recourse to that extremity as always possible—an extremity, no doubt, and to be cautiously embraced as such, but still a remedy within the people's reach; a protection to which they can and will resort as often as their rulers make such a recourse necessary for self-defence." *

The lenient sentence upon Sacheverel was received by his passionate adherents as a matter of national rejoicing. When the impeachment of the High Church Doctor was resolved upon by the Commons, they also carried a resolution to address the queen "to bestow some dignity in the Church upon Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, rector of St. Peter's Poor, London, for having often justified the principles upon which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution." Her majesty never found the opportunity to comply with the desires of her faithful Commons. The reverend author of "The Measure of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate" was the type of Low Church politics; and as the sermons of Sacheverel were burnt by the hangman at the Royal Exchange, the treatises of Hoadley were burnt by the mob at Exeter and Oxford. Bonfires and bell-ringing were universal. In some towns the health of Sacheverel was drunk with bended knees. At Cirencester, an effigy of king William was carried upon a horse; the rider of straw was jerked off the steed's back, and then committed to the flames. Mr. Burgess, the dissenting preacher, was also burnt with great solemnity by enthusiastic churchmen, who imitated, as much as was in their power, the patriots who had gutted his chapel in Lincoln's-Inn-fields. But to the honour of the English rabble, in town or country, they had no taste for bloodshed, and a very national sense of fun. The Cirencester folk, who appear to have been most conspicuous in the demonstrations, had a cock-match, in which one cock was called Sacheverel, and the other Burgess. Unhappily, as is recorded, "the cock-match issued in their confusion; for, after a long and hard battle, Cock Burgess killed Cock Sacheverel." †

On the 18th of April, there stood three men at the bar of the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey,—Daniel Dammaree, a waterman; Francis Willis, a footman; and George Purchase, a sheriff's officer,—against whom a bill of indictment had been found for high treason, in levying open war against her majesty. They were charged that they, with a great multitude of men, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, with colours flying, swords, clubs, and other weapons, did, on the 1st of March, make war against our lady the

* Lord Brougham, "The British Constitution." 1844, p. 103.
† "Compleat History of the Affair of Dr. Sacheverel," 1713.

queen. The evidence upon the trials of these men shows that they were principals in a riotous destruction, or attempted destruction, of meeting-houses. The Riot Act, by which such offences may be met as felony, without resorting to the law of constructive treason, was not in existence in 1710. It was passed in the first year of George I. Nevertheless, Blackstone holds that an insurrection, with an avowed design to pull down *all* enclosures, *all* brothels, and the like, is a levying of war; "the universality of the design making it a rebellion against the state, a usurpation of the powers of government, and an insolent invasion of the king's authority." * The Attorney-General upon these trials averred that it was a general design to pull down all the meeting-houses. Lord Campbell severely blames these prosecutions for high treason; and very justly says, "no government would now direct such a prosecution to be instituted." In these trials all the judges agreed that the intention of the prisoners to pull down meeting-houses, and their partial destruction of several, was an overt act of levying war. This construction of the law, as we see, is still regarded as authority, and it has been cited in later cases. Lord Campbell, who has the happiness to live in times when law and common sense have more affinity, holds, that in these prosecutions for high treason, "the Whigs showed the infatuation or dementation under which they were labouring." The dementation appears rather to have been in the Whig lawyers than in the Whig statesmen, if we may judge from the marvellous case which they got up, for a jury to try the most solemn issue known to English law. Two of the silly rioters were convicted, and were sentenced to the horrible penalties of high treason. But neither of them was executed; which, says Mr. Hallam, "might probably be owing to an opinion, which every one but a lawyer must have entertained, that their offence did not amount to treason." We are glad thus to premise that Dammaree and Purchase were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned; for, in giving a sketch of these riots as a picture of society presenting some ludicrous aspects, it is well to know that no blood was shed by the fanatic multitude, and that no life was sacrificed to offended justice.

It is Wednesday, the 1st of March, when one captain Edward Orrel, who seems to have been gifted with an almost preternatural curiosity to behold all that is going forward, first gazes upon the queen returning through the Park from Westminster Hall, and is then attracted by a man dispersing bills about a prize-fighting. "I thought," says he, "they had been the common papers that are dispersed about such prizes, but I found it was about a prize between Sacheverel and Hoadley." † At Oliver's Coffee-house he hears that the mob are gone from the Temple to Mr. Burgess's meeting near Lincoln's-Inn-fields. "I will go up," cries the captain, "and see what is doing." There he saw pews pulled down, and a little man in the pulpit very busy in its destruction. In and out Orrel runs to watch how the work goes on; and the destructives take him, very naturally, for a spy. He flits about between Holborn and Lincoln's-Inn-fields; for in both places fires are lighted, and pews and pulpits are burning. In Lincoln's-Inn-fields, the fun

* Vol. iv. p. 78. Kerr's edit.

† We pick out this narrative wholly from the evidence upon the trials of Dammaree, Willis, and Purchase. "State Trials," vol. xv. col. 550 to col. 702.

is fast and furious. Dammaree is there—the waterman, "in the queen's livery, and with his badge." The soldier immortalised by Goldsmith, who exclaims with a fervour of blasphemy, that our religion would be utterly undone if the French should come over, is but a feeble copy of the queen's pious waterman. The mob are in council. The cheers of Dammaree are heard above every other voice. "I'll lead you on, boys; huzza! High Church and Sacheverel! G—— damn them all; we will have them all down." He pulls off his wig, and shouts, and superintends the burning of a bedstead, and is "mightily rejoiced." It would have been more than cruel to have hanged Dammaree; for he had capital witnesses in his defence, especially two young ladies, who had been at the fire in Lincoln's-Inn-fields. The fire was burnt to a coal when they were going home, and meeting with Dammaree, one of them exclaimed, "Lord bless me! here is one of the queen's watermen." "What have you to say to the queen's waterman?" quoth he. "Nothing, but God bless the queen, and her waterman too." "You are a jolly girl, and I will kiss you," cries honest Dammaree. Queen Anne must certainly have read this evidence, when she very quickly promoted her orthodox servant to be the master of her own barge, after he had escaped the peril of the hurdle to Tyburn.

If drunken Dammaree were not the exact type of a leader who "falsely, unlawfully, devilishly, and traitorously, did compass, imagine, and intend open war, insurrection and rebellion," what shall we say to Francis Willis, the doughty footman, levying war? He lives with a lady in Greville-street, who has a laudable curiosity to know how the bonfires are going on in Holborn and Hatton-garden; and she sends her man Frank to learn all about it. Frank stays out till midnight; and, if the witnesses are to be believed, makes good use of his time. He is the only traitor against whom the terms of the indictment apply, that the rebels were "armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with colours flying." Willis is the one standard-bearer. The Attorney-General asks a witness whether any colours were carried before the assembly of five or six hundred people? "Yes, there was a curtain, and he that carried it cried, High Church standard! He stopped many coaches, and got money from them, and made them cry, High Church. He brought the curtain from Mr. Bradbury's meeting, in Fetter-lane." The transformation of this rag of Dissent into the banner of Orthodoxy was a feat of military genius that can scarcely be equalled. It was intuitive in simple Frank, who told his mistress, in excuse for his staying out so long, that "he never saw a mob in London before." The bold footman escaped, for the witnesses were puzzled between one captain of the bonfire-makers in green livery and red buttons, and another captain in blue livery and black buttons.

George Purchase had been a soldier, and had seen service abroad, in the third troop of guards. He is now a sheriff's officer, and he begins his professional day on the first of March, by taking a man at nine o'clock in the morning. But Dr. Sacheverel stops all regular occupation; and so, when the bailiff has dined with a follower in Chancery-lane, they say, "Here is a sad noise and rout; no business is to be done; let us sit and smoke a pipe." After two hours of repose, Purchase adjourns to a brandy-shop in Long Acre; the drawer of which place of resort accounts for the deeds of the ex-guardsman, up to a late hour of the night: "My master gave him a business

to dun a gentleman; and then they went to the Horse-shoe tavern, and staid there till eight; then he came back again, and drank with us, and was very drunk." He is sent for, late as the hour is, to assist a brother-officer to execute a writ; but he is too fuddled "to go about business." The mob is up in Drury-lane, and the two friends go forth. The discreet brother-bailiff gets into a chair to go home; for, as he tells the court, "I am not a man that engage myself in mobs, for those of my employment generally suffer in mobs." Purchase has no fear of anything. He has lived with those who "swore terribly in Flanders." The guards have arrived about half-past eleven, at the arch in Lincoln's-Inn-fields. The mob are pulling down a meeting-house in Drury-lane, and the captain of the guards gives orders to his men to disperse them. The bold bailiff is, "with his sword drawn, hallooing and flourishing his sword in the middle of the street, just by the kennel in Drury-lane, and fronting the guards." Captain Orrel is the ubiquitous witness: "Says I to him, do you know what you do in opposing the guards? You oppose the queen's person. Says he, G—— damn you, are you against Sacheverel? I am for High Church. I will be for High Church and Sacheverel. I will lose my life in the cause." Drunken Purchase then strikes at an officer with his sword, but his sword is beaten down, and he hides behind a bulk. That forbearance which has on most occasions of riot marked the behaviour of the British soldier to his fellow-citizens, was conspicuous on this occasion. The officer that was struck at merely said, "You are mad—you are distracted; go home to your lodgings." The jury found a special verdict that George Purchase, at the bonfire made by the mob in Drury-lane, of the seats and pulpit of the meeting-house, "came there, and with his sword drawn did then defend the said people, and did greatly encourage them to burn the materials of the said house." They also find him guilty as to his assault upon the captain of the guards. But they return no general verdict of guilty of high treason, leaving that to the determination of the Judges. They add "that the general cry of the people aforesaid, whilst they rifled the meeting-houses and burnt the materials of the same, was, universally, High Church and Sacheverel."

This, then, was the expression of that public opinion, which Swift says convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people in favour of the Church, and against the measures of those in her service. Vast exertions were made throughout the country to get up Addresses to the queen, "in which the absolute power of our princes was asserted, and all resistance was condemned, under the designation of anti-monarchical and republican principles." * Defoe, in his "Review," asks a question, somewhat difficult of answer: "Would any man that had seen the temper of this people, in the time of the late king James, believe it possible, without a judicial infatuation, that the same people should re-assume their blindness, and rise up again for bondage?" The Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, with the expression of this sentiment by the queen: "I could heartily wish that men would study to be quiet, and do their own business, rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature, and which must be with an ill-intention, since they can only tend to foment, but

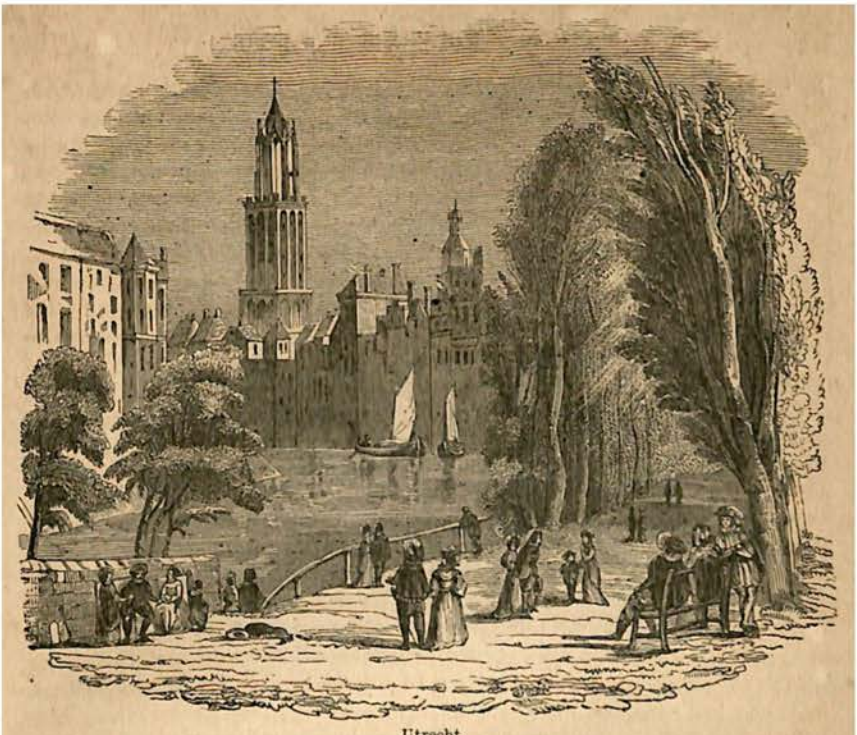
* Burnet, vol. v. p. 436.

not to heal, our divisions and animosities." The symptoms of a great change were manifest, whatever was the official tone of the royal speech. Doctor Sacheverel, early in the summer, went upon what is called his progress. This puppet of faction had been rewarded by a presentation of a living in Wales, and his progress was ostensibly to take possession of his benefice. According to one set of authorities, "nobility, gentry, clergy, and people vied in their demonstrations of joy and exultation; cavalcades escorted him from town to town, and from village to village; the roads were lined, the hedges covered, with spectators; steeples were illuminated, and sumptuous feasts prepared in every quarter for the triumphant guest." * There is another mode of viewing the same circumstances: "Wherever he went, his emissaries were sent before with his pictures; pompous entertainments were made for him, and a mixed multitude of country singers, fiddlers, priests and sextons, and a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded together to meet and congratulate him; among whom, drunkenness, darkness, and a furious zeal for religion, extinguished all regard to modesty." † So, even in the medals issued in commemoration of the great trial, there were two sets of opinion to be propitiated. The medal for the Tories had the head of The Doctor, with the inscription "H. Sach., D.D.," with the Reverse a Mitre, and the legend "Is firm to thee." The medal for the Whigs had the same head of Sacheverel, with the same legend on the Reverse, accompanying the head of the Pope.

The duchess of Marlborough has left a characteristic description of Sacheverel, with which we may dismiss the man to the oblivion, as far as his own merits are concerned, which, sooner or later, is the fate of every charlatan: "He had a haughty insolent air, which his friends found occasion often to complain of; but it made his presence more graceful in public. His person was framed well for the purpose, and he dressed well. A good assurance, clean gloves, a white handkerchief well-managed, with other suitable accomplishments, moved the hearts of many at his appearance; and the solemnity of a trial added much to a pity and concern, which had nothing in reason or justice to support them. The weaker part of the ladies were more like mad or bewitched than like persons in their senses. . . . . Everybody knows that he was afterwards sent about several counties; where, with his usual grace, he received, as his due, the homage and adoration of

* Coxe, vol. v. p. 345. † Cunningham, "History," vol. ii. p. 306.

multitudes; never thinking that respect enough was paid to his great merit, using some of his friends insolently, and raising mobs against his enemies, and giving ample proof of how great meanness the bulk of mankind is capable, putting on the air of a saint upon a lewd, drunken, pampered man; dispersing his blessings to all his worshippers, and his kisses to some; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in; drinking their best wines, eating of their best provisions without reserve, and without temperance. And, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph, as the old fat monk did over a hot venison pasty, in his barbarous Latin, 'Heu, quanta patimus pro ecclesiâ!' Oh what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the church!"



Utrecht.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Conferences at Gertruydenberg—Negotiations for peace broken off—Despotism and Limited Monarchy—The Whigs dismissed from office—New Parliament—Duchess of Marlborough dismissed from her offices—Disasters in Spain—Surrender of General Stanhope—Hostility to Marlborough—Party use of the Press—Swift, the great party writer—Property qualification for members of Parliament—Harley stabbed by Guiscard—Marlborough's last campaign—Parliament—Prospect of Peace—The ministry defeated in the House of Lords—Marlborough dismissed from all his offices—New peers created—Negotiations at Utrecht—Note to Chapter xxiv—Table of Treaties.

THE negotiations for peace which were broken off in 1709 were renewed in 1710. Conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg. Each of the Allied powers was endeavouring to gain some peculiar advantage; but all eventually concurred in pressing upon Louis the one humiliating condition which he had rejected in the previous year—namely, that he should assist in dethroning his grandson. Lord Chancellor Cowper seems to have stood alone amongst the British ministry in having no confidence of a peace, and to have offended his colleagues in doubting whether "France was reduced so low as to accept such conditions." * Marlborough was the representative of England at these conferences; and he took the course which the selfish man ordinarily thinks

* Diary, in Hardwicke Papers.

the safest and most profitable. He was "white paper," he said, upon which the cabinet might write their instructions, but he would not have the responsibility of giving advice. The negotiations were broken off; and the great general has the invariable resource of another season of battles and sieges: "I hope God will be pleased to bless this campaign," he writes to the duchess, "for I see nothing else that can give us peace, either at home or abroad." * He believed that another Oudenarde or another Malplaquet would have quieted the popular ferment about Sacheverel, and have disposed the queen to have confidence in her Whig advisers. "Yet," he says, "I have never, during this war, gone into the war with so heavy a heart as I do at this time. . . . The present humours in England give me a good deal of trouble." Louis le Grand was also troubled at this precise juncture; but his trouble had no relation to the bellowings of the hydra-headed monster. Saint Simon tells us that the exhaustion of the realm, and the impossibility of obtaining peace, had caused the king severe anguish. He really doubted whether it was right to consummate all the schemes of taxation proposed by his ministers, by taking at once the tenth of every man's substance. He was at last relieved of his scruples, when he had unbosomed himself to the Père Tellier. The considerate ecclesiastic required a few days to reflect upon the reasonableness of the king's hesitation; but finally restored his majesty to his wonted tranquillity by informing him, that, having consulted the ablest doctors of the Sorbonne, they had decided that all the wealth of the nation was the king's, and that when the king took it from his subjects he only took what belonged to himself.

The ways of despotism have a fascinating simplicity for some minds, even in our own day. Here is the magnificent Louis, the Jupiter of Versailles, approaching mere mortals in having a slight qualm of conscience, but is quickly the godhead again, when he knows that all of France is his. The edict for the tax was issued; the thought of peace was again postponed; the armies of France again took the field with new strength. The workings of the machine of a limited monarchy are far more complicated and unintelligible than the caprices of absolute power. Marshal Villars, at the end of May, came with a great army to the relief of Douay, which was invested by the Allies under Marlborough and Eugene. The general of the absolute king, and the general of the limited monarchy, are face to face. Villars is commanded to do a certain work,—and he has but one course to take—he has one master to serve. Marlborough has the terror of parliamentary critics, and of unscrupulous office-seekers, to make him groan under his responsibilities. On the 26th of May he writes to Godolphin, "I am this day threescore; but I thank God I find myself in so good health that I hope to end this campaign without being sensible of the inconveniences of old age." † On the 12th he writes again to the Treasurer, "I can't say that I have the same sanguine prophetic spirit I did use to have; for in all the former actions I did never doubt of success, we having had constantly the great blessing of being of one mind. I cannot say it is so now; for I fear some are run so far into villainous faction, that it would give them more content to see us beaten." ‡ Douay was surrendered to the Allies. But Marlborough now

* Coxe, vol. v. p. 179. † *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 195. ‡ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 197.

has no pleasure in success. "I must drudge," he writes to the duchess, "for four or five months longer, and venture my life for those who do not deserve it from me." The allusion is evidently to the queen. Mrs. Morley had entirely given up Mrs. Freeman. Their sweet eternal friendship has become the bitterest hate. They parted, with these last words from the haughty duchess to her sovereign. "I am confident you will suffer in this world or the next for so much inhumanity." Whilst Marlborough was before Douay this pleasant information reached him. The next blow was the news that his son-in-law, lord Sunderland, had been dismissed from his office of Secretary of State, the seals being given to lord Dartmouth. The most influential of the Whigs, still retaining office, wrote an earnest letter to Marlborough, in which they urged him not to let his private mortification interfere with his public duty: "We conjure you by the glory you have already obtained, by the many services you have done your queen and country, by the expectation you have justly raised in all Europe, and by all that is dear and tender to you at home, whose chief dependence is upon your success, that you would not leave this great work unfinished, but continue at the head of the army." Cowper, Godolphin, Somers, Newcastle, Devonshire, Orford, Halifax, and Boyle, who signed this letter, had probably no very strong apprehension that their own fall was so near at hand. The ascendancy of Mrs. Masham, and the manœuvres of Harley, were triumphant. Godolphin was first dismissed, and his office was put in commission. Harley was then made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The queen announced to the Council that it was her pleasure there should be a dissolution of Parliament. The Whigs were all thrust from power. There ensued four years of party contests, and of strange measures growing out of them, which must have been perplexing enough to all the honest, industrious, and quiet portion of the community; but which, to those who attempt to trace the secret springs of these political agitations, offer cause for thankfulness as well as wonder that we escaped without a convulsion into comparative safety and tranquillity. Swift says that queen Anne "did appear, upon all occasions, as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity as might justly become a great prince to be;" and that he proposed to accept the offer of historiographer "to write her majesty's reign," and especially desired to be furnished with materials for writing an account of "that great transaction," the change in the ministry. He thought that, in the next reign, incorrect views would be taken of the queen's proceedings: "For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had, in all appearance, so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure toward the wife and daughters, as well as the relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed and so highly trusted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bedchamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?"*

* "Change in Queen Anne's Ministry."

What, indeed, could be easier than to assume all this from the patent facts! What, indeed, could be more difficult than to overturn these assumptions by the subsequent disclosures of a century and a half! The revelations of what is called secret history are not such as materially to change these views. We doubt whether our readers will care to follow the political schemers into all their holes and corners. "The private intrigues of the woman of the bed-chamber" have little interest for us now beyond the fact that we have arrived at that happier condition when public opinion has a direct influence upon courts and cabinets, and when the days of back-stairs councils are at an end.

The campaign of Marlborough in 1710 had no effect upon the state of affairs at home. There was no brilliant success to justify the war policy of the Whigs. The Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of September. "The practice and violence used in elections," says Burnet, "went far beyond anything I had ever known in England." He attributes the Tory preponderance to the efforts of the clergy: "Besides a course, for some months, of inflaming sermons, they went about from house to house, pressing their people to show, on this great occasion, their zeal for the Church, and now or never to save it." * Extraordinary efforts were made to prevent the election of the managers of the Sacheverel impeachment; but Jekyll, King, Lechmere, and Walpole, were returned. In 1734, Walpole, in his speech upon the Septennial Bill, looks back upon this time of agitation with painful recollections: "That there are ferments often raised among the people without any just cause is what I am surprised to hear controverted, since very late experience may convince us of the contrary. Do not we know what a ferment was raised in the nation toward the latter end of the late queen's reign? And it is well known what a fatal change in the affairs of this nation was introduced, or at least confirmed, by an election coming on while the nation was in this ferment." † The new Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. There was as great a change in the language which the queen addressed to the "Lords and Gentlemen" as in the composition of the House of Commons. The usual topic of congratulation for the conduct of the war in Flanders was no more to be adverted to, although the campaign had been successful in holding France in check, in spite of the vast efforts that had been made to recover her lost ground. The queen announced her determination "to support and encourage the Church of England as by law established;" but the Dissenters had to hear the revival of the term which was so offensive to them—the term which implied that all they held of spiritual freedom was conceded as a favour, and not as a right: "I am resolved to maintain the Indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences." Her majesty had adopted the language of Sacheverel in substituting "Indulgence" for "Toleration." Marlborough returned to London in December. The queen took care to inform him that it was no accidental omission that no vote had been proposed in either House for his services in the campaign. Whilst expressing her desire that the duke should continue to serve her, she also said, "I must request you would not suffer any vote of thanks to you to be moved in Parliament this year, because my ministers will certainly oppose it." Harley, and especially St. John, had made up their

* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 14. † Coxe's "Walpole," vol. i. p. 425.

minds to humiliate him whom they called "the great man." He had to endure indignities from those he had been accustomed to command. St. John writes a private letter to his friend Drummond, in which he exults at the duke's abasement. The queen, he says, and her advisers, wished that Marlborough should command the army, and that he should have everything which as a general he could expect; but "he has been told that he must draw a line between all that is passed, and all that is to come, and that he must begin entirely upon a new foot; that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was possible to answer. . . . . What is the effect of all this plain dealing? He submits, he yields, he promises to comply." * Swift says of Marlborough, "We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be general for life. I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites by continuing the war; and he had *then* no intentions of settling the crown in his family." Marlborough was at the summit of royal favour, and of popular applause, when he asked to be general for life, and was very properly refused. Could Swift be serious in thus covertly imputing to the duke that he was aiming at the crown at any time, and especially at the time of his declining popularity? And yet St. John insinuates the same thing, in another letter to Drummond, who was in Holland: "I dare say he is convinced by this time that he cannot lead either his mistress or any one else as he used to do. We shall send him over a subject. Take care you do not put royalty into his head." This notion continued to be a real, or an affected, belief of St. John, when, in 1713, upon the performance of Addison's Cato, "he called Booth to his box, and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator;" † or, as the story is told by Spence, "for so well representing the character of a person who rather chose to die than see a general for life." ‡

There is something still more bitter for the great conqueror to endure than the loss of political influence. "He was told," says St. John, "that his true interest consisted of getting rid of his wife, who was grown to be irreconcileable with the queen, as soon as he could, and with the best grace which he could." In the royal closet, on the 17th of January, there is a scene which tells us of something more pitiable even than the "last scene of all," when

"From Marlborough's eyes the tears of dotage flow."

He presented to the queen a humble letter from the duchess, expressing her apprehension that her lord could not live six months, if some end was not put to his sufferings on her account. "I really am very sorry that I ever did anything that was uneasy to your majesty." The duke then implored her majesty not to renounce the duchess; not to discharge her from the great office she held. "I cannot change my resolution," said the queen. Again he entreated. "Let the *key* be sent me within three days." The victor of Blenheim is now on his knees, imploring for a respite of *ten* days. Monmouth praying for his life to James was not more earnest and more abased. "Send me the key in *two* days," cried the inexorable queen. The

* Astle Papers in Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 36.

† Johnson's "Lives," Cunningham's edit. vol. ii. p. 137. ‡ "Anecdotes," p. 35.

duchess had more spirit than her lord, and the key was sent the next day. "When the duke told her the queen expected the gold key, she took it from her side, and threw it into the middle of the room, and bid him take it up, and carry it to whom he pleased."* Her office of lady of the wardrobe was bestowed upon the duchess of Somerset; that of keeper of the privy purse upon Mrs. Masham. The haughty Sarah was turned out of her apartments in the palace. We almost blush to record the mode in which the duchess is revenged upon the queen. "She ordered the locks, placed on the doors at her expense, to be taken off, and the marble chimney-pieces to be removed."† The counter-revenge of the royal mistress winds up this story of the degradation of greatness: "The queen is so angry, that she says she will build no house for the duke of Marlborough, when the duchess has pulled hers to pieces, taken away the very slabs out of the chimneys, thrown away the keys, and said they might buy more for ten shillings."‡ The "house for the duke of Marlborough" was to be the reward of his services to the nation.

At the beginning of the new year, 1711, the queen sent a Message to Parliament, stating that "her majesty having received notice that there has been an action in Spain, very much to the disadvantage of king Charles's affairs, which having fallen particularly on the British forces, the queen immediately gave directions for sending and procuring troops to repair this loss." Never was a victory more opportune to a government than was this defeat to the ministry of Harley and Bolingbroke. The defeated commander of the British forces was General Stanhope who, having signalised himself by his eloquence in the impeachment of Sacheverel, had returned to his command in Catalonia, with large re-inforcements, and an ample supply of money. He induced Charles once more to put himself at the head of an army, and to meet his rival Philip in the field. Charles and his general, Staremberg, appear to have been very unwilling to fight; and it required all Stanhope's determination to induce them to hazard an attack. The battle of Almenara, on the 27th of July, was a victory for the Allied forces; and it was followed up by other successes. On the 20th of August another battle was fought under the walls of Saragossa. The Allies were here signally victorious, and the often repeated wish of Stanhope was realized, that there might come "a day to retrieve Almanza."§ Charles made good use of the victory, by announcing to the Saragossans the restoration of the peculiar rights of the people of Aragon,—a measure which had upheld his cause in Catalonia, under every disaster. Philip, after his defeat, had returned to Madrid, to which capital he was ever welcome, whether a conqueror or a fugitive. But he again quitted his faithful city, for Stanhope had induced Charles to march again into Castille. The vanguard of the Allies entered Madrid on the 21st of September; and when Charles made his public entry shortly after, he found the streets empty, and the houses shut up. He immediately left in deep indignation, exclaiming, "This city is a desert." Stanhope wrote home, "The country is our enemy; and we are masters in Castille of no more ground than we encamp on." The Allies lingered at Madrid till the

* Dartmouth's note on Burnet, vol. vi. p. 30. † Coxe, vol. v. p. 417.
‡ Coxe, vol. v. p. 419. Letter detailing a conversation with Harley.
§ Mahon, "War of Succession," p. 312.

beginning of November, waiting for re-inforcements from Portugal, which never came. Meanwhile the duke of Vendôme had arrived to take the command of the army of king Philip. The Castilians were enthusiastic in furnishing the means of organizing a powerful force; and he soon marched to the Tagus to prevent the possible junction of the Portuguese with the other portions of the Allied army. Charles now determined to return himself to Catalonia, with an escort of two thousand horse. The Allies, thus weakened in an important arm—their commanders differing in opinion—at last began to retreat to Aragon, at the beginning of December. The country was so destitute of supplies, chiefly through the hostility of the people, that the army was divided into three separate bodies, English, Germans, Spaniards and Portuguese, each taking different lines of march. On the day when the Allies were thus compelled to abandon that concentration which was their safety, Philip and Vendôme entered Madrid in triumph. But the energetic Frenchman lost no time in festivities and ceremonials. He, with the king, joined the Spanish army, which had been returning along the Tagus by forced marches; and crossing the bridge at Guadalaxara with his infantry, and swimming the river with his cavalry, came up with the British portion of the Allies. Stanhope was posted at Brihuega, a small town on the river Taguna. The English general had been watching the movements of some partizan cavalry on the hills; and was confiding in his belief that the Spanish infantry was not within some days' march of him. As he afterwards learnt, the army decamped from Talavera on the 1st of December; and they reached Brihuega on the 8th, a distance of "forty-five long leagues," and such was the disposition of the population that the Allies had not the slightest intimation of the approach of the thousands of cavalry and infantry that Stanhope had now to fight single-handed. He did his best. He threw up barricades and entrenchments in the town, and made the old Moorish wall which surrounded it a formidable defence. Through the next day the British fought with desperation against forces of four times their number. At seven in the evening their ammunition was nearly exhausted; and Stanhope then asked and obtained honourable terms of capitulation. Speaking in the highest terms of his brave men, he wrote to the Secretary of State, "Whatever other things I may have failed in through ignorance, I am truly conscious to myself that, in the condition we were reduced to, I could not do a better service to the queen, than endeavour to preserve them by the only way that was left." * General Stanhope, his officers, and his men, remained prisoners in Spain till a little time before the peace of Utrecht. The next day, the 10th of December, a great battle was fought at Villa Viciosa by Vendôme with the other portions of the Allied army under Staremberg. The fortunes of the combatants were long doubtful; the losses of each were very great. But Staremberg had no resource but a retreat, which he commenced towards Aragon, the next day, before sun-rise. He was harassed and followed by partizan cavalry; sustained severe losses; was unable to defend Saragossa, where Philip established his court; and finally reached Barcelona, with forces dwindled to half their number before the battle of the 10th. The cause of king Charles in Spain was henceforth hopeless.

* Mahon, p. 337.

The news of the disasters in Spain was received by the triumphant party in Parliament in the way that the baseness of faction, whether Tory or Whig, has too often applied itself, not to the redress of a national calamity, but to derive advantages of party out of the calamity. The Lords, now having a majority of the partizans of the ministry, told the queen, in answer to her Message, "as this misfortune may have been occasioned by some previous mismanagement, we take the liberty to assure your majesty we will use our utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future." They entered into an examination of the whole history of the war, going not only back to the battle of Almanza, but to the time of the early exploits of Peterborough. Lord Galway and lord Tyrawley were placed at the bar to give an account of affairs long since passed. Marlborough said, "It was somewhat strange that generals who had acted to the best of their understandings, and had lost their limbs in the service, should be examined like offenders, about insignificant things." The Lords carried a vote that "the late ministers were justly to be blamed, for contributing to all our disasters in Spain;" and the thanks of the House were given to the earl of Peterborough, for his great and eminent services. The party object of the just commendation of Peterborough was sufficiently marked by the terms in which the Lord Chancellor, Harcourt, delivered the thanks of the House: "Such is your lordship's known generosity and truly noble temper, that I assure myself the present I am now offering to your lordship, is the more acceptable, as it comes pure and unmixed, and is unattended with any other reward, which your lordship might justly think might be an alloy to it." Swift's famous "Examiner" of the previous 23rd of November was to be echoed from the woolsack, to give a new sting to the sarcasms of the coffee-houses. There was a general by whom "pure and unmixed" praise, without "any other reward," would have been counted as dust in the balance. The bitter satirist of the "Examiner" says, "the common clamour of tongues and pens for some months past has run against the baseness, the inconstancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the duke of Marlborough;" and he then states an account, "to convince the world that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans; and in order to adjust the matter with all fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much more generous of the two." Here is the account; and we may easily believe the effect it would produce amongst grumbling Englishmen:—

A Bill of Roman Gratitude.

Imprimis.	£	s.	d.
For frankincense, and earthen pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A bull for sacrifice	8	0	0
An embroidered garment	50	0	0
A crown of laurel	0	0	2
A statue	100	0	0
A trophy	80	0	0
A thousand copper medals, value half-pence a-piece	2	1	8
A triumphal arch	500	0	0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach	100	0	0
Casual charges at the triumph	150	0	0
	£994	11	10

A Bill of British Ingratitude.

Imprimis—	£
Woodstock	40,000
Blenheim	200,000
Post-office grant	100,000
Mildenheim	30,000
Pictures, jewels, &c.	60,000
Pall-mall grant, &c.	10,000
Employments	100,000
	£540,000

The ministers of state, who, from the time when the influence of opinion was thought of importance to the one object of gaining or holding power, have directly associated themselves with public writers, have generally made mistakes in the choice of their literary allies. The authors of real knowledge and ability have been too proud to become the tools of a government, when the association has been considered to be that of the superior with the inferior. The hacks only would take the great man's pay; and, doing his work as hirelings, would earn for themselves and their employers a fitting measure of general contempt. Not so was the connection of Harley and St. John with the great apostate, the Reverend Jonathan Swift—of all party writers that ever really influenced public opinion, the most unscrupulous, the most unjust, the most uncharitable; but incomparably the most able. He is not the mere rhetorician who desires to manifest his own cleverness. Apparently he is the simplest of advocates; speaking nothing but his own earnest convictions, and employing no weapon but the severest logic. He has no tricks of fence to exhibit the skill that can disarm an adversary when he pleases. He does disarm him at once; beats him down; strikes the poisoned dagger into his heart, without the slightest compunction. Against such a combatant, the genial frankness of Steele, the amiable decorum of Addison, had no chance. The Tories secured the vicar of Laracor, when he came up to London, at the beginning of September, 1710, deputed by the Irish primate and clergy to obtain a remission of the first fruits of livings, as in the case of the English Church. He cherished bitter resentment against the Whigs for not having given him any valuable preferment. "The Whigs were ravished to see me, and would lay hold of me as a twig while they are drowning, and the great men making me their clumsy apologies." * He has not yet quite separated himself from his old friends. He dines in company with Addison and Steele. He writes a paper for the "Tatler." He is entertained by Halifax, but refuses to drink a toast proposed by him, "the resurrection of the Whigs," unless he would add "their reformation." On the 7th of October he dines with Harley, drinking good wine for two hours, and for two hours they were alone; and the great minister charged the great satirist to come to him often, for his levee was not a place for friends to come to. Still he keeps up his old intimacy with Steele and Addison, for a week or two; but at length he finds party had so possessed Mr. Addison, "that he talked as if he suspected me." Swift professed a desire to use his

* Journal to Stella, Sept. 9.

new Tory intimacies to retain Steele in one of his employments, he having been turned out of his place of Gazetteer for writing a "Tatler" against Mr. Harley some months ago. Mr. Harley does not approve of satire when it is directed against himself. We turn to the "Tatler," No. 191, which lost Steele his place when the Tories came in, and we find it a very mild satire indeed, describing "a cunning man" under the name of Polypragmon, who "fears the imputation of want of understanding much more than the abuse of it;" having "the monstrous affectation of being thought artful." The description of Polypragmon is evidently copied from the life, and most persons probably knew the portraiture: "It is certain Polypragmon does all the ill he possibly can, but pretends to much more than he performs. He is contented in his own thoughts, and hugs himself in his closet, that though he is locked up there and doing nothing, the world does not know but that he is doing mischief. To favour this suspicion, he gives half-looks and shrugs in his general behaviour, to give you to understand that you don't know what he means. He is also wonderfully adverbial in his expressions, and breaks off with a perhaps and a nod of the head upon matters of the most indifferent nature." A wise man would have laughed at the satire, and not have taken a miserable revenge. Swift was not one who would be content to wound in this delicate way. Nor would he be won over by small bribes. The Treasurer and the Secretary have found out his weak side: "It is hard to see these great men use me like one who was their betters, and the puppies with you in Ireland hardly regarding me." * Harley, a man of second-rate capacity; St. John, a man of high talent, but one who possessed his faculties chiefly as the instruments of his ambition; made Swift their tool by deference to his intellectual greatness. The pride of intellect is a higher thing than the pride of birth, far higher than the pride of wealth; but it is a pride that, ill-regulated, degenerates into tyranny and uncharitableness. It did not prevent Swift from going all lengths in doing what was really dirty work, that any of the pamphleteers at whom he sneers as Grub-street would have done for a lower price than he set on his services. A bishopric in prospect was a grander thing than an immediate fee of secret-service money. To be so paid was degrading. Another sort of price was a just reward of merit. Harley, in spite of his blandishments and his dinners, mortally offended Swift by offering him fifty pounds; and then Swift said, "If we let these great ministers pretend too much, there will be no governing them." † Swift had sold himself in spite of his pride. In a few weeks after his first coquetting with "these great ministers," the "Examiner," the literary organ of St. John and Harley, is handed over to his conduct; and one of the first uses of his new weapon is the savage attack upon Marlborough. Of real principle in his junction with the Tory ministers there was as little as there was any real love for religion in their exuberant zeal for the Church.

The Session of 1711 was remarkable for the passing of a Statute which, having continued as law for a hundred and fifty-seven years, was swept away by a brief Act of repeal in 1858. The Tory ministry desired to propitiate what was called the Country Party, by bringing in a Bill by which every

* "Journal," November 11. † *Ibid.* February 7, 1711.

knight of the shire was to have the property qualification of a real estate of six hundred a year, and every member for a borough a similar qualification of half the value. The wealth and influence of that large portion of the community employed in liberal professions and in commerce were rapidly increasing. The land-owners and agriculturists had not yet discovered that capital applied to improvements in cultivation might yield as large a profit as capital applied to the extension of trade. The landed interest would not bestir itself for its own advantage; and it opened its half-shut eyes to gaze with envy and dislike upon the mercantile interest that was up and doing. Burnet says of the Qualification Bill, "Our gentry was become so ignorant and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the interest of trade, which indeed supports that of the land, would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new minister resolved to be popular with those who promoted it, so it passed." Like all other expedients for setting the interests of one class above those of another class, this measure for making the land paramount was defeated in practice by fabricated qualifications at which all parties connived; and it was finally repealed as utterly useless for good or evil, beyond the encouragement of a debasing system of chicanery.

Harley laboured hard to please "the country gentlemen of his party;" * but, as the case has ever been, an English minister has more difficulty with his violent supporters than with those who are thoroughly adverse to him. "In the House of Commons there appeared a new combination of Tories of the highest form, who thought the Court was yet in some management with the Whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him." † Lord Nottingham, at a conference with the ministers, which is recorded by Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state, urged them to prosecute the Whigs, so as "to make it impracticable for them ever to rise again." They said "the queen would never be brought into such measures;" and from that day Nottingham "was most indefatigable in persecuting the queen and all her servants, with all the art that he was master of." ‡ Swift saw the storm coming: "the ministry is upon a very narrow bottom, and stands like an isthmus between the Whigs on one side and violent Tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship too rotten, and the crew all against them." This keen looker-on upon the game in which he had sometimes to fag for the upper boys, wrote, on the 14th of March, the above dolorous comment upon the low spirits which Harley displayed. Four days after, an event occurred which changed the face of affairs as regarded Harley. "An odd accident, that had been almost fatal, proved happy to him." § On the 8th of March he was stabbed at a sitting of the Privy Council. The assassin, whom Swift calls "a desperate French Popish villain," conferred such a benefit upon Harley, that the partizans of his rival St. John insisted that the blow was meant for the Secretary and not for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The minister who had to bear the pain had a fair right to whatever compensations were to follow. But it seems somewhat

* Onslow, Note on Burnet, p. 56.
† Burnet, vol. vi. p. 87.
‡ Note on Burnet, *ibid.*
§ Burnet, *ibid.*

unreasonable that the random stroke of a suspected traitor should have made Mr. Harley earl of Oxford and lord high treasurer; and, to use the words of a historian of these times, should have "blasted the hopes of his ministerial rivals; fixed his presidency in the cabinet; and have given firmness to an administration which had been tottering from inherent jealousies and dissensions." * The accident which produced such results may be briefly related. The marquis de Guiscard, who had been an abbé séculier in France, and who is represented as having committed enormous crimes which compelled him to fly his country, came to England; and appears to have had a command in an expedition, in 1707, connected with the discontents of the Huguenots in the Cevennes. In a book which he then published he calls himself "lieutenant-general of the forces gone upon the present descent." Burnet says, "he had a pension assigned him for some years, but it did not answer his expense; so when he was out of hope of getting it increased, he wrote to one at the court of France, to offer his services there." † His services consisted in his acting as a French spy. Dartmouth relates that Guiscard had been with the queen on the evening of the 7th, "and nobody in the outer room but Mrs. Fielding, or within call but Mrs. Kirk, who was commonly asleep." He says, "if Guiscard had any design upon the queen, his heart failed him." Very mysterious it seems that such a person should have had access to the queen, although he was one of St. John's boon companions. Her majesty told Dartmouth that "he was very pressing for an augmentation of his pension; and complained that he was ill paid." ‡ He was arrested in St. James's Park on the morning of the 8th; for a letter which he had written having been opened at the Post-office, his communications with the French court were discovered. He was taken to the office where the Council were sitting; and having given up his sword, he contrived to secrete a penknife which was upon the table of an outer room. Dartmouth, who was present, says, "He behaved himself with great confidence before the Council; and denied everything, till he was shown one of his own letters, which he endeavoured to snatch out of lord Harcourt's hand." He asked to speak in private with St. John, who very wisely refused. "When," says Dartmouth, "Mr. St. John refused to speak with him, he bent down, as if he would have whispered with Mr. Harley, and gave him two or three violent blows upon the breast before anybody could stop him." Harley bleeding rose up; and St. John and the other counsellors drew their swords, and inflicted many wounds upon the assassin. Swift, in his Journal of the 17th, writes, "Guiscard died this morning at two; and the coroner's inquest have found that he was killed by bruises received from a messenger, so to clear the cabinet-counsellors, from whom he received his wounds." What a sight was there now to be seen in London, where, of old, "not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver" to gaze upon any strange beast. "When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." § How much more exciting to see a dead French Papist, who was killed by noble English Protestants! "We have let Guiscard be buried at last, after showing him pickled in a trough this fort-

* Somerville, p. 129.
‡ Note, *ibid.* p. 39.
† "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 38.
§ "Tempest," act ii. sc. 2.

night for two pence a-piece; and the fellow that showed would point to his body, and 'See, gentlemen, this is the wound that was given him by his grace the duke of Ormond; and this is the wound, &c.,' and then the show was over, and another set of rabble came in."* Both Houses went up with an Address to the queen, to express how deeply they were affected "to find such an instance of inveterate malice against one employed in your majesty's council, and so near your royal person; and we have reason to believe that his fidelity to your majesty, and zeal for your service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction." Harley slowly recovered. When he attended in his place on the 11th of March, the Speaker congratulated him upon his escape and restoration to health. His attempted assassination was an undeniable evidence of his extraordinary merits. This was party-logic, very agreeable to Harley, but not equally gratifying to one who had a lurking contempt for his fortunate brother in office. "Mr. St. John affected to say in several companies that Guiscard intended the blow against him." Swift adds, "I am apt to think Mr. St. John was either mistaken or misinformed. However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called 'The Examiner,' which Mr. St. John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in the passage. This management was looked upon at least as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. St. John; and perhaps was represented in a worse view to Mr. Harley."† Strange, that two great statesmen should have their "first misunderstanding" about the honour which was proposed to be conferred upon one of them by a stab from a French spy! Singular, that the man of the greatest intellect in that period of political dishonesty, should grudge the White Staff and a Peerage, to him who had the lucky misfortune to have a penknife blade broken upon the rib beneath his embroidered waistcoat; and should envy the fulsome addresses of Parliament about papists and factions, of the utter falsehood of which he was perfectly conscious. Was it thus? Swift says, "I remember very well that, upon visiting Mr. Harley as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relatives talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. St. John." Was he intriguing to be first minister—at which Swift hints—during the time when Harley's recovery was somewhat doubtful? St. John's great power and influence in the House of Commons as its best orator, might have commanded this, without seeking to assume what Swift terms "the merit" of Guiscard's attempt. "This accident," says Burnet, "was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one that was studying to recommend himself to the court of France." It averted suspicion from the secret correspondence that Harley was himself carrying on with that court, if not directly with the court of St. Germains. St. John would be equally desirous to have the same cover for his own designs, and to smother the fact mentioned by Dartmouth, that the correspondence of Guiscard, which was read at the Council, contained "intelligence which few of the cabinet had any knowledge of before they read his letters; and he was never asked who he had it from, the answer being evident." St. John was doubtless the discloser of secrets thus pointed at. A clandestine negotiation

* Journal to Stella, March 25.

† "Change in Queen Anne's Ministry."

for peace was at that time going forward with the French minister, Torcy, under the immediate direction of St. John, through the Abbé Gautier, whilst the queen was made to pledge herself to the Dutch government that no step towards a pacification should be taken but in concert with them. How far St. John was at that time concerned in the schemes which the Jacobite party had for setting aside the Act of Settlement, and for bringing back the Pretender, in connection with these advances for peace, is a matter of inference from his subsequent conduct. "It is remarked by sir James Mackintosh in one of his note-books (we know not on what authority) that the first introduction of Bolingbroke into the secret negotiation was during the illness of Harley after he had been stabbed by Guiscard."* It was for the interest of both these unscrupulous ministers, that their undoubted duplicity to the Allies, and their possible treason to the Constitution, should be covered by the pretence that each was meant to be assassinated by a French agent, for their zeal and fidelity to their sovereign and their country. They became rivals even for the honour of this miserable delusion.

The attempt of Guiscard upon the life of Harley led to the passing of the Statute, by which it was enacted that if any person or persons "shall unlawfully attempt to kill, or shall unlawfully assault, or strike or wound, any person, being one of the most honourable Privy Council of her majesty, her heirs or successors, when in the execution of his office of a Privy Counsellor in Council, or on any Committee of Council, that then the person or persons so offending, being thereof convicted in due form of law, shall be and are hereby declared to be felons, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy." †

On the 4th of March Marlborough left England, to resume his command of the Allied forces in the Netherlands, but without a remnant of the political power which had once been entrusted to him. Yet the weakness of the ministry had induced Harley and Bolingbroke to relax somewhat in their hostility to the great general; and Swift evidently had his cue, when he wrote thus on the 15th of February: "Nobody that I know of did ever dispute the duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the weakness of his advocates. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put in better." ‡ Three weeks after the attempt upon Harley's life, St. John wrote a letter to Marlborough, full of professions of respect: "Your grace may be assured of my sincere endeavours to serve you; and I hope never again to see the time when I shall be obliged to embark in a separate interest from you." § Marlborough was too experienced in the value of such professions not to be on his guard. He wrote to beg the duchess not to name any of the ministers in her letters to him, all of which he had certain assurance that they opened. "The concern you have for me must in kindness oblige you never to say anything of them which may give offence; since whilst I am in the service I am in their power, especially by the villainous way of printing, which stabs me to the heart." ‖ This moral cowardice is a curious revelation of human

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxii. p. 19. † 9 Anuæ, c. 21. ‡ "Examiner."
§ Coxe, vol. vi. p. 7. ‖ *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 8.

inconsistency. "The villainous way of printing" was ever a terror to the man who would charge a redoubt with the utmost coolness. "Paper-bullets of the brain" were far more terrible to him than a volley of grape-shot. But Marlborough very speedily had far more serious embarrassments than the discomfort produced by his dreaded enemies, the London pamphleteers. The emperor Joseph was attacked by small-pox, and died on the 17th of April, in his thirty-fourth year. His brother Charles would succeed to the hereditary dominions of Austria, and all the political interests of Germany would be concentrated upon the election to the empire. The British cabinet instantly sent orders to Marlborough to co-operate with the States of Holland and with Eugene, in forwarding the election of the Austrian prince, in preference to that of the king of Bavaria. Louis secretly promoted the same object. The governments of England and France saw that the great obstacle to a separate peace would be removed, if Charles were elected emperor; for the danger to the balance of power from the emperor being king of Spain, was really greater than the danger of the crowns of France and Spain being in the family of the Bourbons: Peace would assuredly arise out of these complications, however unwilling the Austrian family might be to withdraw their pretensions to the Spanish monarchy. But the uncertainty of the future was too great to cause any essential difference in the conduct of the war in the Netherlands. Marlborough never stood in a loftier attitude than in the campaign of 1711. The expected co-operation of Prince Eugene in the command of the allied troops was interrupted by the necessity of his presence on the Upper Rhine. A portion of the British force was withdrawn from the Netherlands, to take part in a hopeless renewal of the war in Spain, or to be sent upon an ill-concerted expedition against Quebec. Marlborough, having lost the favour of the queen; distrusted and hated by the ministry; grown odious in the eyes of the people as the supposed obstacle to peace and relief from taxation; went about the performance of his military duties with a vigour and sagacity truly admirable. Marshal Villars, during the preceding autumn and winter, had constructed a series of fortified lines, which appeared well calculated to defy any irruption of the Allies upon the French frontier. They were boastfully asserted to be the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. The French army was also declared to be far stronger than that of the Allies. "The marshal de Villars was pleased to tell my trumpet yesterday, that the death of the emperor would occasion great disorders among the Allies, and that he should be thirty thousand stronger than we." Thus Marlborough writes to Godolphin on the 4th of May; and adds, "If their superiority be as great as he says it will be, I should not apprehend much from them, but that of their being able to hinder us from acting, which, to my own particular, would be mortification enough; for since constant success has not met with approbation, what may I not expect when nothing is done!" * Marlborough was not hindered from acting by the French superiority of numbers, or by their impregnable lines. He had determined to invest Bouchain; but to do this it was necessary that he should pass those lines. By rapid changes of position; by taking an important post in one day, and suffering the enemy to concentrate their

* Coxe, vol. vi. p. 24.

attention by its recapture, whilst he carried forward his ultimate design; by inducing Villars to fancy that the Allies were about to give him battle, and then suddenly marching away at nightfall; this wonderful strategy produced a result as great as if Marlborough had added one more to his roll of victories. On the 6th of August he wrote to secretary St. John that the whole army had passed the lines on the previous day, and were drawn up in order of battle. The reply of St. John offers the highest tribute to the strategy of the general: "My lord Stair had indeed opened to us the several steps which your grace intended to take in order to pass the enemy's lines in one part or other; it was, however, hard to imagine, and too much to hope, that a plan which consisted of so many parts, wherein so many different corps were to co-operate punctually together, should entirely succeed, and no one article fail of what your grace had projected. I most heartily congratulate with your grace on this great event, of which no more needs, I think, be said than that you have obtained, without losing a man, such an advantage as we should have bought with the expense of several thousand lives, and have reckoned ourselves gainers." * On the 24th of August Marlborough writes to St. John, to apprise him of his proceedings in the siege of Bouchain. The answer of the secretary is again a tribute to the genius of Marlborough: "I shall be very glad to have the plan of the situation of both armies, which your grace has promised to send me. I expect indeed that it should be very extraordinary, since I believe there is hardly one instance of an inferior army posting themselves so as to be able to form a siege and keep the communication open with their own country, in sight of an enemy so much superior." † On the 14th of September, the successful general announces to the sceptical secretary that the difficulties had been overcome—that Bouchain had surrendered: "Thus you see a place, which is of such consequence to either party, has, by the blessing of God, been reduced even in the sight of a superior army, that has left nothing unattempted towards relieving it, and who, being apprehensive of our success, have for some days past been burning and destroying all the forage about Quesnoy and Valenciennes to hinder our further progress, by endeavouring to make it impossible for us to subsist." ‡

On the 8th of October Charles of Austria was elected emperor of Germany. He had previously left Spain; where, although troops were sent by the British government, nothing was done to retrieve the disasters of the previous year. In England, the conduct of the campaign by Marlborough was systematically disparaged. He was assailed for not having taken occasion to hazard battle with Villars; his passage of the French lines was termed crossing the kennel; and the capture of Bouchain was called the taking of a dove-cot, with the loss of sixteen thousand men. Marlborough was writhing under these attacks, and had the weakness to write to Harley, now lord Oxford, complaining that he "should be reviled in such a manner." Oxford replied that he was himself every day the subject of some libel or other; and says, "I would willingly compound that all the ill-natured scribblers should have license to write ten times more against me, on condition that they would

* Marlborough Dispatches, vol. v. p. 429 † *Ibid.* p. 462. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 490.

write against nobody else." * St. John informs the queen in a note that Marlborough's chaplain, Dr. Hare, had "published libels against your majesty's government;" and is particularly angry against a sermon preached before the duke, and afterwards printed. He calls it "seditious." It merely deprecated the conclusion of a precipitate and dishonourable peace. This was the sore point. Oxford and St. John had for some time been carrying on their secret negotiation with France for a peace, as if England were the sole party; and had been writing to Marlborough as if there could only be one policy—that of vigorously conducting the war till a general peace could be accomplished, in concert with the Allies. They knew that the notion which Marlborough and the Allies had of a general peace was, that it should contain a provision that no Bourbon prince should ever wear the crown of Spain. The ministry had signed a preliminary treaty with France, in which it was agreed that the crowns of France and Spain should not be worn by the same prince. It would be easier to destroy Marlborough than to convert him; and the ministers vigorously set about his destruction.

The army went into winter-quarters, and Marlborough came home, landing at Greenwich, on the 17th of November. He heard that London was in some confusion. The usual procession on the birth-day of queen Elizabeth, when it was customary to burn the effigies of the pope, the devil, and other illustrious personages, was conceived by the ministry to be as dangerous to the public peace as the similar procession in the time of Titus Oates. † A quantity of puppets was seized in a house in Drury-lane, on the night of the 16th; one of which, representing the lord treasurer, was a fearful libel. "I am assured," says Swift, "that the figure of the devil is made as like lord treasurer as they could." It was a capital occasion to get up a squib against the Whigs; and the reverend counsellor of the Tories says, "I have put an understrapper upon writing a twopenny pamphlet, to give an account of the whole design." ‡ The "understrapper" was the great ally of the lord treasurer and the secretary; and one object of the twopenny pamphlet is clear enough from this passage: "The duke of Marlborough was to make his entry through Aldgate, where he was to be met with the cry of 'Victory! Bouchain! the lines, the lines!'" Marlborough had as little to promise himself from mob-favour as from court-favour. The lines and Bouchain were worthless to his immediate fame, and did not save him from ungenerous reproach in the highest place. The parliament was opened by the queen on the 7th of December; and the application of the opening words of her speech could not be mistaken: "I have called you together as soon as the public affairs would permit; and I am glad that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace." In the debate which ensued, Marlborough spoke with an animation and solemnity which rarely marked his course in parliamentary proceedings. The queen was in the House: "He could declare with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty, of that illustrious assembly, and of that Supreme Being, who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, he must soon appear, to give an account of his

* Coxe, vol. vi. p. 123. † *Ante*, vol. iv. p. 335. ‡ Journal to Stella.

actions, that he ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. That his advanced age, and the many fatigues he had undergone, made him earnestly wish for retirement and repose, to think of eternity the remainder of his days; the rather, because he had not the least motive to desire the continuance of the war, having been so generously rewarded, and had honours and riches heaped upon him, far beyond his desert and expectation, both by her majesty and her parliaments. That he thought himself bound to this public acknowledgment to her majesty and his country, that he should always be ready to serve them, if he could but crawl along, to obtain an honourable and lasting peace: but that, at the same time, he must take the liberty to declare, that he could, by no means, give into the measures that had lately been taken to enter into a negotiation of peace with France, upon the foot of the seven preliminary articles; for, he was of the same opinion with the rest of the Allies, that the safety and liberties of Europe would be in imminent danger, if Spain and the West Indies were left to the House of Bourbon; which, with all humility, and as he thought himself in duty bound, he had declared to her majesty, whom he had the honour to wait on after his return from Holland; and, therefore, he was for inserting in the Address the Clause offered by the earl of Nottingham." * The amendment of Nottingham was to the effect "that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain, or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to the House of Bourbon." The amendment was carried by a majority of sixty-two against fifty-four. A similar amendment in the Commons was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two against a hundred and six. In the Address of the lower House to the queen, the feeling against Marlborough was kept up by an especial reference to "the arts and devices of those who, for private views, may delight in war."

The ministers of queen Anne put a falsehood into her mouth in her answer to the Address of the Lords: "I should be sorry any one could think I would not do my utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the House of Bourbon." The ministerial duplicity was a result of the terror which they felt at their probable ejection from power, and at the prospect of Whig revenge upon the discovery of their clandestine dealings with France. Swift has related that the most bitter of their opponents, the earl of Wharton, "was observed in the House to smile, and put his hands to his neck when any of the ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger." † Swift begged St. John to send him abroad "before a change." He says, "I took him aside after dinner, told him how I had served them, and had asked no reward, but thought I might ask security." ‡ We doubt if he was altogether in a jocular mood, when he thus manifested his fears to Oxford: "I told lord-treasurer I should have the advantage of him; for he would lose his head, and I should only be hanged, and so carry my body entire to the grave." § Party-hatreds were becoming so intense, that heading and hanging were not altogether out of the question.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. vi. col. 1038.
† "Four Last Years of Queen Anne." ‡ Journal, Dec. 9. § *Ibid.*, Dec 8.

But lord-treasurer and secretary kept their places, and with their majority in the Commons, and their better management of the queen—who had been somewhat impatient of their attempts to govern her—they turned their thoughts to the mode in which they could best damage and destroy their adversaries. Marlborough was the first victim. The "falcon" Churchill, was "hawk'd at and killed" by "the mousing owl," Harley. On the 31st of December, the following entry was made in the minutes of the Cabinet Council: "Being informed that an information against the duke of Marlborough was laid before the House of Commons, by the Commissioners of the public accounts, her majesty thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation." The prelude to "an impartial investigation" was to load the object of it with disgrace. On the 1st of January, Swift enters in his Journal, "Marlborough is turned out of all . . . . . If the ministry be not sure of a peace, I shall wonder at this step, and do not approve it at best. The queen and lord-treasurer mortally hate the duke of Marlborough, and to that he owes his fall, more than to his other faults . . . . . Opinion is a mighty matter in war, and I doubt the French think it impossible to conquer an army that he leads, and our soldiers think the same; and how far even this step may encourage the French to play tricks with us, no one knows." The one-sided pamphleteer could think impartially in the private record of his feelings and opinions.

The information against the duke of Marlborough would, in another generation, have properly consigned a great public servant to the lowest depth of ignominy, and have called for exemplary punishment. He was an avaricious man; he clutched at all the gold he could safely touch, and he kept it tightly buttoned up, to his own undisguised satisfaction. Peterborough measured his character pretty accurately, when, being mistaken by a truculent mob for Marlborough in the wane of his popularity, he exclaimed, "I am not the duke, and I will prove it. I have only five guineas in my pocket, and you shall have them." But Marlborough was too cautious to seize upon perquisites and appropriate funds for which he had not strict precedent. The charges against him were under two heads, and were declared established by large majorities in the House of Commons: 1. "That the taking several sums of money, annually, by the duke of Marlborough from the contractors for furnishing the bread and bread waggons in the Low Countries, was unwarrantable and illegal." This charge against him came to the knowledge of the duke before he returned to England in November, and he at once wrote to the Commissioners of public accounts, not denying the information which sir Solomon de Medina had given them, that he had made such payments, but saying, "this is no more but what has been allowed as a perquisite to the general, or commander-in-chief, of the army in the Low Countries, even before the Revolution, and since." He added his assurance that whatever had been so received had been "constantly employed for the service of the public, in keeping secret correspondence, and getting intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs." * The second resolution of the Commons was, "that the deduction of 2½ per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops in her majesty's service, is

* Coxe, vol. vi. p. 124.

public money, and ought to be accounted for." Marlborough, in his letter to the Commissioners, had anticipated this second charge, by informing them that, as the plenipotentiary of William III., he had negotiated with the foreign states, that 2½ per cent. should be deducted from the pay of their troops, to cover all charges for secret service; and that when he succeeded to the command, the queen, by warrant, authorized his receipt of the same per-centage, which he had strictly applied "for procuring timely and good advices." The question of Marlborough's criminality may long remain an open one. But we cannot have a stronger proof of the growth of good government, than the certainty that no such temptation to dishonesty could now be presented to any high public servant; and that no one who has now the conduct of civil or military affairs would incur the fearful responsibility of disbursing large sums of money without being accountable for them. Marlborough's defence was certainly very incomplete, as judged by the opinions of our own times; but it seems to have satisfied all but the furious partizans of the ministry to whom his high influence, especially in foreign courts, was a serious obstacle to their policy. When the queen dismissed him by an insulting letter, he boldly replied he would not "join in the counsel of a man who, in my opinion, puts your majesty upon all manner of extremities. And it is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your majesty, there being in that court a root of enmity, irreconcileable to your majesty's government, and the religion of these kingdoms." *

The discomfiture of the ministry in the House of Lords was stopped from going farther, by a bold but dangerous manœuvre. They created twelve new peers. Lord Dartmouth has given an interesting account of what came to his knowledge with regard to this measure:—"I was never so much surprised as when the queen drew a list of twelve lords out of her pocket, and ordered me to bring warrants for them; there not having been the least intimation before it was to be put in execution. I asked her, if she designed to have them all made at once. She asked me, if I had any exceptions to the legality of it. I said, no; but doubted very much of the expediency, for I feared it would have a very ill effect in the House of Lords, and no good one in the kingdom. She said, she had made fewer lords than any of her predecessors, and I saw the duke of Marlborough and the Whigs were resolved to distress her as much as they could, and she must do what she could to help herself. I told her, I wished it proved a remedy to what she so justly complained of, but I thought it my duty to tell her my apprehensions, as well as execute her commands. She thanked me, and said, she liked it as little as I did, but did not find that anybody could propose a better expedient. I asked lord Oxford afterwards, what was the real inducement for taking so odious a course, when there were less shocking means to have acquired the same end. He said, the Scotch lords were grown so extravagant in their demands, that it was high time to let them see they were not so much wanted as they imagined; for they were now come to expect a reward for every vote they gave." † There was no decided notice taken of this proceeding in the House of Lords. Lord Wharton took occasion to say one of

* Coxe, vol. vi. p. 154.

† Note on Burnet, vol. vi. p. 87.

the humourous things recorded of an age of humourists. He asked one of the twelve new peers whether they voted by their foreman.

The opposition of the Peers being in some degree disarmed by this new creation, and the Commons being decidedly with the ministry, the queen sent a message to Parliament on the 17th of January, which contained the important announcement that "her majesty's plenipotentiaries are arrived at Utrecht; and have begun, in pursuance of their instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all in alliance with her, according to their several Treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies."

NOTE TO CHAPTER XXIV.

The constant references in historical works to the Treaties between nations, which are briefly mentioned as "The Peace of Ryswick," "The Partition Treaties," "The Peace of Utrecht," &c., &c., have induced us to reprint the following Table, which appeared in the "Companion to the Almanac for 1831," a work edited by the author of the "Popular History of England." The present Table is brought down to the Alliance of Vienna, 1731, and it will be continued to a more recent period, in a subsequent Volume.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE *of the more* IMPORTANT TREATIES *between the principal civilized Nations; with Notices of the* WARS *and other Events with which they are connected: from the beginning of the Fourteenth Century.*

EDWARD II.

1326 War between England and France, on the subject of a fortress in Guienne, which Edward II. claimed as his of right.

EDWARD III.

1327 Peace between Robert Bruce and Edward III. The independence of Scotland acknowledged.

1336 Edward III. renews his pretensions to the crown of France, and enters into a league with the revolted Flemings.

1356 The German Constitution, known by the name of the *Golden Bull*, sanctioned; and the mode of electing the emperor determined.

1360 May 8: peace concluded with France, at Bretigny near Chartres, whereby England retained Gascony and Guienne, acquired Saintonge, Agenois, Perigord, Limosin, Bigorre, Angoumois, and Rovergne, and renounced her pretensions to Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy; England was also to receive 3,000,000 crowns, and to release king John, who had been long prisoner in London.

1370 War recommenced between France and England.

RICHARD II.

1381 Peace ratified between Venice and Genoa.

1385 The French united with the Scotch against England, upon which Richard II. invaded Scotland and burnt Edinburgh.

1390 Sultan Bajazet ratified a treaty with the Greek emperor, John Palæologus.

HENRY IV.

1412 Henry IV. of England leagued with the duke of Orleans, regent of France, in order to oppose the duke of Burgundy.

HENRY V.

1415 August: Henry V. of England commences war against France.

1420 May 21: *Treaty of Troyes* between England, France, and Burgundy, whereby it was stipulated that Henry V. should marry Catherine, daughter of

Charles VI., be appointed regent of France, and after the death of Charles should inherit the crown.

HENRY VI.

1423 Treaty between England and Burgundy.
1435 September 22 : *Treaty of Arras* between France and Burgundy. Several towns annexed to the duchy of Burgundy.
1439 The *Pragmatic Sanction* settled in France, regulating the election of bishops, and moderating the power of the pope.
1453 The first alliance entered into between the French and Swiss.

EDWARD IV.

1464 A league, designated "*For the public good*," formed between the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, and Bourbon, and others, against Louis XI. of France.
1465 *Treaty of Conflans*, between Louis XI. and the chiefs of the above league. Normandy ceded to the duke of Berri.
1468 Louis XI., having placed himself in the power of the duke of Burgundy, was forced to sign a treaty at Peronne, confirming those of Arras and Conflans, with some other stipulations.
1474 Peace concluded between Edward IV. of England and Louis XI. of France.
1475 The *Peace of Picquigni*.
1475 Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, concluded a treaty with the French king, but speedily afterwards leagued against him with Edward IV. of England, and the duke of Brittany. Louis XI., on the other hand, entered into a treaty with the Switzers, and succeeded ultimately in becoming an ally of England, which unexpected change determined the duke of Burgundy to conclude a truce at Vervins for nine years.
1476 Charles of Burgundy commenced war against the Switzers, in which he eventually lost his life.
1482 The *Treaty of Arras*, between Maximilian of Austria, the husband of Mary of Burgundy, and Louis XI. of France, whereby Margaret, daughter of the former, was espoused to the dauphin, son of the latter, with Artois and Burgundy as a dowry.
1482 Peace concluded at Edinburgh between England and Scotland.

HENRY VII.

1494 War commenced by France for the possession of Naples, bequeathed to the king by Charles du Maine, which was opposed by the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan—France being ultimately forced to abandon her claim.
1497 Treaty between England and Scotland, by which Perkin Warbeck was compelled to quit the latter kingdom.
1501 Treaty between Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, for the kingdom of Naples ; this partition, however, gave rise to a war between those powers, and eventually Naples remained in possession of Spain.
1508 December 10 : the *League of Cambray* against the Republic of Venice, comprising the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain. Venice forced to cede to Spain her possessions in the kingdom of Naples.

HENRY VIII.

1510 *Holy League* against Louis XII. of France.
1514 France obliged to sue for peace, which was obtained from the pope, by promising to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction; from the king of Spain, by uniting his grandson, the duke of Ferrara, to Renée, daughter of the king of France; and from England, by Louis XII. espousing Mary, sister of Henry VIII.
1515 On the accession of Francis I., a war was commenced by France for the recovery of the Milanese.
1516 August 16: the *Treaty of Noyon.*
1521 *Edict of Worms*, proscribing Luther and his adherents.
1521 First war between France and Charles V.; France endeavouring to reinstate Henry d'Albret in the kingdom of Navarre.
1521 The emperor Charles V. prevailed upon Henry VIII. to declare war against France.
1522 War commenced between France and Scotland, and also between France and England.
1525 A treaty concluded between Francis I. and England.
1526 Francis I., to release himself from captivity, signed a treaty with Charles V., surrendering Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, &c., and renouncing all pretensions to Italy.
1527 Second war between Francis I. and Charles V. The pope taken prisoner at Rome.
1527 A treaty of mutual obligation entered into between France and England; and in the same year a fresh treaty, for the purpose of carrying war into Italy to restore the pope to liberty.
1529 August 5: the *Peace of Cambray.*
1529 December: the *League of Smalcald* in Franconia, entered into between the elector of Brandenburg and other princes of Germany, in defence of Protestantism.
1532 June 23: a new treaty of alliance ratified between the kings of England and France.
1532 August 2: the *Treaty of Nuremberg* ratified.
1536 Third war between Francis I. and Charles V. for possession of Milan.
1538 June 18: *Treaty of Nice* between Francis I. and Charles V.
1541 Fourth war between Francis I. and Charles V.
1542 Henry VIII. of England attacked Scotland, in order to force an alliance between the young queen Mary and his son prince Edward, which was terminated by a peace the following year. This attempt was as unsuccessfully renewed in 1547, after the accession of Edward VI.
1544 League between England and the emperor Charles V. against France; shortly after which peace was concluded with France, and signed at Cressy in Valois.

EDWARD VI.

1548 May 15: the *Interim* granted by the emperor Charles V. to the Protestants of Germany.
1549 Peace ratified between France and England. Boulogne restored to France.
1551 October 5: *Treaty of Friedwald*, between France and the Protestant princes of Germany.
1552 January 15: *Treaty of Chambord*, confirming the league between France and the Protestant princes of Germany.

1552 August 12 : *Treaty of Passau*, ratified between Charles V. and the Protestant princes of Germany. Freedom of religion established.

MARY.

1554 *Treaty of Naumburg*, between Augustus elector of Saxony, and the deposed elector, John Frederic—the electorate to descend to John Frederic and his heirs, in default of heirs male of Augustus.

1555 *Peace of Religion*, concluded at Augsburg,—a confirmation of the treaty of Passau, establishing the free exercise of the Protestant religion.

1556 England entered into an alliance with Spain against France.

1558 February : the French took Calais, which had been in the possession of the English since 1347.

ELIZABETH.

1559 *Peace of Chateau Cambresis*, between France, Spain, and Piedmont. France ceded Savoy, Corsica, and nearly 200 forts in Italy and the Low Countries.

1560 Peace ratified between England, France, and Scotland.

1561 *Treaty of Wilna*, between the Northern Powers.

1562 The French Protestants having had recourse to arms, Elizabeth sent over succours to their assistance.

1563 War between Sweden and Denmark.

1564 April 29 : peace ratified between France and England.

1570 *Peace of St. Germain.*

1570 December 13 : *Peace of Stettin*, between Sweden and Denmark.

1571 Spain, Venice, and the pope, combine against the Turks, who were endeavouring to subdue Cyprus.

1572 Peace concluded between England and France.

1576 The United States of the Netherlands send deputies to the Hague, who declare Philip II. divested of his principality, and appoint William, prince of Orange, for their governor or stadtholder.

1576 November 8 : *Pacification of Ghent*, by which foreign troops were expelled from the Netherlands and the Inquisition abolished.

1576 The *League* begins in France.

1579 January 22 : the *Union of Utrecht*, formed by Holland, Utrecht, Zealand, Friesland, and Guelderland, by which the republic of Holland was constituted. Overyssel joined in 1580, and Groningen in 1594.

1595 War declared by France against Spain.

1595 May 18 : *Peace of Teusin*, between Russia and Sweden, which powers had been at war, with an interval of seven years' truce, from 1572.

1598 May 2 : peace ratified at Vervins between France and Spain ; Spain restores her conquests of Calais, Amiens, &c.

JAMES I.

1603 A treaty between James I. of England and Henry IV. of France, in order to support the States General against the Spanish branch of the house of Austria.

1604 August 18 : peace between England and Spain ratified.

1609 April 4 : the truce of 12 years between the Spaniards and Dutch.

1610 *Treaty of Halle*, between the Protestant princes of the Empire.

1610 *League of Würzbourg*, between the Catholic princes of the Empire.

1613 *Peace of Siöröd*, concluding a war of two years between Sweden and Denmark.

1619 Peace between France and Spain; marriage of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, infanta of Spain.

1619 September 5: the elector palatine, Frederic V., son-in-law of James I., accepted the crown of Bohemia offered to him by the Protestant states. This was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

1620 July 3: *Peace of Ulm*, by which Frederic V. lost Bohemia.

1622 Conquest of the Palatinate, by the emperor Ferdinand II.

1625 *Danish period* of the Thirty Years' War, when Christian IV. became the head of the Protestant party. Treaty between Denmark, England, and Holland.

CHARLES I.

1626 League of the Swedes, Dutch, and the Protestant princes of Germany, against the emperor.

1627 War commenced by England against France, in favour of the distressed French Protestants.

1629 War commenced by the king of France against the emperor, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, in favour of the claims of the duke of Nevers to the territory of Mantua.

1629 April 14: peace ratified with France.

1629 May 22: *Peace of Lubeck*, between the emperor and king of Denmark.

1630 France joined the Protestant princes of Germany, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and Holland, against the house of Austria, in Germany and Spain.

1630 England also acceded to the above alliance, with a view of procuring the restoration of the elector palatine.

1630 June 24: *Swedish period* of the Thirty Years' War, when Gustavus Adolphus made a descent on the Isle of Rügen.

1630 October 13: *Peace of Ratisbon*, between France and the emperor; terminating the war for the Mantuan succession.

1630 November 27: peace proclaimed between England and Spain.

1631 January 13: subsidizing alliance of France with Sweden.

1631 April: *Alliance of Leipzig*, between the elector of Saxony and the Protestant princes.

1631 *Treaty of Chierasco*, by which the duke of Nevers finally takes possession of his Mantuan territories.

1633 March: *Treaty of Heilbron* between Sweden and the Northern Protestant States of Germany, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

1635 February 28: alliance between France and Holland.

1635 May 30: *Peace of Prague* between the emperor and the elector of Saxony.

1635 May 19: war declared by France against Spain. France entered actively into the Thirty Years' War, forming *the French period.*

1640 Civil wars in England commenced; the Scotch army take Newcastle.

1641 The duke of Braganza, having been declared king of Portugal, entered into an alliance with France, in their contest against Spain.

1648 January 30: *Peace of Munster* between Spain and the Dutch. Independence of Holland fully recognised.

1648 October 24: the *Peace of Westphalia* signed at Munster and at Osnaburg, between France, the emperor, and Sweden; Spain continuing the war against France. By this peace the principle of a balance of power in Europe was first recognised: Alsace given to France, and part of Pomerania and some other districts to Sweden; the elector palatine restored to the Lower Palatine; the civil and political rights of the German states established; and the independence of the Swiss Confederation recognised by Germany.

COMMONWEALTH.

1651 October: war commenced between the English Commonwealth and the Dutch.
1654 April 5: peace ratified between the Dutch and the Commonwealth of England.
1655 November 3: articles of peace signed between England and France.
1656 February 15: Spain declared war against England.
1656 November 10: *Treaty of Liebau*, which annulled the feudal subjection of the duchy of Prussia to the crown of Sweden.
1657 March 23: treaty of alliance between England and France against Spain.
1657 May 27: alliance of Vienna between Poland, Denmark, and the emperor, against Sweden.
1659 May 21: *Treaty of the Hague* between England, France, and Holland, to maintain the equilibrium of the North.
1659 November 7: peace concluded between France and Spain, by the *Treaty of the Pyrenees;* Spain yielding Roussillon, Artois, and her rights to Alsace; and France ceding her conquests in Catalonia, Italy, &c., and engaging not to assist Portugal.
1660 May 3: the *Peace of Oliva* ratified between Sweden, Poland, Prussia, and the emperor. Esthonia and Livonia given up to Sweden.
1660 September: a proclamation issued at London for the cessation of hostilities with Spain.
1660 May 27: *Peace of Copenhagen* between Sweden and Denmark.

CHARLES II.

1661 June 23: treaty of Alliance between England and Portugal.
1663 France entered into a defensive alliance with Holland and Switzerland.
1664 November: the second war commenced between England and Holland.
1664 War between the Turks and the emperor of Germany; after the Turks had been defeated the *Truce of Temeswar* was concluded, on September 7, for 20 years; the emperor ceding Great Waradein and Neuhäusel.
1666 January 26: France declared war against England; the Danes also entered into a league with the Dutch against England.
1666 October: war declared by England against Denmark.
1667 July 25: *Peace of Breda* concluded between England, France, Holland, and Denmark.
1668 January 28: a treaty of alliance ratified between the States General and England, against France, for the protection of the Spanish Netherlands; Sweden afterwards joining the league, it was known as the *Triple Alliance.*
1668 February 13: *Peace of Lisbon* concluded between Spain and Portugal through the mediation of England. Independence of Portugal acknowledged by Spain.
1668 May 2: *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* between France and Spain signed. France yields Franche Comté, but retains her conquests in the Netherlands.
1669 May 7: *Treaty of the Hague* between Holland and Portugal: the Dutch allowed to retain their conquests in India.
1672 Treaty between France and England (12th February), and Sweden (14th April) against Holland.
1672 August 30: an alliance entered into between the emperor, Spain, and Holland, against France.
1673 June 16: *Peace of Vossem* between the elector of Brandenburg and France, the former engaging not to assist the Dutch.

1673 France declared war against Spain.
1674 February 19: *Peace of Westminster* between England and Holland.
1674 June: The Empire declared war against France.
1678 January 10: treaty concluded between England and Holland, by which Holland detached Charles II. from the interests of France.
1678 August 11: *Peace of Nimeguen* concluded between France and Holland. Spain accedes to the peace 17th September, giving up Franche Comté, &c.; the emperor on the 5th February following; and Sweden on March 29.
1679 June 29: *Peace of St. Germain en Laye* concluded between France, Sweden, and the elector of Brandenburg.
1679 September 2: *peace of Fontainebleau* between France and Denmark.
1683 March 31: *Alliance of Warsaw*, between Austria and Poland, against Turkey, in pursuance of which John Sobieski assisted in raising the siege of Vienna, on September 12.
1684 August 15: truce of Ratisbon concluded by France with Spain and the Empire, terminating the war of the previous year.

JAMES II.

1686 *League of Augsburg* entered into by Holland and other European powers, for the purpose of causing the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen to be fulfilled on the part of France.
1688 France commences hostilities against the Confederated States and ravages the Palatinate.

WILLIAM III.

1689 May 7: war declared by England against France.
1689 May 12: the *Grand Alliance* signed at Vienna between England, the emperor, and the States-General; to which Spain and the duke of Savoy afterwards acceded.
1696 August 29: the duke of Savoy quitted the coalition, and entered into a treaty with France.
1697 September 20: *Peace of Ryswick*, between France, England, Spain, and Holland; signed by Germany, 30th October.
1698 October 11: *First Treaty of Partition* signed between France, England, and Holland, for the purpose of regulating the succession of the territories of the king of Spain. Joseph Ferdinand, electoral prince of Bavaria, declared presumptive heir.
1699 January 26: *Peace of Carlowitz*, between Turkey and Germany, Poland, Russia, and Venice.
1700 March 13: *Second Treaty of Partition* between France, England, and Holland, declaring the archduke Charles presumptive heir of the Spanish monarchy, Joseph Ferdinand having died in 1699.
1700 October 2: Charles II., last male branch of the house of Austria reigning in Spain, bequeaths the kingdom to Philip of Anjou.
1700 November 1: Charles II. of Spain died, and the claim of Philip of Anjou was recognised by the court of France.
1701 September 7: England and Holland conclude a formal alliance at the Hague, to resist the claim of Philip of Anjou, to which almost all the European states successively accede.
1701 November 16: King James II. dying, his son was proclaimed king of England by France, upon which William III. commanded the return of his ambassadors from France, and ordered the departure of the French ambassador from London.

ANNE.

1702 May 4 : war declared against France and Spain, by England, the Empire, and Holland.

1703 The *Methuen Treaty* between England and Portugal, principally for the regulation of commerce.

1706 September 24 : *Peace of Alt Ranstadt*, between Charles XII. of Sweden and Augustus of Poland.

1711 July 2 : *Peace of Falczi* concluded between Russia and Turkey, the Russians giving up Azoff and all their possessions on the Black Sea to the Turks ; in the following year the war was renewed, and terminated by the *Peace of Constantinople*, on April 16, 1712.

1713 April 11 : *Peace of Utrecht*, signed by the ministers of Great Britain and France, as well as of all the other allies, except the ministers of the Empire. The most important stipulations of this treaty were the security of the Protestant succession in England, the disuniting the French and Spanish crowns, the destruction of Dunkirk, the enlargement of the British colonies and plantations in America, and a full satisfaction for the claims of the allies.

1713 April 17 : the emperor Charles VI. published the *Pragmatic Sanction*, whereby, in default of male issue, his daughters should succeed in preference to the sons of his brother Joseph I.

1713 July 13 : the *Treaty of Utrecht* signed by Spain.

1714 March 6 : *Peace of Radstadt* between France and the emperor.

GEORGE I.

1714 September 7 : *Peace of Baden*, between France and the emperor. Landau ceded to France.

1715 November 15 : the *Barrier Treaty* signed at Antwerp, by the British, the Imperial, and Dutch ministers. Low Countries ceded to the emperor.

1717 January 4 : the *Triple Alliance of the Hague* between France, England, and Holland, to oppose the designs of Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister.

1718 July 21 : *Peace of Passarowitz* between the emperor, Venice, and Turkey.

1718 August 2 : the treaty of alliance between Great Britain, France, and the emperor, signed at London. This alliance, on the accession of the States of Holland, obtained the name of the *Quadruple Alliance*, and was for the purpose of guaranteeing the succession of the reigning families in Great Britain and France, and settling the partition of the Spanish monarchy.

1718 November 18 : the duke of Savoy joined the Quadruple Alliance, signing the treaty by his envoys at Whitehall.

1718 December 16 : war declared by England against Spain.

1718 December 22 : war declared against Spain by France, under the administration of the regent, duke of Orleans.

1719 November 20 : *Peace of Stockholm* between the king of Great Britain and the queen of Sweden, by which the former acquired the duchies of Bremen and Verden as elector and duke of Brunswick.

1720 January 26 : the king of Spain accepts and signs the Quadruple Alliance.

1721 August 30 : *Peace of Nystett*, in Finland, between Sweden and Russia, whereby Livonia and Ingria were ceded to Russia.

1724 March 24 : *Treaty of Stockholm* between Russia and Sweden, in favour of the duke of Holstein Gottorp.

1725 April 30 : the *Vienna Treaty*, signed between the emperor of Germany and the king of Spain, by which they confirmed to each other such parts of the

Spanish dominions as they were respectively possessed of, and by a private treaty the emperor engaged to employ a force to procure the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain, and to use means for placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. Spain guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

1725 September 3 : the *Hanover Treaty*, concluded between the kings of England France, and Prussia, as an act of self-defence against the provisions of the Vienna treaty.

1726 War between England and Spain commenced.

1726 August 6 : treaty of alliance between Russia and the emperor.

1727 May 31 : preliminary articles for a general pacification, signed at Paris by the ministers of Great Britain, the emperor, the king of France, and the States-General.

GEORGE II.

1727 October 21 : *Treaty of Nipchoo* (Nerchinsk) between Russia and China, by which the boundaries of the two empires were settled, a Russian residence at Pekin allowed, and 200 merchants allowed to trade to China once in three years. Not ratified until June 14, 1728, in consequence of the death of Catherine.

1728 June 14 : a congress commenced its sittings at Soissons.

1729 November 9 : the *Peace of Seville*, between the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain ; and a defensive alliance entered into : to this treaty the States of Holland afterwards acceded, November 21.

1731 March 16 : the *Treaty of Alliance of Vienna*, between the emperor, Great Britain, and Holland, by which the Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed, and the disputes as to the Spanish succession terminated ; Spain acceded to the treaty on the 22nd of July.

DEFOE.

BURNET.

BERKELEY.

State Coaches used in 1713 in the Procession to St. Paul's.

CHAPTER XXV.

Prince Eugene in London—Opening of the Campaign under Ormond and Eugene—Ormond's Secret Instructions—The Allied army deserted by the British forces—Subsequent disasters of the Allies—The Lords' Protest published—Laws proposed against the Press—The first Stamp duty on Periodical Works—Terms of peace announced to Parliament—Bolingbroke's embassy to Paris—Treaty of Utrecht completed—Treaty of Commerce with France rejected by Parliament—Dissolution of Parliament—Jacobite Intrigues—The new Parliament—Libels—Swift—Steele—Death of the Princess Sophia of Hanover—The Schism Act—Oxford dismissed from office—Death of the Queen.

THE dismissal of Marlborough from all his offices; the hostile vote of Parliament; and a prosecution threatened by the ministry to compel him to refund nearly half a million of that money which he said he had employed in the public service—these adversities in the closing years of a life signally prosperous appear to have been borne by him with a philosophical calmness. He wrote, on the 22nd of February, to M. Schuylembourg, who had served under him as a general of cavalry, "Provided that my destiny does not involve any prejudice to the public, I shall be very content with it; and shall account myself happy in a retreat in which I may be able wisely to reflect on the vicissitudes of this world." * There are several other letters, breathing the same sentiment of resignation—a sentiment which was perhaps as real as in any other case of fallen greatness. But Marlborough's public virtue must have been more exalted than that of most great ones of the earth in the day of humiliation, if he did not inwardly rejoice at the degradation of England when he was thrust out of her service. His constant friend, prince Eugene, had arrived in London at the beginning of January. He witnessed the fall of Marlborough, and testified in the most public manner his sense of the injustice and impolicy of palace-intrigues and parliamentary hatreds. Oxford invited Eugene to dinner, and thus complimented him: "I consider this day as the happiest of my life, since I have the honour to see in my house the

* Dispatches, vol. v. p. 577

greatest captain of the age." Eugene replied, "If it be so, I owe it to your lordship." The "greatest captain of the age" was put aside; and the future associate with Eugene in the approaching campaign was to be the duke of Ormond. Conferences were opened at Utrecht; but the real negotiations for peace between Great Britain and France were being secretly carried on at Paris. The mission of Eugene to the court of St. James's was to prevent any such separate negotiation, by offering a guarantee that the emperor would double his contingents, if necessary, to carry the war, in concert with all the members of the Alliance, to a successful conclusion. A few months of vigorous exertion might accomplish that object, and complete the series of triumphs which the Allies had won under English generalship. The propositions of the emperor were coldly listened to; mentioned to Parliament; and then laid aside. Eugene went back to conduct the campaign as the commander of the Allied armies; for the States would not entrust those powers to Ormond which they had entrusted to Marlborough. Eugene could expect no hearty co-operation from the ministry of queen Anne; but he could scarcely expect an amount of duplicity and treachery, happily unparalleled in the future conduct of our country in her foreign affairs. On 26th of May, Eugene and Ormond, with a far larger force than had been brought into the field under Marlborough in the previous year, passed the Scheldt below Bouchain. A French army of inferior force, under Villars and Montesquiou, was nearer the French frontier. The position of the Allies indicated an intention to make a forward movement, and a probable advance into the French territory. But Ormond had a letter in his pocket from Secretary St. John, dated the 10th of May, containing these instructions: "Her majesty, my lord, has reason to believe, that we shall come to an agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies, as soon as a courier, sent from Versailles to Madrid, can return. It is, therefore, the queen's positive command to your grace, that you avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle, till you have further orders from her majesty. I am, at the same time, directed to let your grace know, that the queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order; and her majesty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourself, so as to answer her ends, without owning that which might at present have an ill effect, if it was publicly known. The queen cannot think with patience of sacrificing men, when there is a fair prospect of obtaining her purpose another way; and, besides, she will not suffer herself to be exposed to the reproach of having retarded, by the events of the campaign, a negotiation which might otherwise have been as good as concluded, in a few days." * On the 28th of May, Eugene proposed to attack the French camp, which was open and exposed. Ormond equivocated, and requested delay. Eugene was indignant; but at length brought the English general to agree to co-operate in the siege of Quesnoy. The trenches were opened in the night of the 18th of June; and on the 4th of July the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. This was the last military operation in which the British forces were engaged. In the middle of July, there having been for some time a secret correspondence

* Coxe, vol. vi. p. 187.

between Ormond and Villars, Ormond proclaimed an armistice for four months between England and France. He withdrew his British troops from those of the Allied army; and called upon the foreign contingents in the pay of England to follow the example. With a trifling exception, they all refused; and became a part of the army of the Empire, and of the States, under the command of Eugene. This infamous abandonment of the Alliance—this base desertion of the common cause without notice or explanation—left the field open for France to recover all the ground she had lost. Eugene, weakened in his force; the plans of the campaign altogether paralysed; was beaten at Denain by Villars on the 24th of July. One by one the fortified posts and towns which had been won by the Allies were retaken by the French. There may be differences of opinion as to the policy of the English ministry in relinquishing the original object of the war, and ultimately separating the interests of their country from those of the House of Austria; but there can be no difference in viewing their duplicity to their Allies as one of the disgraces of party-government. The ministry of Anne "were afraid of some brilliant success in Flanders that might derange their plans; and to prevent such a calamity, they gave secret information to the enemy of the military projects of the Allies, and at the most critical moment of the campaign they withdrew their troops from the contest." * The cold-blooded scoundrelism of St. John goes beyond most recorded examples of the extent to which "low ambition"—even more than "the pride of kings,"—will degrade a man of lofty intellect into the basest political profligacy. When the Secretary sent to Ormond the order to avoid engaging in any siege or battle, he communicated this private direction to Gautier, his agent in the correspondence with Torcy, the French minister. "When I asked him," says Gautier in his dispatch, "what marshal Villars was to do, in case prince Eugene and the Dutch attacked him, he replied, there was only one thing to do, to fall upon him and cut him in pieces, him and his whole army." †

It could scarcely be expected that, even for mere party-purposes, such flagrant violations of national faith should pass unnoticed. Halifax, in the House of Lords, and Pulteney, in the House of Commons, made impressive speeches against the dishonour of the refusal of Ormond to co-operate with Eugene. But they were defeated by large majorities. A very effective protest was signed by many peers; and it was printed and circulated in several languages. The ministry endeavoured to repress it, and would have prosecuted the printer, could they have discovered him. The practice of secret printing was one of the means in those days by which prosecutions against libel were evaded. Very shortly after the publication of this protest, a Report was presented from a Committee of the whole House, upon "the great licence taken in publishing false and scandalous libels." In this Report it was proposed that printing-presses should be registered, with the names of their owners, and their places of abode; that the name of the printer and of the publisher should be attached to every book, pamphlet, or paper; and that no bookseller should sell or disperse any printed paper without the name of the author, printer, and publisher. The Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in accordingly. The Bill dropt through. To suppress anonymous writing would

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxii. p. 8. † *Ibid.*

have deprived the government of one of its strongest allies. Swift, in his posthumous work, "The Four last years of queen Anne," looks back with horror upon the provision that would have made him utterly useless to Lord-treasurer and Secretary. "In this Bill there was a clause inserted (whether industriously with design to overthrow it) that the author's name and place of abode should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; to which I believe no man who has the least regard to learning would have given his consent." Pious men, he says, conceal their names, out of an humble Christian spirit; "persons of true genius have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves upon their first sending their thoughts into the world." There was something besides the "humble Christian spirit," and "the invincible modesty," that made Swift always an anonymous writer. Under that form of publication alone could he defame and misrepresent; and, what is of more importance to us, could he leave to the world the most remarkable examples of the power of influencing public opinion by fearless argument and withering sarcasm, expressed in the simplest language. The benefits of anonymous writing have far outweighed its evils. The scheme for restricting the press in this mode broke down. The other scheme of the ministry for taxing it was successful. In 1711 one of the longest Acts in the Statute Book was passed, which imposed duties upon soap, paper, silks, linen, and many other articles, and upon "certain printed papers, pamphlets, and advertisements."* Those taxes which came under the denomination of "new Stamp duties," were to be in force for thirty-two years, commencing on the 1st of August, 1712. They endured, with various large additions and modifications, for more than a century and a half; till the public opinion, which they were meant to hold in check, swept them away. The well-known passage in Swift's Journal to Stella tells how the Stamp-duty operated: "Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven penny papers of my own, besides some of other people's: but now every single half-sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. The 'Observator' is fallen; the 'Medleys' are jumbled together with the 'Flying Post;' the 'Examiner' is deadly sick; the 'Spectator' keeps up, and doubles its price; I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with? Methinks it is worth a halfpenny the stamping." We shall have to return to the subject of the beginnings of Journalism and of Periodical Literature, in a subsequent chapter.

On the 17th of June the queen informed the Parliament, in a speech from the throne, of the terms upon which "a General Peace may be made." Her majesty had no authority from her Allies to announce their consent to such terms; and this statement was only a continuance of the duplicity that had attended the secret negotiations with France. The Protestant succession as by law established in the House of Hanover, was to be acknowledged. There was to be "an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France who has pretended to disturb this settlement." As "the apprehension that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France was the chief inducement to begin this war," that union was to be effectually

* 10 Anne, c. 18.

prevented by the duke of Anjou and his descendants renouncing all claim to the crown of France, and a similar renunciation was to be made by the king of France, his heirs and successors, of all claim to the crown of Spain. Certain cessions of territory in America were to be made to Great Britain. Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and Minorca were to be secured to her; and Dunkirk was to be demolished. Various announcements of territorial arrangements connected with the Allied powers were also made. An amendment was moved to the complimentary Address of the Lords, in reply to this communication, recommending a general guarantee of the Allies to the conditions of peace. This was rejected by a large majority; but a protest was signed by many peers, in which the objections to the proposed Treaty, and to the separate negotiations, were very forcibly put. The chief objection, which long continued to be a source of alarm to Europe, was in these terms: "A perfect union among the Allies seems to us to be more necessary in the present case, because the foundation upon which all the offers of France, relating to Great Britain, as well as to the Allies, are built, viz., a renunciation of the duke of Anjou to that kingdom, is, in our opinion, so fallacious, that no reasonable man, much less whole nations, can ever look upon it as any security. Experience may sufficiently convince us, how little we ought to rely upon the renunciation of the House of Bourbon, and though the present duke of Anjou should happen to think himself bound by his own act, which his grandfather did not, yet will his descendants be at liberty to say, that no act of his could deprive them of their birth-right, and especially when it is such a right, as, in the opinion of all Frenchmen, ought inviolably to be maintained, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom of France." *

The lapse of time has produced some changes of opinion as to those terms of pacification which were finally concluded by the peace of Utrecht; but there can be little doubt that the dangers set forth in this protest were present to the minds of all that portion of the nation who were not clamorous for peace upon any terms, and who were not infected with that political insanity which hailed the friendship of France as the preliminary condition to the re-establishment of the throne upon the sole principle of hereditary right. Nevertheless, the people were not in a temper to make any very strenuous opposition to any negotiation for peace which would bring them an immediate reduction of taxation. Moreover, a peace would put an end to those advantages which the moneyed interest derived from the necessities of the government—advantages which made the landowners believe that "power, which, according to the old maxim, was used to follow land, is now gone over to money, so that if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the public funds." † The landed interest was still paramount in Parliament; but it saw with dread that the new power was making some inroad upon its supposed exclusive right to legislate for the whole community—"to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants." ‡

The withdrawal of the British troops, under Ormond, from that co-operation

* "Parliamentary History," vol. vi. col. 1149. † "Examiner," October, 1710.
‡ "Four last years of Queen Anne."

with Eugene upon which the plan of the campaign had been arranged, was preceded by the announcement to Parliament of the terms upon which peace might be made. But the congress at Utrecht had been no party to these terms; and therefore the surprise and indignation of the Allies was as great as if the British abandonment of their cause had taken place without any announcement that a separate negotiation had been proceeding between the courts of Versailles and St. James's. An old soldier, serjeant Milner, has described the separation from their companions in arms of the twelve thousand brave fellows that were compelled to obey the orders of Ormond, on the 16th of July: "As they marched off that day, both sides looked very dejectfully on each other, neither being permitted to speak to the other, to prevent reflections that might thereby arise; being there was then made a strange revolution between us and our Allies, by our cessation of arms, or entrance on an odd peace with France." Ormond, amidst the contempt of his men as "a stupid tool and a general of straw," made his inglorious way to Ghent and Bruges, the Dutch governors refusing to let him pass through the fortified towns which Marlborough had won. St. John, who had now been created viscount Bolingbroke—to his great indignation at not receiving an earldom—was dispatched to Paris, to settle some points that were still in dispute. He was accompanied by Matthew Prior, who had previously been an agent in the clandestine correspondence between the two courts. Although the wily Secretary remained only about a fortnight in Paris and the neighbourhood—amply engaged with his negotiations and his pleasures—it is asserted that he had two private interviews with the chevalier St. George. In discussing with Torcy the absolute necessity of the removal of the Pretender from the French territory, he said the time might come when the well-disposed [les bien intentionnés] would be sorry if the chevalier were at a distance from the British isles. The plenipotentiaries of the emperor at Utrecht had not hesitated to say that the great end of the English management was to bring in the Pretender; and the Dutch had expressed the same belief. The abilities of Bolingbroke were sufficiently tasked to keep Louis firm to his engagements. Torcy says that if the success of Villars at Denain had occurred earlier, the king would not have consented to the renunciation which separated the French and Spanish crowns. When the Allies were afterwards discomfited, Louis rose in his demands as regarded the fortresses to be retained as a barrier by the Dutch. Bolingbroke accomplished one special object of his embassy—to secure the interests of the duke of Savoy. How far he may have yielded some points to the personal address of Louis XIV., who had the kingly faculty of winning men by politeness, is not evident. He was not directly won after the old French fashion of bestowing "gratifications" upon English ministers. But the present of a ring of the value of four thousand pounds from the magnificent king, was not a compliment which a statesman of later and better times would have accepted. Before Bolingbroke left Paris, a suspension of arms was proclaimed between Great Britain and France. The States refused to accede to this armistice; and their first inclination was to continue the war, in conjunction with the emperor and the smaller German powers. But they saw themselves deserted; they saw that Eugene could not stand up

against the military resources of France, and the genius of her commanders. They finally, in December, accepted the propositions made in concert between France and England. But in the proportion that concessions were made to France her plenipotentiaries became more captious and evasive. The treaty would probably have fallen through, and have left its English negotiators exposed to the vengeance of their political rivals, had not the ministers issued peremptory orders to their plenipotentiaries to sign it at all hazards.

On the 11th of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and the States-General. The emperor refused to be a party to it. Those points which affected Great Britain have been already mentioned in general terms. Those which affected the other powers were accomplished by this treaty of Utrecht, and by subsequent treaties of 1714.* We subjoin a very brief view of the entire arrangement. Spain and the Indies were given to Philip; the French king recognised the Protestant succession, and engaged to make the Pretender withdraw from the French dominions; he renounced for himself, his heirs, and his successors, the succession to the throne of Spain, while Philip renounced in like manner the succession to the throne of France; the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished, and the harbour filled up, an equivalent being first given to France by Great Britain; Hudson's Bay and Straits were to remain to Great Britain, and satisfaction was to be made by France to the Hudson's Bay Company for all damages sustained; St. Christopher's, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland were given to Great Britain, with certain rights of fishing off Newfoundland reserved to France, and, by a separate treaty with Philip, as king of Spain, Minorca and Gibraltar were retained by Great Britain; the emperor of Austria received the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was separated from Naples, and given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and the succession to the throne of Spain, in default of descendants from Philip, was settled in the house of Savoy; Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, Ypres, and Nieuport were assigned to the Dutch, in addition to the places already possessed by them.

Upon the assembling of Parliament, the queen announced in general terms the conclusion of the treaty of peace. On the 9th of May her majesty sent a message to the effect, that as it is the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to make peace and war, she had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with France, and had concluded a treaty with Spain. The treaties were then laid before the Houses. The treaty of commerce contained two articles which had been agreed to by the British plenipotentiaries, upon the condition that they should be binding if they received the sanction of Parliament. They were conceived in a spirit of liberality which was far before the age in which they were propounded. The negotiators proposed that reciprocal advantages should be enjoyed by the subjects of Great Britain and France, by putting the trade of each upon the footing of that of the most favoured nations; and that the laws made since 1664 for the prohibition of French imports should be repealed. The mercantile public clamoured against the proposal as destructive of British commerce. The balance of

* See the Table of Treaties, *ante*, p. 389.

trade would be annually a million and a half against Great Britain; which was held to be equivalent to the actual loss, according to the absurd delusion of those days, of a million and a half. The manufactures of silk, linen, and paper, would be destroyed. France would not buy our wool or woollen stuffs. We should drink her wines, to the injury of Portugal, who had become our best customer under the Methuen treaty, actually paying us half a million in good, hard, unconsumable dollars. Burnet expresses the popular philosophy when he says, "We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal that their wines should be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but if the duties were, according to the treaties of commerce, to be made equal, then, considering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be cheaper, and the nation liking them better, by this means we should break our treaties with Portugal," and lose that wonderful balance in our favour.* It never entered into the reasonings of the advocates of prohibition and forced consumption, that a supply at the cheapest rate of what a nation liked and wanted, was preferable to a supply at a dearer rate of what a nation did not like and did not want. The treaty of commerce with France was rejected by a small majority of the Commons; and though much has been since done for the removal of prohibitory duties, there still remains much to be accomplished before the two nations, each producing what the other would willingly take in exchange, shall have wholly cast aside the prejudices of 1713.

On the 7th of July there was a public thanksgiving for the Peace, and both Houses of Parliament went in procession to St. Paul's. The Commons had sufficiently manifested their adhesion to the principles which placed Harley and St. John in power, by appointing Sacheverel to preach before them on the 29th of May. Yet this uncompromising body of so-called representatives of the people, who would gladly have annihilated all that the Revolution bestowed upon the people, was happily limited in its term of existence by the Triennial Bill. The Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of July; and very shortly afterwards was dissolved. The elections were conducted with more than usual party-violence. The Tory wore a green bough in honour of the Restoration of the Stuarts; the Whig placed a lock of wool in his hat to mark how he had supported the good old principles of exclusive trade. But the Jacobites were working steadily at their great object of preparing the way for their legitimate shadow of a king, who had, according to the letter of the treaty with France, been removed out of the dominions of Louis, to be seated in Lorraine, which was equally convenient for any enterprise, either before or after the decease of the queen. The Jacobites had great encouragement in their schemes through the ascendancy of Bolingbroke. Oxford had become comparatively powerless; and the bold Secretary, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, reduced the army, particularly the regiments which had been raised by William III.; and they placed their own instruments in the command of various strongholds. The chevalier St. George was in his own person the greatest obstacle to the success of the plans of his adherents. Bolingbroke and other Jacobites who knew how

* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 146.

firmly the people clung to the principle of Protestantism, had repeatedly urged him to change his religion, or at least to make a pretended renunciation of his faith. His determination was honourable to himself, and a severe rebuke to his unscrupulous friends. He wrote a letter in 1711, which was shown to many persons, containing this honest sentence: "Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion; and as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons because in this they chance to differ from me; nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they have to say upon this subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty I allow to others, to adhere to the religion which I, in my conscience, think the best; and I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself which I deny to none." * The son of James inherited the inflexibility of his father in his adherence to the church of Rome, also inheriting the family likeness. Horace Walpole says, "Without the particular features of any Stuart, the Chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all. From the first moment I saw him, I never doubted the legitimacy of his birth." †

The new Parliament met in February, 1714. The queen in her Speech said, "there are some who are arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate that the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under my government." Her majesty called upon Parliament to suppress "seditious papers and factious rumours." Both Houses went to work in this congenial duty, according to their respective party-tendencies. The Lords had the printer and publisher of "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" called to their bar. They were committed to the custody of the Black Rod. Swift was the author of this libel against the Scotch nation, but Oxford professed indignation against such libels. Oxford had caused a hundred pounds to be presented to the anonymous writer. Steele had written a pamphlet called "The Crisis," to which he had affixed his name. He was expelled the House by a large majority of his fellow representatives. Steele made an able defence, in which he was assisted by Addison; and Walpole, in a speech of unanswerable truth, showed the atrocious tyranny of this proceeding. "In former reigns, the audacity of corruption extended itself only to judges and juries. The attempt so to degrade Parliament was, till the present period, unheard of. The Liberty of the Press is unrestrained. How then shall a part of the Legislature dare to punish that as a crime which is not declared to be so, by any law framed by the whole." ‡

On the 28th of May an event occurred which, although highly probable, and therefore likely to be familiar to men's thoughts, gave more distinctness to the question of the Protestant Succession. The princess Sophia fell dead in an apoplectic fit whilst walking in the garden of the palace of Herrenhausen. She was in her eighty-fourth year. Her son was therefore, under the Act of Settlement, the heir-apparent to the British Crown. George, elector of Hanover—or more properly elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg—was born on the 28th of May, 1660. He had therefore

* Macpherson Papers, vol. ii. p. 225.
† "Memoirs of George II.," vol. i. p. 285. ‡ Coxe's "Walpole," vol. i. p. 44.

reached his fifty-fourth year on the day of his mother's death. There could be no enthusiasm in England for the succession of an elderly foreign gentleman, who spoke no English, had the reputation of being reserved and morose, and was singularly unhappy in his domestic relations. But he was also known to be a man of courage and honesty; and he was the rallying-point for that great principle of freedom, civil and religious, which was endangered under the Stuart dynasty, and could never be secure if one of that race were carried to the throne upon the shoulders of those who shouted for divine right and non-resistance. Bolingbroke, with a daring which formed a part of his mysterious character, took the occasion, whilst the public mind was necessarily directed to the question of the Succession, to bring forward his Schism Bill, the object of which was to trample on the Dissenters, by enacting that no person should keep a public or private school, or act as a tutor, who had not subscribed the declaration of Conformity, and received a licence from the diocesan. This detestable measure was passed by a majority of a hundred in the Commons, and by a majority of fourteen in the Lords. Bolingbroke moved the second reading. Wharton flung a telling sarcasm at the secretary: "He was agreeably surprised to see that some men of pleasure were, on a sudden, become so religious, as to set up for patrons of the Church." The keen old debater hit both lord-treasurer and secretary very hard, when he said, "He could not but wonder that persons who had been educated in dissenting academies, whom he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them." *

On the 9th of July the Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person. A violent rupture had taken place between Oxford and Bolingbroke. On the 27th of July there was a protracted dispute in Council between the two rivals, at which Anne was present till a late hour of the night. It ended in the dismissal of Oxford. Bolingbroke was now supreme. The agitation of the queen brought on a sudden illness. On the 30th she had a seizure of apoplexy. Bolingbroke had no time to carry through his schemes for the House of Stuart; and when the queen, in an interval of consciousness, delivered the staff of the highest office to the duke of Shrewsbury—who had been in concert with the dukes of Somerset and Argyle—her death, on the morning of the 1st of August, gave the power of the government to the friends of the House of Brunswick.

* The Act was to come into operation on the 1st of August. On that day queen Anne died; and its execution was suspended by the new government.

Entrance to Pope's Grotto.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Literature and Manners of the earlier part of the eighteenth century—The Tatler—News-writers and Pamphleteers—Dunton's "Athenian Gazette"—Defoe's Review—The Spectator and the Guardian—Influence and objects of the Essayists—Low state of education—The Essayists diffusers of knowledge—Joint labours of Steele and Addison—The Spectator's Club—Fiction—Reading for females—Literary Piracy—Copyright Act—Literature as a Profession—The Poets—Alexander Pope.

ADDISON has shadowed out an "imaginary historian, describing the reign of Anne I.," some two or three hundred years after his time, "who will make mention of the men of genius and learning who have now any figure in the British nation." He fancies a paragraph which he has drawn up "will not be altogether unlike what will be found in some page or other of this imaginary historian." It runs thus: "It was under this reign that the 'Spectator' published those little diurnal essays which are still extant. We know very little of the name or person of this author, except only that he was a man of a very short face, extremely addicted to silence, and so great a lover of knowledge, that he made a voyage to Grand Cairo for no other reason but to take the measure of a pyramid. His chief friend was one Sir Roger de Coverley, a whimsical country-knight, and a Templar, whose name he has not transmitted to us. He lived as a lodger at the house of a widow-woman, and was a great humourist in all parts of his life. This is all we can affirm with any certainty of his person and character. As for his speculations,

notwithstanding the several obsolete words and obscure phrases of the age in which he lived, we still understand enough of them to see the diversions and characters of the English nation in his time."* It was a bold effort of imagination to believe that any historian would turn from Marlborough and the Pretender, from Mrs. Masham and Dr. Sacheverel, to "little diurnal essays;" or bestow any attention upon "the diversions and characters of the English nation." Tindal wholly leaves such frivolous matters to their own perishableness. Smollett merely notices the expulsion of Mr. Steele from the House of Commons, and only mentions Mr. Addison as Secretary of State. Our readers will pardon us in going farther than the "imaginary historian" —in turning aside from battles and sieges, from lord-treasurers and ladies of the bedchamber, to linger with some of "the men of genius and learning" who illustrated this period, in companionship with the short-faced man "who was a great humourist in all parts of his life," and with his brother humourist who rejoiced in the name of Bickerstaff. We cannot look at one of these agreeable moralists as separated by superiority of intellect or refinement from the other. Never were two men more fitted than Addison and Steele to be fellow-labourers in the works which have associated their names for all time. These works form a broad and safe foundation for a general outline of the minuter characteristics of the national mind and manners, in the three, and partially in the four, first decades of the eighteenth century. We offer this outline as supplementary to the graver views of England's industrial and social condition, which we have given at the beginning of this volume.

On Tuesday, the 12th of April, 1709, appeared a small folio half-sheet, of four columns, which professed to teach "politick persons what to think," and "moreover, to have something which may be of entertainment to the fair sex," in honour of whom the title of "Tatler" was chosen. Further it was said, "forasmuch as this globe is not trodden upon by mere drudges of business only, but that men of spirit and genius are justly to be esteemed as considerable agents in it, we shall not upon a dearth of news present you with musty foreign edicts, or dull proclamations, but shall divide our relation of the passages which occur in action or discourse throughout this town, as well as elsewhere, under such dates of places as may prepare you for the matter you are to expect, in the following manner: All accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment shall be under the article of White's Chocolate-house; poetry, under that of Will's Coffee-house; learning under the title of Grecian; foreign and domestic news you will have from St. James's Coffee-house; and what else I shall on any other subject offer, shall be dated from my own apartment." This is a comprehensive scheme, and withal a very complex one. But the reason of these devices is obvious. The ingenious editor desired to avail himself of the advantages of his official appointment as Gazetteer, to produce something like a newspaper; but the man of wit would also aim at something better than the conductors of newspapers proper aimed at, of which one of their fraternity said, "We read more of our affairs in the Dutch papers than in any of our own."† This complaint of newspapers was written

* "Spectator," No. 101.

† Prospectus of Evening Post.—Andrews' "History of British Journalism," vol. i. p. 103.

in the year 1709—the year in which Isaac Bickerstaff was making provision against "a dearth of news;" the year of negotiations for peace, which ended in the carnage of Malplaquet; the year in which the adverse camps of High-church and Low-church, of Tory and Whig, were alive with the keenest excitement of preparation for a great coming struggle. "A dearth of news" at such a period! Yet if we consider of what materials the newspaper of the beginning of the eighteenth century was constructed, we shall cease to be surprised at the machinery which Steele devised to make his quasi-newspaper entertaining. Cumbrous as that machinery may now appear to us, it was contrived with considerable skill. The real news-writer was surrounded with a hundred difficulties and perils. The "Tatler" pretended that he was obliged to keep "an ingenious man" to go daily to the coffee-houses to pick up his intelligence; and no doubt such was the mode in which the greater part of the news of the "Observator," of the "Postboy," of the "Flying Post," of the "News Letter," was concocted. The news-writer was shut out of the House of Lords and out of the House of Commons; he never went into the law courts, for, except on great occasions, the people took no interest in their proceedings; he ran extreme risk in giving any political news, for the "publisher of false news" was a person for whom the pillory was an especial terror; he had no correspondents in distant parts of England; at the beginning of the century, Stamford and Norwich were the only towns that had their especial papers, from which he could transfer their meagre paragraphs about a murder or an execution; Scotland and Ireland had as little intelligence to furnish the London journalist as had the American colonies: and so the coffee-house, with its rumours about public events, became the "Staple of Newes," and the discreet reporter always prefaced his information with "We hear"—"It is said"—"There is a talk"—"They continue to say." The cheap tract-writer tasked his imagination to produce much more exciting narratives than the dull paragraph-monger. The pamphleteer was the "penny-a-liner" of the time of the "Tatler." He had the same inexhaustible materials to work upon as the "penny-a-liner" of our own time; although the mode in which this form of genius is now developed is somewhat changed. He of the earlier day is thus described: "His brain, which was his estate, had as regular and different produce as other men's land. From the beginning of November until the opening of the campaign, he writ pamphlets and letters to members of parliament or friends in the country. But sometimes he would relieve his ordinary readers with a murder, and lived comfortably a week or two upon strange and lamentable accidents. A little before the armies took the field, his way was to open your attention with a prodigy; and a monster, well writ, was two guineas the lowest price. This prepared his readers for his great and bloody news from Flanders in June and July."* Steele tried to interest the town in a different way. The worthy quidnunc, attracted by the name of Bickerstaff, to which name Swift had given popularity, gladly received the first number of the "Tatler" which was delivered without charge, or he expended a penny when the "gratis stock" of the first number was exhausted. But he must have been wonderfully surprised when reading the opening "relation of the

* "Tatler," No. 101.

passages which occur in action or discourse throughout this town," he found a brief narrative of "the deplorable condition of a very pretty gentleman," which article "may be of great instruction to all who actually are, or who ever shall be, in love."

The "Athenian Gazette," of the eccentric bookseller, John Dunton, had given the public of the time of William III. some notion of a weekly paper without politics. It professed to resolve "all the most nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious;" but it fell far short of the magnificent intention of its projector, "to raise the soul, as 'twere, into daylight, and restore the knowledge of truth and happiness."* It commenced in 1691, and was continued till 1696—a jumble of quaint nonsense with occasional gleams of meaning. The "Review" of Defoe appeared, in penny weekly numbers, five years before the "Tatler." It was subsequently issued twice a week. The "Review" was principally occupied by Defoe's earnest speculations on political affairs. It also contained lighter matters, in describing the proceedings of a "Scandal Club." Some of these papers on manners are valuable, chiefly because their writer looked upon the town from another point of view than that of the wits and gossipers of the coffee-houses. But he saw only the broader aspects of society; felt little interest in its amusements; despised its frivolities; and confined his observation to the green pastures of virtue and wisdom, and the sands and morasses of vice and folly, without caring much for that great border-land which supplied "human nature's daily food." Defoe was no model for Steele, although the honour of being the leader in the march of the essayists has been assigned to him. Defoe was indeed the only writer of high talent who first saw the power of the periodical mode of publication. Dunton had preceded Defoe in this discovery, which ultimately revolutionized the entire system of our lighter literature, and turned an age of pamphlets into an age of magazines and miscellanies. The mode of continuous publication, under one title, converted the political tracts into Reviews and Examiners. Defoe saw the advantage of furnishing small quantities of printed thought to a nation not greatly advanced in the mere ability to read —to say nothing of the general indisposition of the gentry and the mercantile class to read anything which did not thoroughly address itself to their religious and political sympathies. Defoe would find his readers in the dissenting congregations, however some might differ from him. He found them, too, in those honest thinkers who took no lead in politics, with whom England has ever abounded. Whilst there were too many tricksters in high places conducting the affairs of the nation, there were many who were taking that common-sense view of public measures which the opinion of a people habitually free very commonly takes—that the prosperity and happiness of communities is not wholly dependent upon which party is in or which party is out of office. Defoe addressed his "Review" to men who clung to the great principles of civil liberty and religious toleration, and were therefore essentially Whigs. But he offended Dissenters and Whigs by his differences with them upon many points; and he was, therefore, a better representative of the few who thought for themselves. Steele, on the other hand, addressed himself in the "Tatler," to the far larger class who had not very

* Dunton's "Life and Errors," p. 248.

strong political or religious convictions; and who were glad to find a new kind of literature set on foot that, on the face of it, promised amusement rather than instruction. In a very short time the articles of foreign intelligence from "St. James' coffee-house," became rarer and rarer. With Tournay, and Malplaquet, and Mons, the news department of the "Tatler" seems to have been closed. The approaching return of the duke of Marlborough to England is announced in its news on the 1st of November. There is an arrival of more importance to his interests which Mr. Bickerstaff does not announce. Addison has come to town from Ireland. He has made a few contributions to Steele's penny paper. He has discovered his true powers as a writer; and he will unite henceforward with honest Dick in making that half-sheet, which is despatched from London three times a week, on every post day of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, a vehicle for instructing the people without setting-up for instructors, and for amusing the people without condescending to be ribalds. We have it on record that the "Tatler" found its way into the fens of Lincolnshire, under the auspices of Maurice Johnson, a native of Spalding, who had some literary and antiquarian tastes. He laboured to form a reading society in that very uncongenial district. "Taking care not to alarm the country gentlemen by any premature mention of antiquities, he endeavoured at first to allure them into the more flowery paths of literature. In 1709, a few of them were brought together every post-day, at the coffee-house in the Abbey-yard; and after one of the party had read aloud the last published number of the "Tatler," they proceeded to talk over the subject among themselves."*

The "Spectator" was read in a similar manner by the gentlemen of Spalding. This successor of the "Tatler" commenced March 1, 1711, and was published daily,—a circumstance which at once exhibits the confidence of the writers in their power to interest a very miscellaneous class of readers, and the fertility of the soil, hitherto so barren, which they proposed to cultivate. The "Guardian" succeeded the "Spectator," and was also published daily. It was fortunate for the circulation of these works that the better regulation of the Post had not been neglected by the government, amidst their party-conflicts. The Statute of 1710 made the delivery of letters to Edinburgh and Dublin more regular, by establishing chief letter-offices in those cities, and having a more equal charge for England. Thus, with a blank leaf for adding private correspondence to the printed matter, the "Tatler" was circulated in English provincial towns. In Perthshire even, when "the gentlemen met after church on Sunday to discuss the news of the week, the Spectators were read as regularly as the Journal." †

At the opening of the last parliament of the reign of Anne, when the member for Stockbridge rose to second the nomination of Sir Thomas Hanmer as Speaker, he was saluted by some of the Tory squires with cries of "Tatler! Tatler!" It was not with the intent to honour the new Whig member that these knights of the shire, and patrons of decayed boroughs, uttered the one word which has associated his name with the memory of the

* "The Gentleman's Society at Spalding;" privately printed, 1851. See, also, Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iv. p. 68.

† Bisset's "Life of Addison," quoted in Drake's Essays.

pleasantest, the most influential, and on many accounts the most original, branch of the literature of what is called our Augustan age. By the side of Richard Steele sat, on the same opposition benches, his friend and fellow-labourer, Joseph Addison. He must have smiled to hear the race of fox-hunters yelping out in their ignorant pride such a reproach as this against one who, under the name of Bickerstaff, never designed to give any man any secret wound by his concealment; and who, at the close of his work, published his name to his writings, and gave himself up to the mercy of the town, with all his imperfections on his head.* Addison himself, Swift tells us, was so popular, that when he was elected to a parliament in which the Tories carried it six to one, his election passed "easy and undisputed; and I believe, if he had a mind to be king, he would hardly be refused." † What gave Addison to a great extent this popularity? That which the squires thought a reproach. He and his coadjutor Steele had opened for the people such fountains of playful humour, of gentle satire, of familiar criticism, of tolerant morality, that they had become to their readers as personal friends. The "Tatler," and "Spectator," and "Guardian," had appeared at a time when the High Churchmen were urging to religious hatred, and the right-divine parliament men were trying to back the old state coach into the sloughs from which the revolution had dragged it. Under their periodical companionship, many a fiery Templar was calmed by the pleasant lessons that he read as he sipped his morning chocolate; and many a court beauty was taught that there were more graceful and enduring charms than those of the female politician. Steele and Addison produced a permanent influence upon their age, because, in this new journalism, they mingled as little as possible with the temporary animosities of the age. They kept their politics for the "Whig Examiner" and the "Englishman." The Tory squires, who despised the penny literature which was the delight of old and young, of the London coffee house and the provincial club, have passed to their natural obscurity. Steele has "Tatler" written upon his tomb as his greatest glory.

Johnson has said, and his opinion may be taken with very slight qualification, "Before the 'Tatler' and 'Spectator,' if the writers for the theatre are excepted, England had no masters of common life." He adds, "We had many books to teach us more important duties, and to settle opinions in philosophy and politics." Addison himself, in his "Freeholder," a series of "Political Essays," whilst maintaining that "papers of entertainment" might be advantageously mixed with graver speculations upon state topics, has recorded his own view of what he and his coadjutors accomplished in the "Tatlers and Spectators," which, he says, "were so generally dispersed in single sheets, and have since been printed in so great numbers. . . . . They diverted raillery from improper objects, and gave a new turn to ridicule, which for many years had been exerted on persons and things of a sacred and serious nature. . . . . Our nation are such lovers of mirth and humour, that it is impossible for detached papers, which come out on stated days, either to have a general run, or long continuance, if they are not diversified, and enlivened from time to time, with subjects and thoughts accommodated to this taste,

* "Tatler, No. 271."—Concluding Address. † "Journal to Stella."

which so prevails among our countrymen. No periodical author, who always maintains his gravity, and does not sometimes sacrifice to the Graces, must expect to keep in vogue for any considerable time." * Nothing but the remarkable talents of Steele and Addison, their knowledge of human nature, and their kindly dispositions, could have made their ridicule of transient follies of any permanent value. In avoiding the bitter exaggerations of the professed satirist, they give us real pictures of the every-day life of their time. In presenting what the old dramatists called humours, they offer us something of higher art than caricatures of individuals who have no features in common with their fellow-men. They exhibit to us the representatives of classes. But these first and greatest of the essayists have a further especial value in our eyes. They reflect the general character of the education of the people in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. "Papers of entertainment," said Addison, "are necessary to increase the number of readers, especially among those of different notions and principles." The "Tatler" and "Spectator," and "Guardian," addressed themselves to the largest number of those who had the ability and the leisure to read. The whole tone of these books shows how limited the number was; and how necessary it became to deal with the higher parts of knowledge in the most familiar manner, and to advocate the noblest interests of religion and morals in the pleasantest spirit. Johnson has truly said, speaking of the time when Addison and Steele hit upon their vocation as popular instructors, "Men, not professing learning, were not ashamed of ignorance; and in the female world any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured." The cheap periodical literature of our own day, taken as a whole, does not address a less-educated class than those addressed in the same manner during the last four years of Anne. The difference is that with us the readers have been multiplied a hundredfold.

"It is a great pity," writes Addison, in 1713, "there should be no knowledge in a family. For my own part, I am concerned, when I go into a great house where perhaps there is not a single person that can spell, unless it be by chance the butler, or one of the footmen. What a figure is the young heir likely to make, who is a dunce both by father's and mother's side." † There was a system of education for the humble then in progress, which gave the butler and the footman this advantage over the other inmates of the great house. The institution of charity-schools appeared to the essayist the most proper means to recover the age "out of its present degeneracy and depravation of manners;" and to promise that "there will be few in the next generation who will not at least be able to write and read, and have not had an early tincture of religion." ‡ How imperfectly this promise was realised during the eighteenth century, under the charity-school system, we had melancholy proofs. But we cannot look without admiration upon the judicious mode in which the first essayists endeavoured to diffuse some desire for knowledge, and some taste for the higher efforts of genius, throughout a nation with whom superior rank and riches did not necessarily infer a more liberal cultivation of the mind than amongst those who laboured for their bread. They pursued the only wise and safe course. They made

* "Freeholder," No. 45. † "Guardian," No. 155. ‡ *Ibid.*, No. 105.

no attempts to deal with the abstruse parts of learning, by addressing themselves to the few; nor to lower themselves to what the pedants would deem the popular capacity, in writing for the many. In an essay attributed to Gay we find how entirely the writings of the "Tatler" "have convinced our fops and young fellows of the value and advantages of learning;" and in a poem of 1712 we are told that the ladies, under the influence of Steele, "aspire to write correct, and spell;" and that in their familiar letters we no longer find "Wurthee Surr." *

Nothing would more surprise us in the contents of a periodical paper of our own time, not addressed exclusively to children, than to find the most familiar passages from the great poets presented to its readers as novelties. In the conduct of the early numbers of the "Tatler," Steele evidently assumed that the literary acquirements of his subscribers had not extended to Shakspere or Milton; and that it was desirable to approach these obscure writers by a tentative process. As a help to a right judgment of actors for "the less learned part of the audience," we have Hamlet's instructions to the players given at length.† The description of Dover Cliff, in Lear, "drawn with such proper incidents," is duly set forth.‡ Passages of Henry IV., of Richard III., of Othello, are given as if they had all the charm of freshness for the greater number. And they really had this charm for most *readers*. The fourth folio edition of Shakspere was published in 1685; the next edition, that of Rowe, appeared in the same year as the "Tatler." In very sensible and genial morsels of criticism upon Macbeth and Julius Cæsar, Steele quotes from his stage memory, as if no printed copy of the tragedies was accessible to him. His enthusiastic commendation of Betterton, as the great interpreter of Shakspere's characters, points to the sources of his criticism. Steele preceded Addison in calling attention to Milton. He frequently quotes from Paradise Lost; and he transcribes "a passage in a mask writ by Milton," which, he says, "made me forget my age, and renewed in me the warm desires after virtue, so natural to uncorrupted youth." § But the first strenuous attempt to make the people of the reign of Anne fully impressed with the value of the great poet who had scarcely been heard in his own day, amidst "the barbarous dissonance of Bacchus and his revellers," was reserved for Addison. Yet in his famous series of papers on the "Paradise Lost," he had approached his subject with evident disinclination to hazard any heterodox opinion of the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns. If the Paradise Lost falls short of the Æneid or the Iliad in the power of working on the imagination, "it proceeds rather from the fault of the language in which it is written than from any defect of genius in the author." ‖ Addison, however, did admirably what he undertook to do; and he very wisely avoided what the learned Doctor Hurd complained that he did not do. He avoided metaphysical criticism; he did not attempt "to lay open the more secret and hidden springs of that pleasure which results from poetical composition." What Addison did, this grand philosophical critic thinks to be a very poor thing: "For what concerns his criticism on Milton in particular, there was this accidental benefit arising

* See Drake's "Essays," vol. iii.
† "Tatler," No. 35.
‡ *Ibid.*, No. 117.
§ "Tatler," No. 98.
‖ "Spectator," No. 417.

from it, that it occasioned an admirable poet to be read, and his excellences to be observed." All honour be to him who left the pedants to their own proper labours, and set manfully about his great duty of elevating the tastes and refining the manners of the people. Addison had very early professed a contempt for "all men of deep learning without common sense"—the "editors, commentators, interpreters, scholiasts, and critics,"—such as "set a greater value on themselves for having found out the meaning of a passage in Greek, than upon the author for having written it; nay, will allow the passage itself not to have any beauty in it, at the same time that they would be considered as the greatest men of the age for having interpreted it." * These were the natural haters of literature for the people. Whilst they would "write volumes upon an idle sonnet that is originally in Greek or Latin, give editions of the most immoral authors, and spin out whole pages upon the various readings of a lewd expression," they sneered at Addison for pointing out the beauties of "The Children in the Wood" and of "Chevy Chase." The pedants were joined by "the little conceited wits of the age," in ridiculing discourses upon old ballads that had only been "the delight of the common people."

Taking a broad view of the objects and tendency of these works, so especially characteristic of their age, we believe that they produced a far greater effect upon the intellectual and moral progress of the community by their cultivation of a taste for agreeable and healthful literature, than by their direct attacks upon vice and folly. Not the least of their services was to meet, in however limited a degree, that craving for fiction, which is even stronger amongst the imperfectly educated than amongst those of higher refinement. It has been said, that "no novel, giving a lively and powerful picture of the common life and manners of England, had appeared" before the time of the "Spectator;" that the narrative which connects together these essays, "gave to our ancestors their first taste of an exquisite and untried pleasure;" and that in this point of view, Addison is entitled "to be considered as the forerunner of the great English novelists." † The famous Club of the "Spectator" thus referred to, was, in its original features, the creation of Steele. It was for Addison to work out many of its most refined delineations of character; but Steele, who had a wider range of observation, first produced to the admiring world, sir Roger de Coverley. Addison mitigated some of the coarser features of this favourite of mankind; and in his picture we recognise few traces of the fine gentleman who "had often supped with my lord Rochester and sir George Etherege, fought a duel upon his first coming to town, and kicked Bully Dawson in a public coffee-house." Steele gave the outline of the member of the Inner-Temple, "who was placed there to study the laws of the land, and is the most learned of any of the house in those of the stage." Steele created sir Andrew Freeport, who "calls the sea the British common," and can prove "that diligence makes more lasting acquisitions than valour." It is to Steele we owe the brave and modest Captain Sentry, who "is never overbearing, though accustomed to command men in the utmost degree below him; nor ever too obsequious from a habit of obeying men highly above him." Steele called up Will

* "Tatler," No. 158. † Macaulay's "Essay on Addison."

Honeycomb, who has all his life dressed well, knows the history of every mode, and is proud to have "received a kind glance or blow of the fan from some celebrated beauty, mother of the present lord Such-a-one." Lastly, it was Steele who conceived that beautiful sketch of the clergyman, who seldom comes to the Club; "but when he does he adds to every one else a new enjoyment of himself;"—who is of too weak health to accept preferment; but who, without obtruding serious reflections, excites in his associates "an earnestness to have him fall on some divine topic." The essayist exultingly says, "these are my ordinary companions."

Sir Roger de Coverley is by far the most renowned member of the Spectator's Club, but he is rarely produced *in* the Club. It is in the country that the baronet is exhibited in his native glory. We are all familiar with his domestic establishment; with his description of his ancestors; with his deportment at church; with his adventure with the gipsies; with his field sports; with his importance at the assizes. We have ventured to suggest that the portrait of sir Roger may be taken for as just a representation of the country gentleman of the reign of Anne and of William III., as some eloquent descriptions which exhibit his class as wholly steeped in ignorance and debauchery.* If sir Roger had been a Whig we might have somewhat suspected the truth of the likeness. His Toryism, painted with the most delicate art, is not even made ridiculous. His prejudices are so natural that they almost command our respect. He is a much stronger Tory in the country than in town. He is brought into a gentle conflict of principles with sir Andrew Freeport, who is naturally inclined to the moneyed interest, whilst sir Roger as naturally leans to the landed interest. "This humour is so moderate in each of them, that it proceeds no farther than to an agreeable raillery, which very often diverts the rest of the Club."† Sir Roger is a thorough patriot. He exults in the glorious names of Henry V. and Queen Elizabeth, when he sees their tombs in Westminster Abbey. When he is rowed to Vauxhall by the waterman who had lost a leg in the battle of

Sir Roger de Coverley and the Spectator.

* *Ante*, p. 55.

† "Spectator," No. 126.

La Hogue, "the knight, in the triumph of his heart, made several reflections on the greatness of the British nation: as, that one Englishman could beat three Frenchmen; that we could never be in danger of popery so long as we took care of our fleet; that the Thames was the noblest river in Europe; that

Ancient Manor-House, Vauxhall.

London Bridge was a greater piece of work than any of the seven wonders of the world; with many other honest prejudices which naturally cleave to the heart of a true Englishman." There is not a more charming incident in the traits of character and manners which are evolved out of the Spectator's Club, than the description of the mode in which the members receive the news of sir Roger de Coverley's death. He had, some weeks before he died, sent a book by the carrier, to be given to sir Andrew Freeport in his name. "Sir Andrew, opening the book, found it to be a collection of Acts of Parliament. There was in particular the Act of Uniformity, with some passages in it marked by sir Roger's own hand. Sir Andrew found that they related to two or three points which he had disputed with Sir Roger, the last time he appeared at the Club. Sir Andrew, who would have been merry at such an incident on another occasion, at the sight of the old man's handwriting burst into tears, and put the book into his pocket." * Addison, speaking of the political and religious prejudices of his time, as exhibited in the country districts especially, says, "I am sometimes afraid that I discover the seeds of a civil war in these divisions." Gradually the extended intercourse of Whig and Tory, of Churchman and Dissenter, made the Sir Rogers and the Sir Andrews wiser than their ancestors; and it is not without reason that we may believe that such lay preachers as Addison and Steele had no incon-

* "Spectator," No. 517.

siderable influence in making their countrymen ashamed of "such a spirit of dissension," as rendered them "in a manner barbarous towards one another." Other animosities, other passions and prejudices, succeeded those of the generation in which these kindly moralists flourished. But their humanizing lessons have always been capable of a general application; and to the gradual spread of that education of high and humble, which they began by popularising literature, we may attribute the fact that, although Englishmen differ as keenly upon public subjects, they have long ceased to hate, as their forefathers hated.

The little tales of Steele in the "Tatler," also gave "the first taste of an exquisite and untried pleasure." There is material in every one of these simple and touching stories capable of expansion into several chapters of the modern writers of fiction; and yet they are so perfect, according to their own theory of art, that they must have set many a young imagination shaping forth scenes and dialogues to fill up the well-defined outline. In Steele's six or seven tragical sketches, the absence of elaboration, the directness with which we reach the catastrophe, give an impression of reality, such as we receive from the best passages of Defoe. The oriental tales and the allegories of Addison have their own charm, and exhibit the elegance of his taste and the beauty of his style. But we must honestly confess that we would rather have been the writer of "Inkle and Yarico" than of the "Vision of Mirza."

Looking at the united labours of Steele and Addison as a whole, we are astonished not only at the variety of their productions, but at the continuity of their periodical contributions from the spring of 1709 to the autumn of 1713, with very slight cessation. Of the "Tatler," "Spectator," and "Guardian," Steele wrote five hundred and ten papers; Addison wrote three hundred and sixty nine. What a void did these two associates fill up, when they opened the fountains of their learning, of their experience, of their humour, of their imagination, to delight a people who had almost forgotten the noble literature of a century earlier, and had very little to attract them, and less to improve, in the literature of their own time. For women, especially, studies "for delight, for ornament, and for use," were almost unknown. The "Tatler" proposed to take into serious consideration, the means of forming "a Female Library"—to recommend "a collection of books that shall consist of such authors as do not corrupt while they divert."* Steele never carried out his notion. Addison took up the idea, designing "to recommend such particular books as may be proper for the improvement of the sex." His intention equally failed. But Addison gave a catalogue of books which he found in the library of a lady of more than common education. Some few she had bought for her own use, but most had been got together "either because she had heard them praised, or because she had seen the authors of them." This may account for "Sir Isaac Newton's works" being there; and "Locke on the Human Understanding, with a paper of patches in it." "The lady's own reading has lain very much among romances;" and accordingly we find in this curious library, "Cassandra," "Cleopatra," "Astræa," "The Grand Cyrus." These were the famous translations, each in enormous folios, or in a dozen duedecimo volumes,

* "Tatler," No. 248.

from the French of Monsieur Calprenede, or of Mademoiselle Scudery. Their interminable stupidity was scarcely driven out till Richardson and Fielding appeared. But common sense dawned upon the readers for amusement when the essayists came; and from the publication of the "Tatler," "Spectator," and "Guardian," we may date the general taste for reading, which has gradually spread throughout our land.

The "men of genius and learning" who were contemporaries of Addison and Steele, rendered no considerable assistance to their admirable design of affording instruction and entertainment to a larger class of readers than "men of genius and learning" had previously thought worthy of their care. Swift only contributed two entire papers to the "Tatler" and "Spectator," with some dozen fragments. Congreve wrote one article in the "Tatler." Parnell furnished two essays to the "Spectator" and two to the "Guardian." Berkeley was a more diligent friend, having in the "Guardian" fourteen excellent papers on the sceptical opinions of the time. Of Pope's writing we find two articles in the "Spectator" and eight in the "Guardian." Of men of inferior note there are here and there an essay. The organization of periodical literature was at that time very imperfect. Ephemeral verse-makers could obtain a guinea from a bookseller for an occasional Ode, or a Political Satire. Two guineas for a "Letter to a Noble Lord," was the reward which Grub-street bestowed upon its patriots. Addison, in the "Tatler" already quoted, has a pleasant account of "a general dealer"—intended, we may guess, for Tom D'Urfey. "The merry rogue said, when he wanted a dinner, he sent a paragraph of Table Talk, and his bookseller, upon sight, paid the reckoning." The humble gains of these caterers for public taste were rendered more uncertain by the rogueries of piratical publishers, who were as unscrupulous towards authors using the same tongue, as if the breadth of the Atlantic had legalised their frauds. The famous "Act for the encouragement of learning," under which the term and other conditions of copyright subsisted for a century, was passed in that session of the Parliament of Anne, which began on the 13th of November, 1709. On the 1st of December, Addison, with the evident desire to promote this enactment for the benefit of literature, wrote a paper in the "Tatler," which thus commences: "The progress of my intended account of what happened when Justice visited mortals, is at present interrupted by the observation and sense of an injustice against which there is no remedy, even in a kingdom more happy in the care taken of the liberty and property of the subject than any other nation upon earth." That injustice was perpetrated by "men who are rogues within the law . . . . a set of wretches we authors call pirates, who print any book, poem, or sermon, as soon as it appears in the world, in a smaller volume, and sell it, as all other thieves do stolen goods, at a cheaper rate." The Statute which was passed a few months afterwards sets forth the same fraudulent practice, and gives to authors a limited enjoyment of their own property, which, under the common law, was held to endure for ever. But the common law did not give a prompt remedy against piracy, which was attained by the Statute of Anne. It is from the passing of this Act that we may date the slow but certain establishment of literature as a profession, deriving its support, like every other branch of industry, under the general laws of demand and supply. Addison, whose writings had procured for him lucrative offices, not only thinks that

authors ought to have "the benefit that may arise from their writings; but that it has happened, and may often happen, that men of learning and virtue cannot qualify themselves for public employment or preferment." He therefore comes to this sound conclusion: "I have brought myself to consider things in so unprejudiced a manner, that I esteem more a man who can live by the products of his understanding, than one who does it by the favour of great men."* During the reign of Anne "the favour of great men" was the ruling idea of those who devoted their lives to authorship. Next to the service that was rendered to literature by passing the Copyright Act, was the real elevation of the literary character by the contempt for letters of George I. and sir Robert Walpole. The writer who attempted to "live by the products of his understanding" alone, had a terrible state of transition to pass through before he was equally free from "the patron and the gaol." But he finally rose above the condition of "the hirelings in garrets, at hard meat," described by Roger North; we even think far above the "artificial encouragement of a vast system of bounties and premiums," which supplied "the deficiency of the natural demand for literature." † We cannot conceive any more practical humiliation of genius and learning than the vaunted modes of their patronage in what is complacently called the Augustan age. Prior is sent abroad as an ambassador; Addison becomes an Under-secretary of State; Swift obtains the deanery of St. Patrick. Congreve, Rowe, Hughes, Philips, Stepney, had lucrative appointments. How great the deserts! How munificent the rewards! The notion is that these eminent gainers of high prizes met their patrons upon thoroughly independent terms. Was it so? Swift, indeed, always affects to be greater than the men to whom he was paying court. He fancies he is standing up for the dignity of letters, when he takes Parnell to Oxford's levee, and the great lord-treasurer is civil to him. "I value myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry." ‡ Yet what real meanness is there under all this show of independence! In 1709, before the fall of the Whigs, Swift assails Halifax for preferment in a style that would be ludicrous if it were not contemptible. He congratulates himself upon having "such a solicitor as your lordship." He has no timid reservations. He boldly asks his noble solicitor, "that if you think this gentle winter will not carry off Dr. South, or that his reversion is not to be compassed, your lordship would please to use your credit that, as my lord Somers thought of me last year for the bishopric of Waterford, so my lord President may now think on me for that of Cork, if the incumbent dies of the spotted fever he is now under." § There is far more independence in Steele's request to the same patron of letters, that he would be liberal in subscribing to the new edition of the "Tatler:" "If any that your lordship recommends shall think fit to subscribe more than the sum proposed for a book, it may be said that it is for so many more books. This will make the favour more grateful by being conferred in an oblique way, and at the same time save the confusion of the Squire [Bickerstaff], whom I know to be naturally proud." ‖ More honest than the impudent seeker of a prebend or a bishopric, or than the poor and proud essayist who desires a gift "in an

* "Tatler," No. 101. † Macaulay, "Essay on Johnson." ‡ "Journal," Jan. 31, 1713.
§ "Letters of Eminent Literary Men," Camden Society, p. 348. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

oblique way," is Defoe, who tells Halifax that he "scorned to come out of Newgate at the price of betraying a dead master," but thanks him in a straightforward style for "the exceeding bounty I have now received;" and says, "I am a plain and unpolished man, and perfectly unqualified to make formal acknowledgments; and a temper soured by a series of afflictions renders me still the more awkward in the received method of common gratitude. I mean the ceremony of thanks."* The fate of Defoe was that of the great body of the men of letters. They sometimes had a purse tossed to them for a dedication; they had small pay from the booksellers; they starved; and their poverty, more than their dulness, consigned them to the tender mercies of "The Dunciad."

The poets of the reign of Anne, and of the reign of the first George, occupy the most considerable space in the literary history of those times. One half of Johnson's "Lives" is devoted to criticism upon the works of those who flourished in this period. Of that "body of English poetry" which the booksellers had determined to publish, and for which Johnson wrote these "Lives" as a series of prefaces, how much that belongs to this Augustan age is worth looking at, except for the gratification of a literary curiosity to know what was be-praised and be-pensioned in those halcyon days? Of these thirty "heirs of fame," who occupy about seven hundred pages of Johnson's biographies,† there are only about seven whom the world has not very "willingly let die." Rowe, Prior, Congreve, Gay are still talked about. Addison and Swift are read for their prose. Pope is almost the sole name in poetry that is not partially or hermetically sealed up in "the monument of banished minds." Many of those who are rarely now "from the dust of old oblivion raked," were the lucky ones of the earth whom Halifax and Oxford were transforming from ill-paid verse-makers into flourishing commissioners, envoys, and secretaries. The ministers believed that patronage had made the poets,—

"Un Auguste peut aisément faire un Virgile"—

and it was still easier to make the rhymers into sinecurists. These have left few abiding memorials of their age in their Odes and Epigrams, their Songs and Love Verses,—even in their Tales, at which court ladies smiled and blushed behind the fan. We may glean from the one great poet of the time some illustrations of the national mind and manners, that are not the less real on account of the colouring which consummate art has bestowed upon them.

The circumstances of Pope's early life were eminently favourable to the attainment of his future excellence. His father, a Roman Catholic, had retired from business with a moderate competence. The precocious boy, after the age of twelve, had to form his own mind, and work out his own aspirations, in his "paternal cell" at Binfield. In this modest dwelling the young poet wrote his "Pastorals," his "Windsor Forest," his "Temple of Fame," his "Essay on Criticism," his "Rape of the Lock." Here his mind was saturated with a love of nature and natural things, held in subjection, indeed, by the powerful acuteness of his reasoning faculties, but running

* "Letters of Eminent Literary Men," Camden Society, pp. 321—323.
† In Mr. Cunningham's edit.

over with imagery, and often with tenderness and passion. We are told, "He set to learning Latin and Greek by himself, about twelve; and when he was about fifteen he resolved that he would go up to London and learn French and Italian." * He received the first encouragement to cultivate his poetical talents from his neighbour sir William Trumbull, who had been an ambassador and a secretary of state. At sixteen, he formed an acquaintance with Wycherley, a man of seventy. He was known at that time to Congreve. At an earlier age he had been taken to a coffee-house to see Dryden. The wonderful lad was not a moping recluse in Windsor Forest, but went into the world, and talked with famous men, who were not mere authors,—leaders in high life, qualified by their own experience to display to his eager curiosity some of the best and many of the worst aspects of that region of luxury, and wit, and profligacy in which they had lived. Pope had a very early training to afford him a far deeper insight into the realities of life, than he could have attained in the seclusion of a college or the bustle of a profession. His religious disqualification for place, and his ardent thirst for distinction, sent him to authorship as his proper work for profit and for fame; but his refined tastes, and his feeble health, saved him from the social perils that attended upon the professional writer. His small patrimony kept him from the shifts and humiliations that then, and long after, were the hard destiny of those who wrote for their daily bread. His resolute application won him higher rewards than literature had ever before won in its own open market. At the beginning of George I.'s reign, Halifax offered him a pension, saying that nothing should be demanded of him for it. The young poet had not then earned an independence by his Homer. "I wrote," he says, "to lord Halifax to thank him for his most obliging offer; saying, that I had considered the matter over fully, and that all the difference I could find in having and not having a pension, was, that if I had one I might live more at large in town, and that if I had not, I might live happily enough in the country. . . . So the thing dropped, and I had my liberty without a coach." †

* Spence. † *Ibid*, p. 231.

The Petticoat in the time of George II.
(*a*) 1735; (*b*) 1745; (*c*) 1755.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Female Politicians—Female Employments—Dress—The Hoop-Petticoat—Literary estimate of the Female Character—The Stage estimate—Congreve—Swift's Polite Conversation—Pope—The Rape of the Lock—Prude and Coquette—Puppet Plays—The Opera—The Masquerade—Young—Fashionable Vices—Drinking—Extravagant dinners—Duelling—The Club Life of London—Gaming—The Bear-garden—Popular Superstitions—Witchcraft—Ignorance of the Lower Classes—Sports—National taste for Music gone out—The Small-Coal Man.

THE "Tatler" and "Spectator" were issued at a time when the ladies of England were amongst the keenest and noisiest of politicians. One object of the essayists was to lead the fair ones into calmer and pleasanter regions; and we therefore find little notice in their non-political writings of the vagaries which the female mind exhibited about the Church and the Protestant Succession. In the "Freeholder" Addison has several pleasant papers, in which we see the temper that filled many a household with the strifes of unreasoning Tories in hooped petticoats. "Women of this turn," he says, "are so earnest in contending for hereditary right, that they wholly neglect the education of their own sons and heirs; and are so taken up with their zeal for the Church, that they cannot find time to teach their children the Catechism. . . . . Such is our misfortune that we sometimes see a pair of stays ready to burst with sedition; and hear the most masculine passions expressed in the sweetest voices."* In another paper he says, "As our English ladies are at present the greatest stateswomen in Europe, they will be in danger of making themselves the most unamiable part of their sex, if they continue to give a loose to intemperate language, and to a low kind of

* "Freeholder," No. 26.

ribaldry, which is not used among the women of fashion in any other country."* We must ascribe a great deal of this disposition to engage in party conflicts to the absence of occupations of an intellectual character, which might engage the women of the beginning of the eighteenth century. In condemning their political extravagances, the "Freeholder" does not attempt to address them as persons qualified to estimate the relative merits of opposite opinions. When he points out to the fair enemies of the Protestant Succession what they sacrifice by their disloyalty to the House of Brunswick, he tells them that they cannot go to court; that they forego the advantage of birthday suits; that they are forced to live in the country, and feed their chickens. "The women of England should be on the side of the Freeholder, and enemies to the person who would bring in arbitrary government and popery," because, "as there are several of our ladies who amuse themselves in the reading of travels, they cannot but take notice what uncomfortable lives those of their own sex lead, where passive obedience is professed and practised in the utmost perfection." Arbitrary power spoils the shape of the foot in China; hurries the Indian widow to her husband's funeral pile; makes the daughters of Eve in Persia mere chattels; gives a woman the twelfth share of a husband in the dominions of the Grand Turk; and renders them the slaves of duennas and gouvernantes in Spain and Italy. The ladies of England ought not to encourage the Roman Catholic religion, because a fish diet spoils the complexion; and a "whole Lent would give such a sallowness to the celebrated beauties of this island, as would scarce make them distinguishable from those of France."† Much of this, no doubt, is the banter of the great humorist; but the ladies deserved it, who set a mark upon their faces to proclaim their politics, the fair Tories being "obliged by their principles to stick a patch on the most unbecoming side of their foreheads."‡ They could scarcely be addressed in any other style, when the whole time of the greater number was engrossed by idle visiting and ridiculous amusements. "I think," says Steele, "most of the misfortunes in families arise from the trifling way the women have in spending their time, and gratifying only their eyes and ears, instead of their reason and understanding." It must be remembered that the domestic accomplishments of the English lady were then almost unknown. Not one house in ten thousand contained a harpsichord, whilst in our days a pianoforte is as common as a sofa. Pope had borrowed, or hired, a harpsichord; and during a temporary absence from his house at Twickenham, his fashionable neighbour, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, desired a loan from him of the same cumbrous box of wires, which request the poet was unable to grant. Of the arts of design the best educated female had no conception. The greater number of fashionable women "spend their hours in an indolent state of body and mind, without either recreations or reflections." Stimulants, if we may believe the censor, were sometimes resorted to: "Palestris, in her drawing-room, is supported by spirits, to keep off the return of spleen and melancholy, before she can get over half of the day, for want of something to do; while the wench in the kitchen sings and scours from morning to night."§ We can scarcely impute the extravagances of female dress in Anne's reign to the defects of education;

* "Freeholder," No. 23. † *Ibid.*, No. 40. ‡ *Ibid.*, No. 26. § "Tatler," No. 248.

for in our age, when reading is universal, and every woman, not wholly condemned to be a domestic drudge, has other salutary modes of occupation always at hand, the absurdities at which the satirists unceasingly laughed a hundred and fifty years ago have again come round. Is it Mr. Bickerstaff, or is it Mr. Punch, who published "The humble petition of William Jingle, coachmaker," showing that the petticoats of ladies being too wide to enter into any coach in use before their invention, he has contrived "a coach for the reception of one lady only, who is to be let in at the top?" Is it in 1709, or in 1859, that the prevailing fashion is thus described? "The design of our great-grandmothers in this petticoat was to appear much bigger than the life, for which reason they had false shoulder-blades like wings, and the ruff, to make the upper and lower parts of their bodies appear proportionable; whereas the figure of a woman in the present dress bears the figure of a cone, which is the same with that of an extinguisher, with a little knob at the upper end, and widening downward till it ends in a basis of most enormous circumference."* There must be something of innate virtue in the hooped petticoat, now called by the pretty name of crinoline. It lasted in various forms through the reigns of the first and second Georges; kept its place, to the amusement of the profane vulgar, on court days, till a very recent period; and has now started up, to the terror of all those of the male creation who cannot afford "a coach for the reception of one lady only."

In the period from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century, there was unquestionably a very low estimate of the female character. In theatrical representations of life there was scarcely an attempt to exhibit a woman of sense and modesty. The high ideal of female excellence which we find in Shakspere, and which to a certain extent he must have derived from the realities of the age of Elizabeth, could scarcely be expected from the Drydens and Farquhars and Wycherleys and Congreves of the age of the Revolution. We can scarcely look to the stage of their time for Perditas and Violas, and Imogens. If some of its women had the wit and address of Beatrice and Rosalind, they had the profligacy and cunning which made their cleverness hateful. Congreve, who did as much as any dramatist to render the female character odious, has a somewhat remarkable paper in the "Tatler," in which he says, "It is not to be supposed that it was a poverty of genius in Shakspere, that his women made so small a figure in his dialogues." How diligently must Congreve have studied Shakspere to have made this discovery! He goes on to say, "But it certainly is, that he drew women as they were then in life; for that sex had not in those days that freedom of conversation; and their characters were only, that they were mothers, sisters, daughters, and wives." Was it really true of the age of the author of the "Old Bachelor," "Double Dealer," "Love for Love," and "Way of the World," that, as he and others have shown, the mothers were careless of their children, that the sisters were plotting against each other, that the daughters were undutiful, that the wives were adulteresses? As an essayist he then draws the character of "the divine Aspasia," whose "countenance is the lively image of her mind, which is the seat of honour, truth, compassion, knowledge, and innocence;"—a lady who "adds to the severity and privacy of the last

* "Tatler," Nos. 113, 118.

age all the freedom and ease of this." It is pleasant to find one exception to the ladies of Congreve's own time—"shining wits and politicians, virtuosæ, free-thinkers and disputants." When Shakspere "drew women as they were then in life," according to the creator of the Miss Prues and Lady Touchwoods, "vanity had quite another turn, and the most conspicuous woman at that time of day was only the best housewife."* It was some years before the domestic virtues, as exhibited on the stage, came to be regarded in any other point of view than as tiresome, if not ridiculous. But a sense of decency, denoting something more of respect for the female character, was slowly growing; and this is in some degree an evidence that the female character was itself improving. The great ladies ceased to be painted as profligate intriguers; and the citizens' wives as looking for licentious adventures in their masks. The "Tatler" originally professed to devote particular attention to the stage; and Steele had an especial relish for the theatre, with a keen sense of dramatic excellence. In the first week of the existence of the new journal, we have notices of two plays, whose wit, in the view of those times, redeemed them from the shame of their licentiousness. The "Love for Love," of Congreve, and the "Country Wife," of Wycherley, were tolerated for a century. We can scarcely, therefore, expect Steele to have condemned them; especially when he records that at the performance of "Love for Love," for Betterton's benefit, "there has not been known so great a concourse of persons of distinction: the stage itself was covered with gentlemen and ladies."† There was a third drama which Mr. Bickerstaff notices in his eighth number in a way which absolves him from the charge of having gone along with his age in all its theatrical improprieties. He tells us that a play, whose name is by us scarcely mentionable, was acted "before a suitable audience, who were extremely well-diverted with that heap of vice and absurdity;" and he makes "a gentleman of just taste" express his indignation, "upon occasion of seeing human nature fall so low in their delights." Yet that infamous comedy by Edward Ravenscroft, which was first acted in 1682, kept the stage till 1754, being annually performed at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, on Lord Mayor's day, in ridicule of the London citizens. Garrick, in 1752, had the good taste to break through this custom of presenting, for the gratification of the ignorant and licentious, a picture of manners which was never other than exceptionally true; and which was originally devised to make the libertines of fashion believe that the households of the industrious and thrifty part of the community were as corrupt as their own exclusive circles.

Swift was not, habitually, a libeller of the female character. He was fond of the society of accomplished women. His "Journal to Stella," with much grossness, and some childish talk assuming her inferiority, is not far below what a man of high intellect would address to an intelligent woman who had his confidence. He wrote a paper on "The Education of Ladies," in which he says, "There is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with in mixed and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men—whether it be prudent to choose a wife who has good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, able to read and relish history, books of travels,

* "Tatler," No. 42. † *Ibid.*, No. 1.

moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry? This question is generally determined in the negative by women themselves, but almost universally by we men." It is not banter when he observes "that in this debate, those whom we call men and women of fashion are only to be understood; not merchants, tradesmen, or others of such occupations, who are not supposed to have shared in a liberal education." The essay is incomplete; but Swift evidently inclines to the opinion that a better education of women would be preferable to "the modern way of training up both sexes in ignorance, idleness, and vice." He was a hard censor, and therefore we must receive what he says with much qualification. His "Polite Conversation" is a caricature. Like many other caricatures it presents a coarser reality than an exact copy of persons and manners would give; but it may be nevertheless faithful in the same degree as Hogarth's exaggeration of the squint of Wilkes. Lady Smart, Miss Notable, and Lady Answerall, would have lost half their raciness, if they had been mere inventions of the humorist, and not highly coloured recollections of the days when he feasted in the fashionable world of London. When the great ladies are not coarse they are foolish and insipid:

"*Lady Smart.* Madam, do you love bohea tea?
Lady Answerall. Why, madam, I must confess I do love it, but it does not love me.
Miss Notable. Indeed, madam, your ladyship is very sparing of your tea. I protest, the last I took was no more than water bewitched."

The modern kitchen would be ashamed of the trashy talk of the old drawing-room.

In 1712, Pope published his first sketch of the "Rape of the Lock." Though only in his twenty-fourth year, he had been long familiar with the world of letters and of fashion—with the coffee-houses and the saloons. Whether in town or country, Pope habitually lived amongst what is termed the best society. He was not humiliated by those occasional glimpses of the interior of her temple to which Fashion, in our days, sometimes condescends to invite Genius. He was an admirer of women, according to that mode which implies the superiority of the admirer in the exuberance of his flattery. His brilliant conversation made him a welcome companion; and his graceful homage, and perhaps even his freedoms, gave him the reputation of a charming correspondent. Ridiculous we know he must sometimes have been, when he appeared in the character of a gay tempter; but his diminutive figure and infirm health perhaps gave him a readier admission to female confidence than the handsome Congreves and Wycherleys had attained. His intimacy with the fair ones does not appear, on the whole, to have won them his respect. He walked by moonlight in the gardens of Hampton Court with the maid of honour, Mary Lepell; and he sat with duchesses in their barges on the Thames, listening to "music on the water." But he came to the conclusion that in women only two passions "divide the kind"—

"The love of pleasure and the love of sway."

Pope, in the dedication of the "Rape of the Lock" to its heroine, Miss Arabella Fermor, says "it was intended only to divert a few young ladies,

who have good sense and good humour enough to laugh not only at their sex's little unguarded follies, but at their own. . . . . The character of Belinda, as it is now managed, resembles you in nothing but in beauty." The guardian-sylph has hovered over Belinda in her morning-dream; and he has whispered in her ear words which are not complimentary to the modesty or sense of women; but they are meant as compliments. Belinda is waked by her lap-dog, and her "eyes first opened on a billet-doux." The toilet is completed with the aid of "Betty" and the sylphs. "Awful beauty puts on all its charms." In the company of "fair nymphs and well-dressed youths" Belinda is launched on the silver Thames. Ariel and his attendant sprites sit on the sails of "the painted vessel." Their province is to tend the fair; to guard their powder, their essences, and their washes; even in dreams to bestow invention—

"To change a flounce, or add a furbelow."

The gay company repair to Hampton Court:

"In various talk th' instructive hours they pass'd,
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last;
One speaks the glory of the British queen,
And one describes a charming Indian screen;
A third interprets motions, looks, and eyes;
At every word a reputation dies;
Snuff, or the fan, supply each pause of chat,
With singing, laughing, ogling, and all that."

The game of ombre succeeds; and then comes coffee. The tempting lock is cut off Belinda's hair, by an adventurous baron,

"As o'er the fragrant steams she bends her head,"

She shrieks, as ladies shriek,

"When husbands or when lap-dogs breathe their last."

Rage, resentment, and despair take possession of her soul. The fierce Thalestris "fans the rising fire." Gnomes come from "the cave of spleen" to make her curse the detested day, when the favourite curl was snatched from her head. A wise monitor, the grave Clarissa, counsels forgiveness and a return to good humour; but she counsels in vain. Good sense and good humour are to "preserve what beauty gains,"—

"That men may say, when we the front-box grace,
Behold the first in virtue as in face."

That men may say! This, then, was the reward of virtue. Duty had no charms of its own:

"Oh! if to dance all night, and dress all day,
Charm'd the small-pox, or chased old age away;
Who would not scorn what housewife's cares produce,
Or who would learn one earthly thing of use?"

Exquisite poem! Was it originally read as a gentle satire, or a true picture,

of the ladies of the court of Anne? At twenty-four Pope was not a professed satirist. At forty-seven he wrote his "Epistle to a Lady on the Characters of Women," in which, out of his mature experience he said:

> "Men, some to business, some to pleasure take,
> But every woman is at heart a rake."

False as this may be, no satirist would now dare to make the assertion, because a total change of manners has deprived him of such materials for the exercise of his art. We apprehend that there was no want in Pope's age of single figures and groups to be drawn at full length, as he has drawn his Rufa, and Silia, and Narcissa, and Flavia, and Chloe—exceptions to his general rule, that

> "Most women have no characters at all."

The Essayists have two very marked species of the genus *mulier*—the coquette and the prude. Steele describes the coquette as "a sect among women of all others the most mischievous." He says, "as a rake among men is the man who lives in the constant abuse of his reason, so a coquette among women is one who lives in continual misapplication of her beauty." According to the same authority, "the prude and the coquette, as different as they appear in their behaviour, are in reality the same kind of women. The motive in both is the affectation of pleasing men. They are sisters of the same blood and constitution, only one chooses a grave and the other a light dress. The prude appears more virtuous, the coquette more vicious, than she really is." Addison, in his "Vision of Justice," is scarcely less severe upon the beautiful creatures who come to look into "the mirror of truth." When the real character was shown without regard to the external features, "multitudes started at their own form, and would have broke the glass if they could have reached it. . . . I observed that some few were so humble as to be surprised at their own charms." By way of apology, Addison concludes his paper by expressing his belief that his vision had "not done justice to the sex." He attempts, then, to repair "the partiality and extravagance of his vision," not in his own words, or by quotation from a poet of his own age, but in a passage written by one who had formed his notions of woman upon the models of a more heroic time—that which produced Lucy Hutchinson and Anne Fanshawe:

> "When I approach
> Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
> And in herself complete, so well to know
> Her own, that what she wills to do or say
> Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best;
> All higher knowledge in her presence falls
> Degraded; wisdom in discourse with her
> Loses discountenanc'd and like folly shows;
> Authority and reason on her wait,
> As one intended first, not after made
> Occasionally; and, to consummate all,
> Greatness of mind, and nobleness, their seat
> Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
> About her, as a guard angelic plac'd." *

* "Paradise Lost," book viii.

Addison has supposed that his "imaginary historian," in looking back upon the "Spectator's" representations of the "diversions and characters of the English nation," would "make allowance for the mirth and humour of the author." If his words (he says) were interpreted in their literal meaning, "we must suppose that women of the first quality used to pass whole mornings at a puppet-show;" and "that a promiscuous assembly of men and women were allowed to meet at midnight in masks within the verge of the court." We can scarcely imagine that the antiquity or the wit of the puppet-show attracted "women of the first quality." In Ben Jonson's time the puppet-show had a different name:

"'Twas a rare *motion* to be seen in Fleet Street."

Pepys saw the "puppet-plays" in Covent Garden; and the same performance was exhibited at Whitehall before Charles II.* In the days of the "Spectator," "one Powell" placed his show under the piazzas of Covent Garden. The sexton of the adjacent church of St. Paul complains that when he tolls in for week-day prayers, he finds that his congregation take the warning of the bell, morning and evening, to go to the puppet-show. "I have placed my son at the Piazzas, to acquaint the ladies that the bell rings for church, and that it stands on the other side of the garden; but they only laugh at the child." Mrs. Rachel Eyebright has left the church for the puppet-show; and the sexton has lost the fees that gentlemen used to pay to be placed "over against" the fair lady. He has now "none but a few ordinary people, who come to church only to say their prayers."† Powell exhibited Whittington and his Cat; and he introduced a pig to dance a minuet with Punch. The town was divided between the attractions of the puppet-show and of the Italian Opera. The wits of the time of Anne tried to laugh down what they treated as an absurdity—"that an audience would sit out an evening to hear a dramatical performance written in a language which they did not understand." In their view it was a monstrous practice. "But what makes it more astonishing, it is not the taste of the rabble, but of persons of the greatest politeness which has established it." Addison argues that "if the Italians have a genius for music above the English, the English have a genius for other performances of a much higher nature, and capable of giving the mind a much nobler entertainment." He bitterly complains that the tragedy of "Phædra and Hippolitus"—a dull mythological affair on the French model—was scarcely heard a third time, amongst a people "so stupidly fond of the Italian Opera." The tragedy-writers strove in vain against the new attraction. Addison thought to supplant it by his opera of "Rosamond;" which poem had no success. It failed; because though the dialogue was intelligible, the music was heavy and spiritless. Gay wrote his "Beggar's Opera" in ridicule of the opera of Fashion. Its object has long since been forgotten. Its popularity mainly rests upon the charming old English airs to which its songs are adapted.

The Italian Opera, once planted in England, has survived the assaults of the witty and the prejudices of the vulgar. It is thoroughly acclimated. The

* "Diary," Oct. 8, 1662.

† "Spectator," No. 14.

interchange of taste has made that popular which was once only genteel. It is fortunate that a promiscuous assembly of men and women in masks is now wholly confined to the disreputable portion of society. What the Masquerade was has been told by Addison with such original humour, in that portion of his Essays which is little known, that we may give its leading features without much curtailment.* The Tory Fox-hunter comes to town in the second year of George II., and, having travelled all night, arrives about day-break at Charing Cross. There, "to his great surprise, he saw a running footman carried in a chair, followed by a waterman, in the same kind of vehicle. He was wondering at the extravagance of their masters, that furnished them with such dresses and accommodations, when on a sudden he beheld a chimney-sweeper, conveyed after the same manner, with three foot-men running before him. During his progress through the Strand, he met with several other figures no less wonderful and surprising. Seeing a great many in rich morning gowns, he was amazed to find that persons of quality were up so early; and was no less astonished to see many lawyers in their bar-gowns, when he knew by his almanac that Term was ended." Four heads are popped out of a hackney-coach, and seeing the fox-hunter, "with his long whip, horse-hair periwig, jockey-belt, and coat without sleeves, fancied him to be one of the masqueraders on horseback, and received him with a loud peal of laughter." He concluded "that all the persons he saw in these strange habits were foreigners, and received a great indignation against them, for pretending to laugh at an English country-gentleman. But he soon recovered out of his error, by hearing the voices of several of them, and particularly of a shepherdess quarrelling with her coachman, and threatening to break his bones in very intelligible English, though with a masculine tone. His astonishment still increased upon him, to see a continued procession of harlequins, scaramouches, punchinellos, and a thousand other merry dresses, by which people of quality distinguished their wit from that of the vulgar." The worthy squire having observed half-a-dozen nuns, "who filed off one after another up Katherine-street to their respective convents in Drury-lane," asks a porter what religion these people were of. "The porter replied, 'They are of no religion; 'tis a masquerade.' Upon that, says my friend, I began to smoke that they were a parcel of mummers; and being himself one of the quorum in his own county, could not but wonder that none of the Middlesex Justices took care to lay some of them by the heels." A drunken bishop gives dire offence to his spirit of magistracy. "But his worship, in the midst of his austerity, was mollified at the sight of a very lovely milk-maid, whom he began to regard with an eye of mercy, and conceived a particular affection for her, till he found, to his great amazement, that the standers-by suspected her to be a duchess."

Young, whose genius as a satirist was munificently rewarded in his own day, scarcely attracts notice in our time, whilst Pope will never be obsolete. Young was not so finished an artist, but he had looked carefully upon the world around him, and in the last years of George I., when he wrote his "Universal Passion," he looked laughingly upon life—a mood very different from that in which the author of the "Night Thoughts" presents himself—perhaps a

* "Freeholder," No. 44.

more natural mood. We may follow up the notice by the Essayists of the Puppet-show and the Masquerade, by some lines of Young, which describe what women were at a time when the cultivation of their own minds, the education of their children, the attainment of what we call accomplishments, were not the employment of the higher class of ladies,—certainly not of those who belonged to the middle ranks:—

> "Britannia's daughters, much more fair than nice,
> Too fond of admiration, lose their price;
> Worn in the public eye, give cheap delight
> To throngs, and tarnish to the sated sight;
> As unreserved, and beauteous as the sun,
> Through every sign of vanity they run;
> Assemblies, parks, coarse feasts in city halls,
> Lectures, and trials, plays, committees, balls,
> Wells, Bedlams, executions, Smithfield scenes,
> And fortune-tellers' caves, and lions' dens,
> Taverns, exchanges, Bridewells, drawing-rooms,
> Installments, pillories, coronations, tombs,
> Tumblers and funerals, puppet-shows, reviews,
> Sales, races, rabbits, and, still stranger, pews." *

The gentle satire of the essayists against coquettes and prudes might have made affectation less conspicuous. Their laugh against female follies in dress might have somewhat abated the rage for patches, or somewhat diminished the rotundity of the petticoat. Fine ladies might have abstained from the masquerade till it was purified from low company. Persons of quality might have been more careful of the sharper with a pack of cards in his pocket, after Steele's denunciation of the tribe. Ladies at the Bath might have been a little more decorous, when their "ease of conscience" was inferred from the circumstance "that they go directly from church to the gaming-table; and so highly reverence play, as to make it a great part of their exercise on Sundays." † Flagrant vices were not likely to yield quickly to a mild censorship. Drunkenness is one of the objects of their reprehension: "A method of spending one's time agreeably is a thing so little studied, that the common amusement of our young gentlemen, especially of such as are at a distance from those of the first breeding, is drinking." Yet we have abundant evidence that "those of the first breeding" were often the most intemperate. The moralists were not exempt from the common vice of our young gentlemen. Hear Swift: "I dined with Mr. Addison and Dick Stuart, lord Mountjoy's brother, a treat of Addison's. They were half fuddled, but not I; for I mixed water with my wine, and left them together between nine and ten." ‡ An early hour to leave gentlemen half fuddled, according to our modern computation. "In my own memory," writes Steele, "the dinner has crept by degrees from twelve o'clock to three; and where it will fix nobody knows." § After the wine came the cards. "I dined with lord Montrath, and carried lord Mountjoy and sir Andrew Fountaine with me; and was looking over them at ombre till eleven this evening, like a fool." ‖ The moralists, whether in earnest or not, began to complain, as our own

* "Love of Fame, the Universal Passion," Satire V.
† "Guardian," No. 174.
‡ "Journal to Stella," Oct. 31, 1710.
§ "Tatler," No. 263.
‖ "Journal," Oct. 2, 1710.

moralists do, of extravagant dinners. Steele exhorts his readers to reconcile themselves to beef and mutton—the diet which bred the hardy race who won the fields of Cressy and Agincourt. The common people keep up the taste of their ancestors. "I would desire my readers to consider what work our countrymen would have made at Blenheim and Ramilies, if they had been fed with kickshaws and ragouts." Bickerstaff dines at a sumptuous table, but despises the larded turkey; turns with disgust from creams and sweetmeats; and could not but smile at the company "cooling their mouths with lumps of ice, which they had just before been burning with salts and peppers." He goes home to finish his dinner in his own fashion; and expresses the same rational wish that many a dinner-giver has expressed, too often without effect, a century and a half after him: "Two plain dishes, with two or three good-natured, cheerful, ingenious friends, would make me more pleased and vain, than all their pomp and luxury can bestow." * The famous dish of the great epicure of his age is known to us through Pope—"Darty's ham-pie." Dartineuf, in Lyttleton's "Dialogues of the Dead," laments that he lived in an age before the glories of turtle. He must have despised Swift, who dined in his company, and afterwards said, "We had such fine victuals I could not eat it." The travelled nobleman of the "Dunciad"

> "Tried all hors-d'œuvres, all liqueurs defined,
> Judicious drank, and greatly daring dined."

There are some evils which only the increasing good sense of society, under a healthful state of public opinion, will ever cure; and the moralist and the divine may preach against the particular enormity, and it is still as rampant. It was thus that Steele wrote, in his strongest tone, in reprobation of duelling. Again and again he denounced and he ridiculed this diversion of gentlemen. In 1712 the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun fought in Hyde Park, and both were killed—without very great loss to the community. The fashion of duelling died out, when it ceased to be a peculiar privilege of the great to murder each other. When Mrs. Peachum, in the "Beggar's Opera," expresses her opinion that it is a great blessing that they have not had a murder amongst their gang for seven months, the more experienced Mr. Peachum replies, "What a dickens is the woman always whimpering about murder for? No gentleman is ever looked upon the worse for killing a man in his own defence; and if business cannot be carried on without it, what would you have a gentleman do?"

The actual club life of London forms one of the most conspicuous features in the delineations of manners by the great essayists. Their fictitious clubs must have had a broad foundation in reality, to have been as welcome to their contemporaries as they unquestionably were, and to have had such an enduring vitality as they have so long enjoyed. We accept them as perfect representations of the mixed social intercourse of a period when the distinctions of classes were far less rigid than in later times. It was thus that in an age of strong political animosities, and of equally strong religious prejudices, a spirit of friendliness and mutual respect was preserved. There was a large class of

* "Tatler," No. 148.

non-combatants—the busy lawyer, the careful merchant, the idle man about town—who looked upon politics and polemics rather as a game which Whig and Tory statesmen, and high and low churchmen, and moderate and severe dissenters, were playing, than with much of the feeling of partisans. The clubs opened their arms to the gossipers. The clubs were carrying on the general spread of intelligence more effectually, perhaps, than books. They induced a comparison of thought with thought. The meagre facts of the journalist supplied the text upon which the club politicians argued. It was not an age in which men were indifferent to the great events that were passing around them. The poor and shabby upholsterer that Mr. Bickerstaff encounters in St. James's Park, who eagerly inquires about the king of Sweden, and who is anxious about the mysterious hints of the "Postboy," that a certain prince has been taking measures which time will bring to light, is undoubtedly a type of a large class who "deposed princes, settled the bounds of kingdoms, and balanced the powers of Europe." * The haberdasher at the coffee-house, who "has a levee of more undissembled friends and admirers than most of the courtiers and generals of Great Britain," is of the same genus. "Every man about him has, perhaps, a newspaper in his hand; but none can pretend to guess what step will be taken in any court of Europe till Mr. Beaver has thrown down his pipe, and declares what measures the allies must enter into upon this new posture of affairs." † Such were the club-oracles of the humbler assemblies of the people, who left the nicer mysteries of state to the October club of the Tories and the Kit-cat club of the Whigs. Steele has delineated with exquisite humour the average club of "heavy honest men, with whom (he says) I have passed many hours with much indolence, though not with great pleasure." The conversation of the club at the Trumpet, in Shire-lane, "is a kind of preparation for sleep." Sir Jeoffrey Notch, a gentleman of an ancient family who has run out of a great estate, talks of hounds, horses, and cock-fighting. Major Matchlock discourses of battles, and "does not think any action in Europe worth talking of since the fight of Marston-Moor." Honest old Dick Reptile says to his nephew, "Ay, ay, Jack, you young men think us fools, but we old men know you are." The Bencher of the neighbouring Inn, the greatest wit of the company, has about ten distichs of Hudibras without book; and when any town frolic is spoken of, "shakes his head at the dulness of the present age, and tells us a story of Jack Ogle." But even amongst such representatives of social life, who flourished in the reign of Anne, and will endure long after the reign of Victoria, their faculties are opened by conversation. The worthies of the Trumpet appeal to Mr. Bickerstaff for information as "the philosopher;" and puzzled between the Old Style of England, and the New Style of other nations, Sir Jeoffrey, "upon a dispute what day of the month it was then in Holland, pulled his pipe out of his mouth and cried, 'What does the scholar say to it?'" ‡

Gaming was the universal passion of the reign of Anne. In the first number of the "Tatler" it is said of Will's coffee-house, "This place is very much altered since Mr. Dryden frequented it. Where you used to see songs, epigrams, and satires, in the hands of every one you met, you have now only

* "Tatler," No. 155. † "Spectator," No. 49. ‡ "Tatler," No. 132.

a pack of cards." Into these places of public resort the lowest sharpers found their way; and gentlemen were not ashamed to stake their money against the money of the most infamous of society. Steele carried on a persevering warfare against the gamesters, for which good service he was threatened with personal injury. Some military men of high rank stood up for him. When two swaggerers came into a coffee-house, and vowed they would cut captain Steele's throat, lord Forbes told them, "In this country you will find it easier to cut a purse than cut a throat," and the bullies were incontinently kicked out of the room. One of the reproaches against Steele by his political adversaries in the House of Commons was, that he had presumed to reflect on the manners of noblemen and gentlemen. In his published "Apology" there is a touch of covert satire highly amusing. "It would be a contradiction to all Mr. Steele's past writing to speak to the disadvantage of the nobility and gentry. The war that the 'Tatler' brought upon himself for stigmatizing and expelling sharpers out of their company, is a merit towards them that will outweigh this allegation. That gamesters, knaves, and pickpockets are no longer the men of fashion, or mingled with so good an air among them as formerly, is much owing to Mr. Steele." There never was a better illustration of the principle that vice levels all distinctions. The "people of quality" were not ashamed of their companions till the light of public opinion was let in upon them.

In looking at the general question of the amount of public enlightenment at this period, and indeed throughout the next quarter of a century, it is difficult to draw a line between the acquirements of "the common people" and those of "the persons of quality." The ignorant and dissipated of the upper classes were in no essentials different from the mass of the lower classes, except in their power of commanding a greater amount of vicious pleasures. The theatre, which was open to high and low, was scarcely yet redeemed from the licentiousness which came in with the Restoration of the Stuarts. The licentious comedies were the delight of the side-boxes and of the galleries. The masquerade attracted the fair denizens of Arlington-street and of Drury-lane. The Bear Garden was equally the resort of the peer and the carman; of the beau with his clouded cane and the porter with his knot. The genteel part of the company at the Bear-garden sat on high benches at half-a-crown a seat, whilst the rabble crowded and swore beneath them in their sixpenny standing-place. All ranks gathered to see "a trial of skill exhibited between two masters of the noble science of defence." The fights of the ring have been brutalizing enough; but to behold two men cut at each other with broad-swords, till one was disabled by severe wounds on the forehead and the leg, was a brutality that was at its height in the Augustan age. The "Spectator" describes the encounter between "James Miller, sergeant, lately come from the frontiers of Portugal," and "Timothy Buck of Clare-market;" and he records that when the sergeant fell beneath the stroke of his more skilful antagonist, "his wound was exposed to the view of all who could delight in it, and sewed up on the stage."*

The small difference in the intelligence of very different ranks of society, in cases where they were led by traditionary opinions, as in popular superstitions,

* "Tatler," No. 436.

is very remarkable. High and low, of neglected education, had faith in omens. The belief in witchcraft in the eighteenth century is generally looked back upon as a superstition of the lowest part of the community. When Addison represents sir Roger de Coverley as seriously puzzled about the true character of Moll White, the old woman "who had the reputation of a witch all over the country," we may be inclined to think that the humourist is a little hard upon the intellectual capacity of the country gentleman. When the knight and the Spectator visit the old crone's hut, we can scarcely believe that a common delusion of the wealthier class is justly indicated, in sir Roger's advice, as a justice of peace, to the poor creature, "to avoid all communication with the devil, and never to hurt any of her neighbour's cattle." Surely the writer must jest, when he says, "I have since found upon inquiry, that Sir Roger was several times staggered with the reports that had been brought him concerning this old woman, and would frequently have bound her over to the county sessions, had not his chaplain with much ado persuaded him to the contrary." * It was not always in those days that the chaplain was wiser than the justice of the peace. The statutes of Henry VIII. and of James I. against witchcraft and sorcery were in full force; and they were not repealed till the ninth year of George II. The superstition of sir Roger was thus gently touched upon by Addison in July, 1711. In March, 1712, Jane Wenham, the witch of Walkerne, near Stevenage, was found guilty under the statute of James, and was condemned to die The prosecutors of this unfortunate woman were not ignorant rustics—the constable or the overseer. One of them was the worshipful Sir Henry Chauncy, knight, the learned author of the "Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire;" the other prosecutor was the reverend incumbent of Jane Wenham's parish. The judge, Powel, happily was a little in advance of his age. He reprieved the unhappy creature, very much to the scandal of the stupid jury and the learned prosecutors. That wise judge brought a cheerful nature to the discharge of his solemn duties. Swift passed a mirthful evening in his society at Harley's table, a few months before the Hertfordshire trial: "I went to lord-treasurer, and among other company, found a couple of judges with him. One of them, judge Powel, an old fellow with gray hairs, was the merriest old gentleman I ever saw; spoke pleasant things, and laughed and chuckled till he cried again." † This was not the last conviction upon a charge of witchcraft. There is a "Relation" printed in London, that in 1716, Mrs. Hicks, and her daughter, aged nine years, were hanged at Huntingdon "for selling their souls to the devil; tormenting and destroying their neighbours, by making them vomit pins; raising a storm so that a ship was almost lost, by pulling off her stockings, and making a lather of soap." ‡ Though judge Powel had the boldness to reprieve a convicted witch, in spite of the authority of sir Matthew Hale, who left two poor wretches for execution in 1665, we may conclude, even from the language of the "Spectator," that it was not prudent to avow a disbelief in witchcraft. Addison manages his scepticism

* "Spectator," No. 117.

† "Journal to Stella," July 5, 1711. We are indebted to John Paget, Esq., the author of a valuable Inquiry into the Charges against Penn, for pointing out to us this case of the witch of Walkerne.

‡ Brand's "Popular Antiquities," by Ellis, vol. iii. p. 17, ed. 1842.

very adroitly: "When I consider the question, whether there are such persons in the world as those we call witches, my mind is divided between two opposite opinions: or rather, to speak my thoughts freely, I believe in general that there is, and has been, such a thing as witchcraft, but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it."

That some of the most absurd superstitions and prejudices lasted through the eighteenth century can scarcely be matter of surprise, when we consider how entirely the instruction of the lower classes was neglected. It was neglected upon principle. It was not squire Booby or parson Trulliber only who believed that to educate the bulk of the people was to destroy the distinctions of rank. Great writers held the same opinion. Swift, discoursing of the wisdom of the institutions of Lilliput, says, "The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their education is of little consequence to the public." We fear that it was somewhat of a melancholy period for the cottagers and labourers—unable to instruct or divert themselves with reading; the old sports very nearly extinct; wakes and Whitsun-ales kicked out by the Puritans, never to revive. The manly sport of our days that, in a limited degree, makes the young yeoman the associate on the village-green with the best bowler, was scarcely known even in the south of England. In one of D'Urfey's songs at the beginning of the century, "Shenkin," is celebrated as "the prettiest fellow at foot-ball or at cricket." No earlier notice of the game could be traced by the indefatigable Strutt. We fear that Hodge, in "the lovely bowers of innocence and ease" of the real English "Auburn," was too often "a-drinking at the Chequers." The old love of music of the peasant and the mechanic had yielded to the puritanical tyranny, and had not revived in the bawling monotony of parochial psalmody. Musical taste and skill had died out for the bulk of the people. In Italy, writes Steele, a cobler may be heard working to an opera tune; and "there is not a labourer or handicraftman that, in the cool of the evening, does not relieve himself with solos and sonatas." But, "on the contrary, our honest countrymen have so little inclination to music, that they seldom begin to sing until they are drunk.*" Sir John Hawkins has described, with some spirit, the musical entertainments which were offered to the middle classes at this period. The landlords of public-houses hired performers, and hither came very unrefined audiences, to drink and to smoke. This historian of music has described such an orchestra: "Half-a-dozen of fiddlers would scrape 'Sellenger's Round,' or 'John come kiss me,' or 'Old Simon the king,' with divisions, till themselves and their audience were tired; after which, as many players on the hautboy, would, in the most harsh and dissonant tones, grate forth 'Green Sleeves,' 'Yellow Stockings,' 'Gillian of Croydon,' or some such common dance tune, and the people thought it fair music." † Yet Purcell had lived amongst these harmonists. The fashionable world patronised foreign compositions and foreign performances. "Our English music is quite rooted out, and nothing yet planted in its stead," complains Addison. Nevertheless the old musical taste was not wholly rooted out. Before the palmy days of the "Academy of Ancient Concerts," established in 1710, there had been a signal example

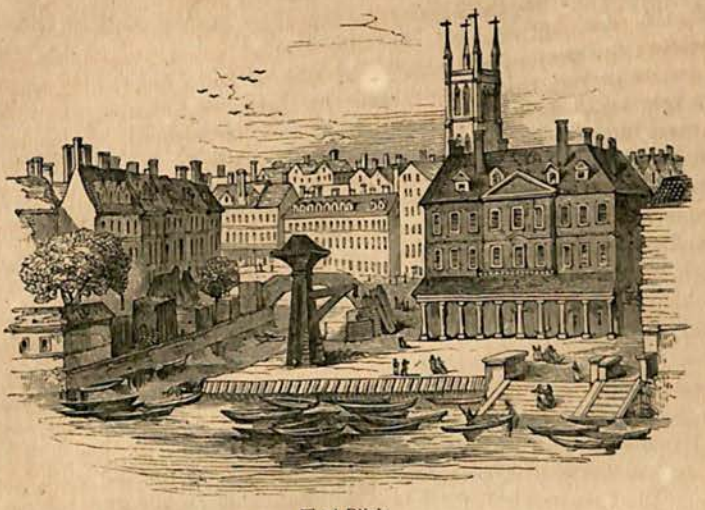
* "Tatler," No. 222.

† Hawkins, "History of Music."

of what a man in humble life could do for the revival of that love of good music which had been sleeping for a century. Over his coal-shed in Clerkenwell, Thomas Britton, who literally carried a sack, assembled the best amateurs and professional musicians; and to his concert-loft, ascended by ladder-stairs from the exterior, came the high-born to listen, while the honest man exulted to have Handel sitting at the harpsichord, whilst he himself touched the viol-de-gamba. The humble tradesman was also a collector of rare books, and was as well known to Hearne, the antiquary, as to Pepusch, the doctor of music. Hughes, a poet, justly placed by Swift "among the Mediocribus, in prose as well as verse," has eight lines, "Under the Print of Tom Britton, the Musical Small-Coal Man," which thus conclude:

"Let useless pomp behold, and blush to find
So low a station, such a liberal mind."

Thomas Britton.



Fleet Ditch.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Intellectual activity in every department of knowledge—A Reading Public—Poetical translations of classical authors—Pope's Homer—The popular element shown in the attacks of the wits upon some pursuits of learning—Battle of the Books—Pope's ridicule of Dennis—Martinus Scriblerus—Small Poets—The Dunciad—Commentators—Public Schools—Universities—Travelling—Entomologists and Florists—The abuses of knowledge only deserving the poet's ridicule—The popular element in the mental philosophy of the age—Locke—Character of Swift's genius—Tale of a Tub—Gulliver's Travels—Robinson Crusoe—Defoe.

HOWEVER low, by comparison with modern times, might be the state of popular enlightenment in the reign of Anne, and in the reigns of the two first sovereigns of the House of Brunswick, the amount of intellectual activity in every department of knowledge was very remarkable. In literature there was evidently forming what Coleridge laughs at—"a Reading Public." He has well described the process of the change from books for the few to books for the many: "In times of old, books were as religious oracles; as literature advanced, they next became venerable preceptors; they then descended to the rank of instructive friends; and, as their number increased, they sank still lower to that of entertaining companions."* They were approaching this latter state in the early part of the eighteenth century. Again, Coleridge says: "Poets and philosophers, rendered diffident by their very number, addressed themselves to 'learned readers;' then aimed to conciliate the graces of 'the candid reader;' till, the critic still rising as the author sank, the amateurs of literature were erected into a municipality of Judges, and addressed as 'the Town.'"† Yet, whatever evils might result,

* "Biographia Literaria," vol. i. p. 58.

† *Ibid*, p. 60.

or be supposed to result, in the comparative discouragement of the higher branches of learning by this enlargement of the circle of knowledge, the immediate consequence was to produce a very marked adaptation of the quality of literature to the wants of the purchasers in an extended market. We doubt very much if the quality were lowered, except in the opinion of some who thought that the "Pierian spring" was not to be tasted except by those who drank deep.

One of the most signal proofs of the extension of reading is furnished by the number of poetical translations of classical authors. Dryden had translated Juvenal and Virgil, just before the end of the seventeenth century. Creech had published his translation of Lucretius in the same period, and had obtained the praise of Dryden. In 1715, Pope issued his first volume of Homer's Iliad. It was then that Addison, in the true spirit of a scholar who desired no exclusive possession of the riches of knowledge, thus wrote:—"When I consider myself as a British Freeholder, I am in a particular manner pleased with the labours of those who have improved our language with the translation of old Latin and Greek authors, and by that means let us into the knowledge of what passed in the famous governments of Greece and Rome. We have already most of their historians in our own tongue: and what is still more for the honour of our language, it has been taught to express with elegance the greatest of their poets in each nation. The illiterate among our countrymen may learn to judge from Dryden's Virgil of the most perfect epic performance: and those parts of Homer which have already been published by Mr. Pope give us reason to think that the Iliad will appear in English with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem."* This generous praise was bestowed after there had been a difference between Pope and Addison as to Tickell's rival attempt at a version of Homer. In the same paper of the "Freeholder," it was stated that the translation of Lucan's Pharsalia "is now in the hands of Mr. Rowe, who has already given the world some admirable specimens of it." Between 1715 and 1725, Pope completed the Iliad and the Odyssey. Never was literary labour in those times more abundantly recompensed. Pope received nearly nine thousand pounds from his subscribers and from his publisher, as his clear gain from these undertakings. The subscribers to his guinea volumes in quarto were the great and the wealthy. It was no humiliation to the poet to have much larger sums sent him than the price of his books, by the court and by some of his noble friends. But the bookseller would not have furnished all the subscription copies at his own expense, besides paying a large sum for the copyright, had there not been "a reading public." Homer was printed in duodecimo; and Bernard Lintot, we may

Rowe.

* "Freeholder," No. 40.

hope, was paid in more substantial coin than Pope's gratitude for his liberality.

The controversial and sarcastic spirit in which Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, and some lesser humorists and wits, dealt with matters of literature and learning, of art and science, displays the popular element that had become a characteristic of authorship. Until the subjects upon which ridicule is exercised come to be somewhat known and talked about, the ridicule is pointless. But a very superficial acquaintance with the higher objects of knowledge and taste would enable the reader of the "Battle of the Books," of the "Memoirs of Scriblerus," of the "Dunciad," of Gulliver in Laputa, to laugh at the whole tribe of grammarians, virtuosi, critics, projectors. Pope told Spence that "the design of the Memoirs of Scriblerus was to have ridiculed all the false tastes in learning, under the character of a man of capacity enough, that had dipped into every art and science, but injudiciously in each. It was begun by a club of the greatest wits of the age"* This sort of ridicule went on for forty years, till "the greatest wits of the age" were all silenced by the greater "antic," who might say, "where be your gibes now?" But the gibes are still read, whilst the matters which gave birth to the gibes are well nigh forgotten. Few care for the controversy between Bentley and Boyle, about the comparative merits of the ancients and moderns, and the authenticity of the "Epistles of Phalaris." The critical student may have read with wonder the "Dissertation" in which Bentley demolished his antagonists with unbounded learning and irresistible logic. The popular reader cares nothing for the quarrel, except to laugh over the comic satire of Swift in the "Battle of the Books." The ancient and the modern volumes have been fighting in St. James's Library, when "the day being far spent, and the numerous forces of the moderns half-inclining to a retreat, there issued forth from a squadron of their heavy-armed foot a captain whose name was Bentley, the most deformed of all the moderns." Scaliger encounters Bentley, and thus assails him: "The malignity of thy temper perverteth nature; thy learning makes thee more barbarous; thy study of humanity more inhuman; thy converse among poets more grovelling, miry and dull." This is sheer abuse; and if all were such, no one would now turn to the "Battle of the Books." But there are passages of exquisite force and humour, such as the dialogue between the spider and the bee; and of inimitable burlesque, such as the mortal fight in which Boyle slays Bentley and his ally Wotton:

"So Wotton fled, so Boyle pursued. But Wotton, heavy-armed and slow of foot, began to slack his course, when his lover Bentley appeared, returning laden with the spoils of the two sleepy ancients. Boyle observed him well, and, soon discovering the helmet and shield of Phalaris his friend, both which he had lately with his own hands new polished and gilt, rage sparkled in his eyes, and, leaving the pursuit after Wotton, he furiously rushed on against this new approacher. Fain would he be revenged on both; but both now fled different ways; and, as a woman in a little house that gets a painful livelihood by spinning, if chance her geese be scattered o'er the common, she courses round the plain from side to side, compelling here and there the stragglers to the flock; they cackle

* "Anecdotes," p. 8.

loud, and flutter o'er the champaign; so Boyle pursued, so fled this pair of friends: finding at length their flight was vain, they bravely joined, and drew themselves in phalanx. First Bentley threw a spear with all his force, hoping to pierce the enemy's breast; but Pallas came unseen, and in the air took off the point and clapped on one of lead, which, after a dead bang against the enemy's shield, fell blunted to the ground. Then Boyle, observing well his time, took up a lance of wondrous length and sharpness; and, as this pair of friends, compacted, stood close side to side, he wheeled him to the right, and, with unusual force, darted the weapon. Bentley saw his fate approach, and, flanking down his arms close to his sides, hoping to save his body, in went the point, passing through arm and side, nor stopped or spent its force till it had also pierced the valiant Wotton, who, going to sustain his dying friend, shared his fate. As when a skilful cook has trussed a brace of woodcocks, he with iron skewers pierces the tender sides of both, their legs and wings close pinioned to the ribs; so was this pair of friends transfixed, till down they fell, joined in their lives, joined in their deaths: so closely joined that Charon would mistake them both for one, and waft them over Styx for half his fare. Farewell, beloved, loving pair; few equals have you left behind; and happy and immortal shall you be, if all my wit and eloquence can make you."

"The Battle of the Books" was published in 1704. There was a much younger genius at that time writing Pastorals, who listened to the noise of the fray, and perhaps panted for his own day of strife and victory. In 1711 Pope published his "Essay on Criticism." Calm, sensible, modest, as became an author of twenty-two, the poet went out of his way to attack the jealous and suspicious old John Dennis, who laid down laws to the company at Button's, amongst which he had sate in his more prosperous days as the intimate of Dryden and Congreve. Dennis was furious at his portrait—

> "Appius reddens at each word you speak,
> And stares tremendous, with a threatening eye,
> Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry."

Addison, who had not yet come under the lash of the "fierce tyrant," gently rebuked the controversial spirit which Pope first displayed in this poem. In the "Spectator," the "Art of Criticism" is generously praised; but Addison, having said "in our own country a man seldom sets up for a poet without attacking the reputation of all his brothers in the art," adds, "I am sorry to find that an author, who is very justly esteemed amongst the best judges, has admitted some strokes of this nature into a very fine poem,—I mean the Art of Criticism, which was published some months since, and is a master-piece in its kind."* The systematic depreciation, not only of the reputation of "brothers in the art," but of the studies and pursuits in which they took no especial interest themselves, forms a large portion of the writings of Pope and Swift. Gay and Arbuthnot joined heartily in the fun. The wit and the invective, however amusing and occasionally just, present too often only the ridiculous characteristics of useful and honourable labours, and the one-sided view of men not wholly deserving of contempt.

Pope, in his talk with Spence upon the "Memoirs of Scriblerus," says, "the adventure of the shield was designed against Dr. Woodward and the

* "Spectator," No. 253.

Antiquaries." Who has not laughed in reading that "adventure of the shield?" It presents the ludicrous side of studies of which we now know the full value, but of which the popular readers of the time of Arbuthnot could only see the ridiculous aspect. Dr. Cornelius could prove from "the colour of the rust the exact chronology of the shield." The scullion "had scoured it as her hand irons," and the rust was vanished. Laugh we must, when the learned Doctor cries out, "Where are all those beautiful obscurities, the cause of much delightful disputation, where doubt and uncertainty went hand in hand, and eternally exercised the speculations of the learned?" The gossips who had come to the christening of the infant who was brought into the great antiquary's study upon the shield, exclaim "'Tis nothing but a paltry old sconce, with the nozzle broken off." Exquisite banter! Woodward, in 1707, had published "An account of Roman Urns, and other Antiquities lately dug up near Bishopgate." There were few, perhaps, who would take much interest in the fact, that under the stones on which they daily trod there was a tesselated pavement; there were urns of Roman pottery; relics of unfading interest to those who could carry their minds beyond the material objects, to think of the wondrous changes of civilised life during fourteen centuries. The satire against the antiquary has not damaged such studies as he pursued with real advantage to learning; nor has it damaged his character as the philosopher who founded the Professorship of Geology at Cambridge. Woodward stands upon his own substantial merits; and though advancing knowledge may have disturbed some of his theories, he is entitled to reverence as one of the zealous and disinterested workers in the vast fields of science then lying waste.

"Middling poets," said Pope to Spence, "are no poets at all. There is always a great number of such in each age, that are almost totally forgotten in the next. A few curious inquirers may know that there were such men, and that they wrote such and such things; but to the world they are as if they had never been." * Pope has embalmed these dead of his own age. We admire his curious art, as we admire the mummy-cases of the Egyptians; but it is not worth while to unroll the mummies. In a paper written, it is believed, by Pope himself, under the name of Savage, it is said that after various falsehoods and scurrilities against him, he thought "he had now some opportunity of doing good;" and hoped, "by manifesting the dulness of those who had only malice to recommend them, either the booksellers would not find their account in employing them, or the men themselves, when discovered, want courage to proceed in so unlawful an occupation. This it was that gave birth to the 'Dunciad,' and he thought it an happiness that, by the late flood of slander on himself, he had acquired such a peculiar right to their names as was necessary to this design. †" Johnson has assigned a higher motive to Pope than the miserable desire for revenge, which is thus acknowledged by himself, or avowed by his authority. The talk was of Pope: Johnson said, "He wrote his 'Dunciad' for fame. That was his primary motive. Had it not been for that, the dunces might have railed against him till they were weary, without his troubling himself about them. He delighted to vex them, no doubt; but he had more delight in seeing how well he could

* "Anecdotes," p. 150. † Quoted in Mr. Carruthers' "Life of Pope," p. 198.

vex them." * In a previous conversation which turned upon Pope, Johnson "repeated to us, in his forcible melodious manner, the concluding lines of the 'Dunciad.' While he was talking loudly in praise of these lines, one of the company ventured to say, 'too fine for such a poem, a poem on what?' 'Why on Dunces. It was worth while being a dunce then. Ah, sir, hadst thou lived in those days!'" † These "concluding lines" are indeed noble lines; which Pope himself admired "so much that when he repeated them his voice faltered." The whole fourth book of the 'Dunciad' is a grand satire upon many of the remarkable characteristics of the poet's age. It was completed in 1742. Warburton was by the side of Pope when he produced what he called 'The New Dunciad,' in which the additional book was accompanied by the previous ones recast. The alterations were not judicious. The addition was a proof that the fruit of the sound mind in the feeble body had lost no particle of its spring-time pungency in its autumnal ripeness. With far higher objects than that of damaging authors who had wounded his self-love, Pope in this wonderful poem put forth all his power. We may bestow some care upon its examination; for, perhaps, more than anything he has written, the satirist here paints in the boldest style, and with the most durable as well as brilliant colours, the abuses, as he conceives, of literature, of learning, of science. We may pass over the mere temporary and personal satire of the three first books, then also worked up into their present form, with Theobald deposed from the throne of dulness, and king Cibber installed in his place. Those portions will always be read by the few, in spite of their capricious injustice, and, what is worse, of their miserable grossness. The fourth book, with a little of the same personality, and of the same indelicacy of which it may be readily cleared, may be read by all, as the most magnificent satire in our language.

Warburton.

The heroic games of the Goddess Dulness are over. The rival booksellers, Curll, Lintot, and Tonson have run their race. The authors have dived

> "Where Fleet-ditch, with disemboguing streams,
> Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames."

Hoadly and Blackmore have read the assembly to sleep. King Cibber has been carried to the Elysian shades. The future reign of universal ignorance is foretold:

> "Proceed, great days, till learning fly the shore."

The prophecy is about to be accomplished. The Goddess is "coming in her majesty, to destroy order and science, and to substitute the kingdom of the dull upon earth."

* Boswell, one volume edition, p. 442. † *Ibid.* p. 203.

> "Beneath her foot-stool Science groans in chains,
> And wit dreads exile, penalties and pains."

"In ten-fold bonds the muses lie." The Act for subjecting plays to a Licenser, which Walpole had managed to pass, had thus made "Thalia nerveless, cold, and dead." Walpole perhaps had saved Thalia from her own degradation. Opera comes to supplant Comedy.

> "When lo! a harlot form soft sliding by
> With mincing step, small voice, and languid eye:
> Foreign her air, her robe's discordant pride
> In patch-work fluttering, and her head aside;
> By singing peers upheld on either hand
> She tripp'd and laugh'd, too pretty much to stand"

Opera "cast on the prostrate Nine a scornful look," and she drove Handel, with her rival Oratorio, "to the Hibernian shore." Fame blows her trumpet, and a "vast involuntary throng" crowd round the throne of the Goddess. There come the

> "Patrons, who sneak from living worth to dead."

The commentators come. Dulness, smiling, exclaims—

> "Let standard-authors, thus, like trophies borne,
> Appear more glorious, as more hack'd and torn;
> And you my critics in the chequer'd shade
> Admire new light through holes yourself have made."

Alderman Benson is there, noted for the monuments he put up to departed genius, with his own name and titles pompously recorded in the inscription upon one tomb:

> "On two unequal crutches propp'd he came;
> Milton's on this, on that one Jonson's name."

The vanity of the age of Anne is less offensive than the cold neglect of the age of Victoria, in which it was fruitlessly tried to raise a monument to Caxton. The spectre of the Public Schools appears, with his "beaver'd brow," and his "birchen garland." He would speak in humbler tones now, but the time is not long passed since he thus might have spoken:—

> "Since man from beast by words is known,
> Words are man's province, words we teach alone.
> When Reason doubtful, like the Samian letter,
> Points him two ways, the narrower is the better.
> Plac'd at the door of Learning, youth to guide,
> We never suffer it to stand too wide.
> To ask, to guess, to know, as they commence,
> As fancy opens the quick springs of sense,
> We ply the memory, we load the brain,
> Bind rebel Wit, and double chain on chain,
> Confine the thought, to exercise the breath;
> And keep them in the pale of words till death.
> Whate'er the talents, or howe'er design'd,
> We hang one jingling padlock on the mind:
> A poet the first day, he dips his quill;
> And what the last? a very poet still.
> Pity! the charm works only in our wall,
> Lost, lost too soon in yonder House or Hall."

Aristarchus comes to represent the Universities. Aristarchus, the Bentley of the "Battle of the Books." For a century the ruling powers of Oxford and Cambridge stood up against the terrible satire which their representative thus enunciates:—

"Ah, think not, mistress! more true Dulness lies
In Folly's cap, than Wisdom's grave disguise.
Like buoys, that never sink into the flood,
On Learning's surface we but lie and nod.
* * * * *
For thee we dim the eyes and stuff the head
With all such reading as was never read:
For thee explain a thing till all men doubt it,
And write about it, Goddess, and about it:
So spins the silkworm small its slender store,
And labours, till it clouds itself all o'er.
What though we let some better sort of fool,
Thread ev'ry science, run through every school!
Never by tumbler through the hoops was shown
Such skill in passing all, and touching none.
He may indeed (if sober all this time)
Plague with Dispute, or persecute with Rhyme.
We only furnish what he cannot use,
Or wed to what he must divorce, a muse:
Full in the midst of Euclid dip at once,
And petrify a Genius to a Dunce:
Or set on metaphysic ground to prance,
Show all his paces, not a step advance.
With the same cement, ever sure to bind,
We bring to one dead level every mind:
Then take him to develope if you can,
And hew the block off, and get out the man."

The "man" formed in the seats of learning then comes with his "laced governor from France," who thus addresses the Goddess:

"Through school and college, thy kind cloud o'ercast,
Safe and unseen the young Æneas past:
Thus bursting glorious, all at once let down,
Stunn'd with his giddy larum half the town.
Intrepid then, o'er seas and lands he flew:
Europe he saw, and Europe saw him too.
There all thy gifts and graces we display,
Thou, only thou, directing all our way:
To where the Seine, obsequious as she runs,
Pours at great Bourbon's feet her silken sons;
Or Tiber, now no longer Roman, rolls,
Vain of Italian arts, Italian souls:
To happy convents, bosom'd deep in vines,
Where slumber abbots, purple as their wines:
To isles of fragrance, lily-silvered vales,
Diffusing languor in the panting gales:
To lands of singing or of dancing slaves,
Love-whispering woods, and lute-resounding waves
But chief her shrine where naked Venus keeps,
And Cupids ride the lion of the deeps,
Where eas'd of fleets, the Adriatic main
Wafts the smooth eunuch and enamour'd swain.
Led by my hand he saunter'd Europe round,
And gather'd every vice on Christian ground."

Never was nobler poetry. With slight difference of times and manners, new was more enduring satire.

The pedants make room for the collectors of coins and curiosities; and these are succeeded by entomologists and florists:

> "A tribe, with weeds and shells fantastic crown'd,
> Each with some wondrous gift approach'd the power,
> A nest, a toad, a fungus, or a flower."

The Goddess expresses her anxiety that such studies should be pursued in the manner in which they have been, and possibly still are, worse than useless:

> "O! would the sons of men once think their eyes
> And reason given them but to study flies!
> See Nature in some partial narrow shape,
> And let the Author of the whole escape;
> Learn, but to trifle; or, who most observe,
> To wonder at their Maker, not to serve."

It was the "partial narrow shape" which in the infancy of scientific investigation led men to be mere collectors and classifiers. The broad views of great general laws, which connect together the whole natural world, have slowly been formed upon those employments which the poet derides as frivolous. It is not only the dull that "may waken to a humming-bird," find "congenial matter in the cockle-kind," or "wander in a wilderness of moss," but the acutest intellect may be led to the highest generalisations by the study of a mollusk. In the same way it is simply the abuse of learning when the pedant says,—

> "On words is still our whole debate,
> Dispute of *me* or *te*, of *aut* or *ut*."

But in such debate were laid the foundations of accurate scholarship; and even in "the pale of words" of the public schools did boys learn to do some one thing well, and thereby to discipline the mind to a comprehension of many things. Perhaps in our day some satirist may arise to proclaim the evils of a totally opposite system, with reference to the general enlightenment of much larger masses of society. He may deride a system of competitive examination which embraces the whole circle of knowledge, and thus may produce in all, and not only in the "better sort of fool," the skill of the tumbler jumping through the hoops—passing every science and touching none. It is this sciolism, he may say, which will tend to the same results as the poet has described in him

> "Whose pious hope aspires to see the day
> When moral evidence shall quite decay."

The solitary freethinker addresses the Goddess in words which may be echoed by a conceited multitude:

> "Let others creep by timid steps and slow,
> On plain experience lay foundations low;
> By common sense to common knowledge bred,
> And, last to Nature's Cause through Nature led:
> All-seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,
> Mother of arrogance, and source of pride."

There is nothing more characteristic of the eminent writers of the earlier

part of the eighteenth century than the persistent way in which they addressed themselves to the popular understanding. Even the prevailing mental philosophy had little in it that was abstruse or recondite. In rejecting the doctrine of innate ideas, and making the senses the origin of knowledge, Locke had to derive his illustrations and proofs from the commonest facts. His language is perfectly simple and familiar. He assumes that there is no mystery in the complex operations of the human mind; and resting our ideas upon experience, he develops a system upon which all men may follow him to his conclusions. Metaphysics have assumed a very different aspect; and far more subtle views have made the study of metaphysics at once more difficult and more interesting. The same tendency to take the obvious and popular arguments for the evidences of the truths of natural and revealed religion, and to rest the exhortations of the Christian preacher upon that foundation of reason upon which the lay moralist relies, is to be traced in the theological writings of the same period. The theology and the philosophy were equally cold and passionless, equally narrow and incomplete. But they were adapted to their age; and they were not without their beneficial influence in preparing the way for something higher and nobler,—something more expansive than the belief that there is nothing mysterious in the mind of man, in the laws which govern the universe, or in the doctrines upon which faith must take its hold. These are matters which are beyond our province to dilate upon. The same principle, which really consisted in presenting only one portion of a subject in the most palpable form, influenced the lighter writings of that age. It equally pervades the poetry of Pope and the prose satire of Swift. The principle was founded upon an accurate estimate of what the robust English understanding would accept at this period of its development. It assumed that a great deal had been forgotten and that a great deal was unnecessary to be learnt, in theology, in philosophy, in poetry. There was a crowd pressing forward to be instructed, to be pleased, to be amused. A broad and smooth road was to be made for their progress; the old ascents were to be levelled; the dangerous fords were to be bridged over.

The genius of Swift was calculated more than the genius of any of his great contemporaries, to make the half-truths which he presented to the popular mind have the semblance of containing the whole truth. His wondrous logical power; his lucid manner of dealing with a few details as if they comprehended the entire subject; his sarcasm which looks like candour,—these qualities concealed the unscrupulous partisanship which is at the bottom of all his political writings. "To lie like truth" was the art by which he made Marlborough hated, and destroyed the fruits of Marlborough's victories in the peace of Utrecht. By the same power, he made the Irish believe that they were ruined by a beneficial project to give the nation a copper currency, instead of the tallies with which the smaller exchanges were often conducted. The master-pieces of literature upon which Swift's fame must ever rest, go with the same directness to the popular comprehension. The humour, so profound, is also so obvious. The irony, so subtle, is also so unmistakeable. Every one of common education who reads the "Tale of a Tub" can understand it without a key. The whole scheme of the book is to reduce the gravest questions which have agitated the world to something

like burlesque. But it is not burlesque. Underlying the mockery there are stern realities which set men thinking. His wit, it is said, lost Swift a bishopric; but he had his consolations. In his latter years, he looked some time upon his first great work, and then, shutting the book, exclaimed, "Good God! what a genius I had when I wrote that!" A genius indeed; but how fatal a possession! What miseries of disappointed ambition, and then what horrors of crushing misanthropy, it brought with it!

The circumstantiality with which Swift always invests his ludicrous inventions, is preserved, without the least slip, throughout the "Tale of a Tub." The history of the three brothers, Peter, Martin, and Jack—the representatives of Popery, the Anglican Church, and Calvinism—is introduced with a grave anachronism, which mystifies the reader, and takes him from the days of Leo X., Luther, and Calvin, into the town life of the days when Jonathan Swift awed and delighted the club at Button's. We give the passage, with slight omissions, not only as an illustration of the author's peculiar talent, but as an addition to the pictures of social life which the more gentle humorists have sketched.

"Being now arrived at the proper age for producing themselves, they came up to town, and fell in love with the ladies, but especially three, who about that time were in chief reputation; the duchess d'Argent, madame de Grands Titres, and the countess d'Orgueil. On their first appearance our three adventurers met with a very bad reception; and soon with great sagacity guessing out the reason, they quickly began to improve in the good qualities of the town. They wrote, and rallied, and rhymed, and sung, and said, and said nothing; they drank, and fought, and slept, and swore, and took snuff; they went to new plays on the first night, haunted the chocolate-houses, beat the watch, and lay on bulks; they bilked hackney-coachmen and ran in debt with shopkeepers; they killed bailiffs, kicked fiddlers down stairs, eat at Locket's, loitered at Will's; they talked of the drawing-room, and never came there; dined with lords they never saw; whispered a duchess, and spoke never a word; exposed the scrawls of their laundress for billets-doux of quality; came over just from court, and were never seen in it; attended the levee *sub dio*; got a list of peers by heart in one company, and with great familiarity retailed them in another. Above all, they constantly attended those committees of senators who are silent in the house and loud in the coffee-house; where they nightly adjourn to chew the cud of politics, and are encompassed with a ring of disciples, who lie in wait to catch up their droppings. The three brothers had acquired forty other qualifications of the like stamp, too tedious to recount, and by consequence were justly reckoned the most accomplished persons in the town."

The power which Swift possessed of sustaining, whether in narrative or in argument, the most complete personation of the character he assumes, is one of his remarkable qualities. We all know that Mr. Samuel Gulliver, after his wonderful adventures, "growing weary of the concourse of curious people coming to him at his house at Redriff, made a small purchase of land, with a convenient house, near Newark;" and that he there composed his "Travels into several remote nations of the world," which were published in 1727. Arbuthnot wrote to Swift after this publication—"Lord Scarborough, who is no inventor of stories, told us that he fell in company with a master of a ship, who told him that he was very well acquainted with Gulliver, but that

the printer had mistaken; that he lived in Wapping, and not in Rotherhithe." The "Drapier," who stirred the Irish to madness, is throughout his Letters "a poor, ignorant shopkeeper," one who has "a pretty good shop of Irish stuffs and silks," and, instead of taking Mr. Wood's bad copper, intends to truck with his neighbours, butchers and bakers, goods for goods. Gulliver is never betrayed into any forgetfulness of his condition of life, and always has some minute circumstance at hand, to bring his marvellous relations within the range of probability. Arbuthnot also wrote to Swift, "I lent the book to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map, to search for Lilliput." It is in this way that children read Gulliver's adventures with undoubting trust—happy if the melancholy exhibition of Swift's hate to his species be not comprehended by them. The time comes when the man understands the satire, and admires or loathes the satirist. But what vitality in some of the touches; what art, without the slightest exhibition of the artist! Take one example from the court of Lilliput:—

"There is likewise another diversion, which is only shown before the emperor and empress and first minister, upon particular occasions. The emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, and the other green. These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons whom the emperor has a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity, very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the new or old world. The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates, advancing one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backward and forward, several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and his first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court who are not adorned with one of these girdles."

It is no derogation from the merit of Swift, that he might have learnt the secret of personation from one who had gone before him. In 1719 a book was published, which thus commences: "I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that county, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull. He got a good estate by merchandize, and leaving off his trade, lived afterwards at York; from whence he had married my mother, whose relatives were named Robinson, a very good family in that county, and from whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but, by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay we call ourselves, and write our name, Crusoe." World-famous name! The author of that book had, in as high a degree as Swift, the power which Mr. Hallam ascribes to Bunyan—the power of representation. "He saw and makes us see, what he describes."

In his private conversation, Pope indirectly confessed to the gross injustice he had committed in "The Dunciad," in speaking contemptuously of one whose fame will endure as long as his own: "The first part of

Robinson Crusoe is very good. Defoe wrote a vast many things; and none bad, though none excellent, except this. There is something good in all he has written." * Of the "vast many things," all of which contain "something good," there are works of fiction which are as striking as Robinson Crusoe, although in their reality,—in their naked delineations of actual life, but always with the view to make vice hideous—they can scarcely be recommended for general perusal. Defoe's ruling principle in his broad pictures of the manners of the highest and the lowest ranks, is thus stated by him, in the Preface to his "Life of Colonel Jack:" "The various turns of his fortune, in different scenes of life, make a delightful field for the reader to wander in; a garden where he may gather wholesome and medicinal fruits, none noxious or poisonous; where he will see virtue and the ways of wisdom everywhere applauded, honoured, encouraged, and rewarded; vice and extravagance attended with sorrow and every kind of infelicity; and at last, sin and shame going together, the offender meeting with reproach and contempt, and the crimes with detestation and punishment." This was the principle upon which Hogarth also worked. But as Hogarth's prints cannot all be hung up in a modern drawing-room, so Defoe's novels of familiar life are not for universal reading—however journalism may now expatiate o'er scenes where fiction dare not tread.

* Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 196.

Gulliver.

Tomb of Wren.

CHAPTER XXIX.

View of the State of the Arts from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of the House of Brunswick—Architecture—Wren—Rebuilding of London—St. Paul's—Wren's Parish Churches—Wren's Miscellaneous Buildings—Vanbrugh—Character as an Architect—Hawksmoor and Gibbs — Burlington — Sculpture — Gibbons — Cibber — Roubiliac — Painting—Portrait Painting in England—Kneller—Jervas—Verrio and Laguerre—Thornhill—Other Painters—Hogarth.

DURING the period which has passed under review in the preceding chapters of this volume, the Arts were, with one exception, in a very depressed condition. For a brief space it had seemed as though Art would have taken firm root in this country: it was now a sickly exotic. Charles I., although his taste and influence in art-matters may perhaps have been overrated, did undoubtedly labour strenuously during his troubled reign to add to the splendour of his court by the liberal patronage of art and artists. Partly it may have been done in rivalry, partly in imitation of the monarch who then sat on the throne of France. But whatever was the cause the effect was the same. He attracted to his court either as visitors or residents some of the most famous painters of the day; he obtained at a cost his necessities could ill afford* a collection of paintings far surpassing anything of the kind which

* Some curious particulars illustrating the difficulties experienced by Charles in raising money for the full payment of his commissions and purchases will be found in Mr. Sainsbury's admirably edited "Original Papers relating to Rubens," (8vo. 1859). It was more than two years after Rubens had finished his paintings for the ceiling of Whitehall before Charles was able to pay the last £500 of the £3000 which Rubens was to receive for them—though Gerbier, the king's agent at Brussels, writes urgent letters to the king himself, as well as to his ministers, stating how "Spaniards, French, and other nations talk" of the royal pictures lying there "as if for want of money." But the royal jewels were also at this time lying "at pawn there," and the parties who had advanced their money on them were threatening the envoy "by public notary" that if they were not redeemed by a certain day "they would put the jewels up to real and public sale for their satisfaction." (Sainsbury, p. 185 and note). Even more trouble was experienced and caused by the king's inability to provide the purchase money for the famous Mantuan collection. (*Ibid.*, Appendix H.)

THE YOUNG CHEVALIER

this country had hitherto seen; and, though the evil times on which he had fallen prevented him from carrying his purpose into execution, we know that he sought to unite in one splendid metropolitan palace the utmost attainable magnificence of the combined arts of the architect and the painter. His example found eager imitators among his courtiers. Nobles and wealthy commoners were no longer content as of old, with portraits of themselves, their wives, and their elder sons, but began to compare the merits of Titian and Velasquez, of Raffaelle and Honthorst, of Rubens and Snyders and Vandyck; and to seek for a work by some cunning hand of Italy, Spain, or the Netherlands to decorate their town house or country mansion. The duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arundel were at the head of the courtly connoisseurs. They despatched agents to Italy and the East to seek for works of merit; and urged on by the rival ministers, our envoys at Madrid, Venice, Constantinople, and the Hague were almost as much occupied in negotiating for pictures and statues, as in affairs of state.

The passion for Art penetrated probably but little downwards. Among the higher classes it was a mere fashion. By the Puritans the taste of the king for religious paintings was regarded as idolatrous: his classic pictures offended their notions of propriety. The Civil War broke up the royal and many private collections. Cromwell indeed saved the royal pictures from being utterly dispersed, and the stately galleries of several of the older nobility yet contain many works purchased for them in the reign of Charles. But the influence was not abiding. Cromwell had little leisure, probably little inclination, to attend to pictures and statues. The period of the Commonwealth was not one in which private individuals would venture to indulge the taste if they possessed it, still less to simulate a taste they did not feel. With the Restoration came a season of lax morals and thoughtless self-indulgent habits, inimical to everything pure and elevated in art, but favourable to the voluptuous and meretricious artist. Verrio and Laguerre grew rich, as their sensual deities and profane virtues sprawled over the ceilings and staircases of the palaces of the king and the nobility; and Lely found ample employment for his pencil in depicting the sleepy-eyed "Beauties" of the royal court and harem.

Painting and sculpture were at a low ebb when William and Mary ascended the throne of England. Kneller had succeeded to Lely as the fashionable portrait painter, and he reigned without a rival. Cibber and Gibbons practised as sculptors; but their chisels were almost confined to carving in wood the internal, in stone the external, decorations of buildings. Walpole says of William: "This prince like most of those in our annals contributed nothing to the advancement of the Arts." And he adds that "Mary seems to have had little more propensity to the Arts than the king."* William was not a man to waste time on what he would consider trifling pursuits, when serious affairs both at home and abroad called for the utmost exercise of his time, thought, and energy. But if he cared little for the other arts he did not neglect architecture; and so long as William lived Wren had not to complain of ingratitude or neglect. William and Mary did, however, in a certain careless way patronize painters. They gave employment, as their

* "Anecdotes of Painting," vol. ii. p. 585, Wornum's ed.

immediate predecessors had done, to painters of portraiture and of allegory: the one probably because they could understand and enjoy it, the other because it was the mode. The king we need not doubt took more genuine delight in superintending the laying out of the grounds of Hampton Court in the Dutch taste than in examining pictures, but he caused a gallery to be erected in his favourite palace for the reception of the marvellous cartoons of Raffaelle, whilst he decorated the walls of the other apartments of that pleasant residence with Dutch fruit and flower pieces and scenes of Dutch life. But if William contributed little to the advancement of the Arts, his immediate successors contributed even less: and Art such as it was in England in the period under notice may be said to have been kept alive rather in defiance than by favour of that royal countenance which on the Continent was regarded as the very breath of its nostrils.

Science in its objective development had at this time reached a higher point than it had ever before attained in England; and the one branch of Art in which England excelled was, as might have been anticipated, that which is dependent upon Science for its very existence. But it was the genius of one extraordinary man, called out by the greatness of the occasion, which re-created English Architecture, and made it the sublime thing it became in his hands. Between Inigo Jones and Wren there was no architect worthy to be so called in England. And indeed Wren was the first Englishman who for centuries could put in a claim that could not be gainsayed to the title of architect, as, later, Hogarth was the first to prove that an Englishman might become a great painter. These two men are in fact the connecting links of the art of this period, with that of the preceding and of the following periods: and they mainly save this period of English Art-history from being strictly a history of Art in England, and not also of English Art.

Wren was already a man of mature age, ripe intellect, and of scientific acquirements, unusual in extent and variety even in that age of remarkable scientific men, when he turned to the study of architecture: and it may be that it was owing to this, that in his hands architecture became a living reality and not a thing of rule and system. The son of dean Wren, and the nephew of the well-known bishop of that name, he received every advantage of education, and every opportunity which social position and family influence could afford. Yet it is little short of marvellous to read of him when a mere boy, as not only skilled in mathematics, but the inventor of various astronomical, gnomonic, and pneumatic instruments; as being looked upon as a prodigy at Oxford, where he had entered as a commoner when only fourteen; as having secured a European celebrity at two-and-twenty; as being the next year appointed Gresham professor, and two or three years later called to the Savilian chair in his own university. At what time he commenced the study of architecture is not known.* From his having been appointed Assistant Surveyor-General in 1661, it has been conjectured that his architectural talents must have been recognised then. But this is by no means certain. The Surveyor-General was Sir John Denham the poet, and a knowledge of architecture was certainly no part of his qualification for the office. Wren was made his assistant with a view to

* See Stephen Wren's "Parentalia;" and the "Life of Wren," by Elmes.

becoming his successor. The situation may have been obtained as a motive and a means for retaining in London the brilliant young man of science who was found to be equally ready at drawing up, for the royal signature, the preamble of the newly founded Royal Society; organizing the new institution, and preparing papers and projects, constructing machines, and devising experiments which would give *éclat* to its meetings: and if such a thing were suggested to the king, who took very unusual interest in the prosperity of the infant society, there can be little doubt that he would willingly give Wren the place without inquiring very strictly into his special fitness for it. Be that as it may, the place was in his hands no sinecure. His first important undertaking in connection with it was the restoration of the old church of St. Paul's, which had been left in a ruinous condition since its desecration by Cromwell's soldiers. It had already lost its Gothic character by the erection of Inigo Jones's great Corinthian portico at the west end; and Wren would have entirely remodelled it by constructing a grand central cupola which he thought would be "of present use for auditory, make all the external repairs perfect, become an ornament to his majesty's most excellent reign, to the Church, and to this great city." But he was not to construct his grand central dome *yet*. At the outset, as at every future step of his architectural career, he had to encounter stubborn prejudice and stupidity. "You will not forget," said the excellent Evelyn many years later, "the struggle we had with some who were for patching it up anyhow, so the steeple might stand instead of new building; when, to put an end to the contest, five days after, that dreadful conflagration happened, out of whose ashes this phœnix is, and was by Providence designed for you."*

Before the conflagration, Wren had happily prepared himself for the mighty labour of repairing its ravages. He had satisfied himself as to the principles of architecture, and familiarised himself as far as possible with the practice. One of the most valuable glimpses we have into his mode of study is in a letter written by him in 1665 from Paris, whither he had gone to examine the vast works at the Louvre, then in course of erection. "The Louvre" he says "for a while was my daily object, where no less than a thousand hands are constantly employed in the works; some laying mighty foundations; some in raising the stones, columns, entablements with vast stones, by great and useful engines; others in carving, inlaying of marbles, plastering, painting, gilding; which altogether make it a school of architecture the best probably in Europe."† And he, we may say, was certainly the best scholar in it. He would have given his skin, he writes, for Bernini's plan of the Louvre, "but the old reserved Italian gave me but a few minutes' view of it. . . . . I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory." But other plans and buildings he is able to copy as well as to survey, so that he says, "I shall bring you almost all France upon paper." He might perhaps have done better, as Walpole said, and as has often been said after him, if he had gone on to Italy instead of remaining in France. French "filgrand works and little knacks" as he calls them, did somewhat pertinaciously

* "Architects and Architecture," Dedication to Wren Evelyn was a joint commissioner with Wren in the survey of old St. Paul's.

† "Parentalia," p. 262.

cleave to his memory and corrupt the purity of his taste: but he left France with a conviction which he emphatically expressed, and which he never after suffered to escape from him, that Architecture ought not be swayed like language and dresses by new fashions, but that "building certainly ought to have the attribute of eternal"—an attribute which his buildings certainly possess.

The Fire of London was what gave him his grand opportunity, and imparted the strongest and most permanent impulse to his genius. How he was prepared to grapple with the mighty task of reconstructing a great city and how his purpose was foiled, has already been sufficiently told. That he was fully alive to the necessity for great lines of thoroughfare, the value of large central openings, and ready access by broad cross-streets between every part of the city, and of spacious quays along the Thames; and that he could contrive a comprehensive scheme, which, while it would meet the actual requirements of the city, was sufficiently flexible to adapt itself to an ever increasing commerce, his plan is abundant proof.* He would have concentrated the great commercial buildings, such as the Royal Exchange, the Post Office, Excise Office, &c., together in the heart of the city, with the main streets radiating from them; have placed St. Paul's at the division of two main-trunk streets, and nearly where it now stands, so that its lofty dome might form the crown of the capital from whatever side it was approached, but then he would have left a large vacant space before its western front, that its grand proportions might have made themselves fully seen on entering the city from the court end of town, and have built Doctors' Commons behind it, so as to prevent its being encroached on by mean houses; the churches he proposed to erect in conspicuous spots and at nearly equal distances; his main streets were to have been ninety feet wide, and none of the inferior streets less than thirty, while three spacious piazzas would have imparted an air of dignity and finish to their general aspect. That the importance of giving to the city a nobler architectural character had long before impressed itself on his mind, was shown in his report on the state of old St. Paul's, where he speaks of "this great city" as the "most unadorned of her bigness in the world."

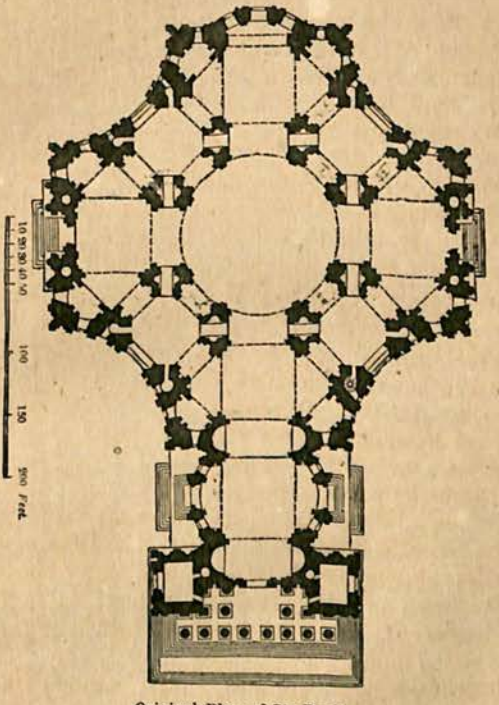
The first stone of his masterwork, St. Paul's, was not laid till nine years after the Fire. At first the authorities were anxious to make the old church last a little longer, but that was decided by its falling about their ears. Then the design he prepared for the new edifice was not approved—the great opponent to it being, as is understood, the duke of York, afterwards James II. Wren had designed a Protestant Cathedral. The duke was bent on having one in which the ceremonies of the Romish Church might be performed with unstinted splendour.† Wren was obliged to give way; but his first design was that which he always regarded as the best. The large model which he prepared of it may be seen in the South Kensington Museum.‡ The building would have been surmounted like the present one with a lofty dome. But in the earlier design the architect proposed to assemble the congregation on

* See the plan, and his statement of his intentions, *ante*, vol. iv. pp. 289—90.

† "Spence's Anecdotes," p. 256, ed. Singer.

‡ We have given in the opposite page Wren's first plan of St. Paul's, which may be compared with the plan of the actual building at page 201 of the present volume.

ordinary occasions in the grand central area under the dome, as has in the present pile been only done in the recent exceptional evening services. There can be little doubt that the first design would have given a simpler, grander, and more original interior. It may be doubted whether the exterior would have been so impressive. The dome, noble as it would have been, was less majestic, and there were no features corresponding to the beautiful western campanile towers, or that would have compensated for their absence. Wren would have preferred his original design, but he did his best to make that on



Original Plan of St. Paul's.

the plan he was forced to adopt the worthiest he possibly could. And, despite all the objections that minute criticism has urged against it, he succeeded in erecting one of the very noblest piles which man has raised for the glory of his Maker.

The work which he commenced in 1675 he steadily prosecuted in the face of opposition and contumely for five-and-thirty years, when, in 1710, he had the happiness to see the last stone laid by his eldest son Christopher: a rare happiness for the architect of so great a work, and one that has secured to London the almost unparalleled fortune of having a cathedral of the grandest class, in which perfect unity of design is maintained throughout, as it only could have been by the architect superintending the work from its commencement to its completion, and as is not always secured even then.

By common consent St. Paul's is placed in the very first rank of the architectural works of modern times. Classic purists and mediæval eccle-

siologists alike take exception to its style and details. We may at once admit that its ornamentation is not unexceptionable; that objections may fairly be taken to its style. But making the largest admissions, we cannot but feel that it remains, in grandeur of mass and picturesqeness of outline, alone almost among works of its class: a stately, imposing, seen under some circumstances of position and season even a sublime temple. Many of the faults which are pointed out in the design there can be no doubt Wren was as cognisant of as his critics; many others that are commonly felt there can be little doubt were forced on him against his earnest protests. Of the plan we have spoken. One of the objections most commonly urged against the design is the coupling of the columns in the west front, and the raising of one order over another. But, as is shown in the Parentalia, Wren had at least well considered the matter. He thought a lofty front necessary to give dignity to the building; but stones of a size equal to those of the ancient porticoes being unattainable, he considered that a single order of some ninety feet would have presented an appearance of instability, and that the necessary appearance of strength for a double order could only be obtained by coupling columns of a less diameter; while this would have the advantage, by giving wider openings, of rendering obvious the entrances, a thing not required in an ancient temple. He may have been wrong, but he has at least the merit of erring as the consequence of carefully thinking out his problem,—which is better than being correct by the simple rule of copying. So on the other hand, the balustrade and the vases at the sides, which more than anything else serve to take off from the true magnitude of the pile, were only adopted by him on compulsion; his letter to the commissioners being extant * in which he denounces their resolution to set up a balustrade in the strongest terms, as one that could only have been made by persons ignorant of the principles of architecture. "Statues erected on the four pediments only, will," he says, "be a most proper, noble, and sufficient ornament to the whole fabric;" though he knows that "ladies think nothing well without an edging." This letter, it is noteworthy, was written in 1717, after the building was virtually finished. The "ladies," however, had their way, and the edging was tacked on. The cold naked look of the interior is an objection raised by every visitor; but it ought to be remembered that Wren designed the interior to be adorned with mosaics, and was in treaty with professors of the art in Italy for their execution. The authorities however disallowed them, and had in their place the inside of the dome covered with paintings by Sir James Thornhill—worthless in themselves, and the painted imitations of columns, vases, and other architectural features between which, have the further effect of seriously interfering with the curves of the noble vault, and marring its simple majesty.

Next in artistic importance to St. Paul's, rank the churches with which Wren adorned the city. These, instead of placing in the most prominent positions, he was compelled to put often in the most out-of-the-way streets and lanes, where the buildings themselves were in many instances concealed by shops and warehouses. Hence he directed his chief attention to the interiors and the spires. And here he showed himself to be a great original

* Elmes' "Life of Wren."

artist. Italian ecclesiastical architects had to a great extent adhered to the Roman basilica form. The wonderful Gothic builders of Northern Europe had almost invariably adopted that of the Latin cross. In our own country with a few exceptions, such as the round churches of the Templars, churches of any size or importance were cruciform. Inigo Jones had however in the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, for the first time imitated a Grecian temple. Wren as far as he was allowed cast aside precedent, and constructed his churches with the primary 'purpose of enabling the congregation to see and hear the clergyman. "The Romanists," he said, "built large churches; it was enough if they heard the murmur of the mass, and saw the elevation of the host; but ours are to be fitted for auditories." He has not wholly succeeded perhaps even in this respect, but he succeeded better than most later architects. The interiors of his churches are indeed generally admired by those who are not wedded to particular precedents, and think originality

St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

a ecclesiastical architecture a cardinal sin. Of his church interiors that of St. Stephen's, Walbroook, with its happy arrangement of columns, is the most general favourite, and if it were not that there is something more of solemnity wanting it would be most admirable. The auditory of this church he has covered with a cupola, so he has that of some others. Some he has made oval in plan, and covered with an elliptic cupola (as in St. Benetfink); others, like St. Mary's Abchurch, are square, and covered with a circular

dome; several are modelled on the Basilica; none have the form of the Latin cross.*

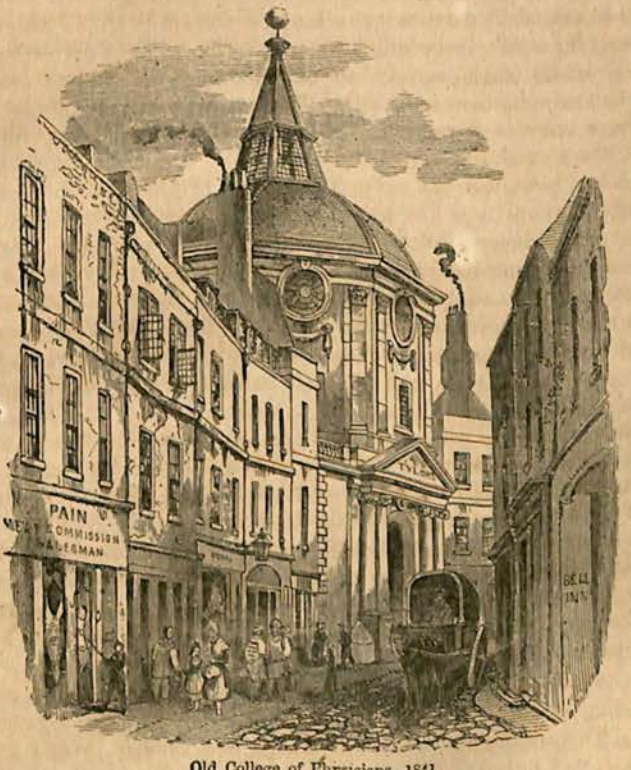
If the interiors of his churches were designed for service, the towers were as certainly designed for effect. Mr. Cockerell in his admirable "Tribute to Sir Christopher Wren," has with the greatest care and judgment brought these remarkable examples of our great architect's genius together, so that they may be readily compared with each other. But properly to appreciate them they must be studied in their actual positions; and then it will be seen not only how picturesque in form, they almost without exception are, but how happily they are adapted to their respective places; while everyone who looks over the city so as to see several of them grouped together will acknowledge the charm which their variety affords. Although whenever he directly imitated Gothic architecture he failed utterly—as in the towers he added to Westminster Abbey—these city steeples are a sufficient proof that Wren worked in the true Gothic spirit.

We have dwelt thus long on Wren, and especially on his churches, because he is not only our first great English architect, but because he lived through the entire period of which we have to speak, and his churches are what are most characteristic of him and of his age. They are works not unimpeachable in an artistic point of view, but they are the works of a man of original thought, works of great constructional excellence, works illustrating an age of immense scientific knowledge and independent thought: in their way Wren and his cathedral are as characteristic of the age, as are Newton and his Principia.

Had Wren not built either St. Paul's or his parish churches he would yet have been a great architect, though they throw all his other works into the shade. Some of his other works are indeed of no great mark. The Monument is not the common-place thing it has been represented to be, but it has not much of the originality of the Monument he originally designed. Marlborough House, and his additions to Hampton Court, say little for his skill as a builder of palaces; he was more successful in his additions to the palace at Greenwich —now Greenwich Hospital—and in Chelsea Hospital, a work well adapted to its purpose and site. His other more important buildings were:—in London, the Royal Exchange, Custom House, both long since destroyed, Temple Bar, and the College of Physicians, now a meat market; the Sheldonian Theatre, Ashmolean Museum, Queen's College Chapel, and Gateway at Christ's Church College, Oxford; the Library and other buildings at Trinity College, and the Chapel of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; the Observatory, Greenwich; and the unfinished palace of Charles II., at Winchester. Wren held the office of Surveyor-General from the reign of Charles II. to that of George I., when he was displaced to make way for a wretched creature named Benson, only remembered by his discreditable association with the name of Wren, the still more discreditable cause of his early ejection from the office into which he had been so unworthily inducted, and the place Pope has assigned him in the Dunciad. Wren now in his eighty-sixth year retired from public life and spent the brief remainder of his days,

* See "Plans, Elevations, and Sections of the Parochial Churches of sir Christopher Wren, erected in the cities of London and Westminster," by John Clayton, fol. 1848.

says his son, "in contemplation and study, and principally in the consolation of the Holy Scriptures: cheerful in solitude and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light." He had held the office of surveyor for five-and-forty years: his pay as architect of St. Paul's was £200 a-year; as architect of all the city churches, £100. He died at the ripe age of ninety; and his countrymen gave him a fitting burial-place, under the choir (it ought to have been under the glorious dome) of his own St. Paul's, and an epitaph worthy of the man and the place.



Old College of Physicians, 1841.

What Wren did for ecclesiastical, Vanbrugh did, though in a lesser measure, for English palatial architecture. Like Wren, Vanbrugh did not adopt the profession of an architect till long after he had gained celebrity in a very different line. But whilst a profound acquaintance with mathematics and mechanics might seem a solid basis for constructional architecture, there was little promise that a writer of licentious comedies could at the age of five or six and thirty turn with success to the practice of a profession usually considered to require a laborious course of preparatory study. Vanbrugh's first, and in some respects his finest work, was the extensive palace of the earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard, a work that at once stamped him as a man of originality of conception, and unquestionable constructive ability. From this time he found no lack of employment, but all his

commissions were for works of a similar character: he is not known to have erected a single public building, with the exception (if that can be called an exception) of a theatre in the Haymarket, which he built as a speculation of his own, and in which Congreve was his partner and Betterton his stage-manager. His chief work is Blenheim, of which he was appointed architect by the government, but in the execution of which he met with a long succession of vexations—first from the difficulty of obtaining supplies of money with sufficient regularity to carry on the work, and then, after the death of Marlborough, from the impetuous Duchess, who took the building out of his hands, and though she continued it according to his designs, would not pay him his salary, or permit him (or even his wife) to enter the grounds to see the outside of the structure he had designed. Among other of his last works may be named King's Weston, near Bristol; Grimsthorpe, Yorkshire, a very striking structure; Eastbury, Dorsetshire, now pulled down; Oulton Hall, Cheshire, and Seaton Delaval, Northumberland. Vanbrugh had to endure not only the censures of pompous dulness, but the keen shafts of the wits of his day, and perhaps even now his name is most commonly associated with one or other of their pungent epigrams. It cannot be denied that his works abound in incongruities, that the massiveness is often excessive, that the parts are too much broken up, that in aiming at picturesque variety he has produced a fritter of ill-connected parts: yet about them all there is richness, imagination, originality and power. Condemned by Swift, Pope, and Walpole, it became fashionable to sneer at Vanbrugh, till Reynolds, with the cordial fellow-feeling of genius saw that Vanbrugh had struck into a new path, and produced what may be called a pictorial style of architecture, and feeling so at once turned the current of popular opinion by boldly expressing his own. And after all that has been said of Vanbrugh, Reynolds's is the truest appreciation of the external character of his buildings: of their interiors we fear so much could scarcely be said with justice, unless it be of the halls which are always with him a magnificent feature. Reynolds says: "To speak of Vanbrugh in the language of a painter, he had originality of invention, he understood light and shadow, and had great skill in composition. To support his principal object, he produced his second and third groups or masses: he perfectly understood in his art what is the most difficult in ours, the conduct of the background; by which the design and invention is set off to the greatest advantage. What the background is in painting, in architecture is the real ground on which the building is erected; and no architect took greater care than he that his work should not appear crude and hard: that is, it did not abruptly start out of the ground without expectation or preparation. This is a tribute which a painter owes to an architect who composed like a painter; and was defrauded of the due reward of his merit by the wits of his time, who did not understand the principles of composition in poetry better than he; and who knew little or nothing, of what he understood perfectly, the general ruling principles of architecture and painting."*

In church architecture Wren was succeeded by his pupil Hawksmoor and by Gibbs, for the exercise of whose talents a favourable opportunity was

* Thirteenth Discourse.

afforded by the Act of Anne, which provided for the erection of fifty new churches in London, though not nearly so many were built. Hawksmoor was a man of considerable original talent; but having been engaged to assist Vanbrugh in the erection of Castle Howard and some of his other works, he engrafted some of his new master's fancies upon the more masculine style of his original instructor. His best work is generally considered to be St. Mary's Woolnoth, Lombard-street, which has great merit both in the interior and exterior; but to our thinking Limehouse Church deserves at least to divide the crown with it. St. George's, Bloomsbury, also by him, has a portico of fine proportions; but though it has found defenders in our own day, the pyramidal steeple with its crowning statue is a huge absurdity. The chief work of Gibbs is the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, the

St. Martin's Church.

portico of which has acquired much fame. But Gibbs, like Hawksmoor, failed to learn from Wren how to design, or where to place a tower and spire. Every one of Wren's towers rises directly from the ground, and has

the lower part of a massive character. In this church of St. Martin's the spire rises behind the portico, and seemingly out of the roof. Lower in the scale of merit are the churches of St. George's, Hanover-square, St. Luke's, Old-street, with an obelisk for a spire, and Greenwich, the works of John James, a man of some reputation in his day; that "chef d'œuvre of absurdity," as Walpole well designates it, St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, looking, as has often been said, with its four turrets at the angles, like a table with its legs in the air—of which Thomas Archer was the architect; and St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and St. Olave's, Southwark, by Flitcroft. The accession of the House of Brunswick inaugurated an epoch of ecclesiastical architecture as dreary as that of William had been glorious. And in secular architecture there was not much greater promise. The best works were Chatsworth, by Talman—a very different place to the Chatsworth of our own day, but still a work of considerable merit; Woburn Abbey, by Flitcroft; and Montague House (the old British Museum), for the erection of which M. Pouget was expressly imported from France.

An evidence of the interest taken in architecture was the existence of amateur architects who erected buildings little inferior to those of their professional contemporaries. At the head of these was Dean Aldrich—the author of the famous Oxford Logic—who not only wrote a work on the "Elements of Civil Architecture," but carried his own precepts into practice by erecting from his own designs the church of All Saints, Oxford, and the building at Christ Church, known as Peckwater. The well-known library of Christ Church was the work of another amateur, Dr. Clarke, who represented Oxford in Parliament in the reign of Queen Anne. But the most celebrated of these amateur architects was lord Burlington, the great patron, if not the founder, of that new school which ripened under the Georges, and which looked up to Palladio as its head. Burlington was an ardent admirer of Inigo Jones, but acquired his knowledge of architecture, and formed his taste, in Italy—Palladio being the master whom he took for his model. On his return to England he devoted himself to the task of making Palladio known to his countrymen, whose taste he fancied had been corrupted by the splendid irregularities of Wren and Vanbrugh, the latter of whom he joined the wits in ridiculing. Burlington not only published the designs of Palladio, but, as illustrations of his manner, constructed the villa at Chiswick, in our own day the favourite residence of the duke of Devonshire, and Burlington House in Piccadilly, now in the occupation of the Royal Society. The villa at Chiswick was a copy on a reduced scale of the Villa Capsa, while Burlington House was modelled on the Viericarti Palace, both at Vicenza, and both by Palladio. Lord Burlington also erected a house for lord Harrington at Petersham, one for the duke of Richmond at Whitehall, another for general Wade in Cork-street, and the Assembly Rooms at York. All were greatly admired in their day, and all have a certain air of elegance; but they are wanting in the picturesqueness and vigour of those of Vanbrugh, and as it would seem wanting also in their convenience. What is good about them is borrowed. Burlington had no originality, and, despite the praises of Pope, no genius; and his influence and example did much to introduce that systematic imitativeness which for so long pressed heavily on English architecture. Burlington's assistant and disciple was Kent, "painter,

sculptor, architect," as he delighted to style himself, and who in painting, sculpture, and architecture, displayed equal want of taste. Kent, however, will be remembered as a landscape gardener, in which art he, with Pope, set the example of a return to a simpler and more natural style.

Sculpture in the reign of William was the handmaid of architecture. In the decorations of St. Paul's Wren was able to avail himself of the best talent in the country. The wood carvings of the interior were executed by Grinling Gibbons, the phœnix over the south door was by Cibber, and the Conversion of St. Paul in the tympanum of the western portico, by Francis Bird.

Gibbons is believed to have been an Englishman by birth, though of Dutch parentage. He was first brought into notice by Evelyn, who having discovered him by accident in a mean lodging, introduced him to Charles II., and to other lowlier but more liberal patrons. He executed a few statues, among others that of James II. behind the Banquetting House, Whitehall; but his great skill lay in carving birds, flowers, plants, &c., in wood, in which he still remains unequalled. The chief works of this kind executed by him are those in the choir of St. Paul's; those at Chatsworth, in which, however, he was largely assisted by others, and especially by a Derbyshire man named Watson, who possessed rare dexterity as a carver, but of whose power in designing we have no evidence; and those at Petworth, where the marvellous skill of Gibbons in this line of art is seen to most advantage. But, after all, Gibbons was rather a mechanic of matchless ability than an artist—a copyist of what he saw, and in no sense a creator.

Cibber was a native of Holstein. Having studied at Rome he came to England to seek his fortune. For a while he was employed as an assistant by John Stone, a carver of architectural work. On the death of his master Cibber set up on his own account. Although undoubtedly a man of original power, he does not seem to have ventured much beyond the line of business of his predecessor Stone. For some years he was engaged in fabricating gods, goddesses, and Roman emperors, for the house and grounds at Chatsworth. One of the two large vases at Hampton Court, and the bas-reliefs on the London Monument, are also from his chisel. So also were several of the statues in the Royal Exchange. But the work on which his fame rests are the statues of Melancholy and Raving Madness, which stood over the gateway of Old Bedlam, and which may now be seen in the South Kensington Museum; but which have suffered too much by recarving and painting to admit of their original character being fairly estimated.

Wren's other chief assistant in the sculptures of St. Paul's, Francis Bird, was an Englishman, but studied at Brussels under Cozins. His principal work is the rilievo of the Conversion of St. Paul—not one of the worst sculptural ornaments in the tympanum of a London portico; his also are the well-known statues of queen Anne in St. Paul's Churchyard, Henry VI. at Eton, and Wolsey at Christ Church. A better work than either of these, perhaps, is the monument to Dr. Busby in Westminster Abbey: the huge mass of marble erected in the same place to the memory of the duke of Newcastle, is a joint production of Bird and Gibbs. The statues on Temple Bar are the work of John Bushnell. There were other sculptors, both British and foreign, practising in England at this time, but they are now mere names, and were never anything better than carvers in stone.

A truer artist, but later in date, was Scheemakers, a Dutchman, to whom we are indebted for the admirable bust of Dryden in Westminster Abbey, and some other good busts in private collections, as well as for many worthless monuments. With his name may be associated that of another foreign sculptor, John Michael Rysbrack, who for some time was the most fashionable sculptor in this country. Like Scheemakers he was a skilful hand at a portrait-bust, and consequently found ample patronage. But he had also much skill in carving the monuments then in vogue—as may be seen in that prodigious work by him in the chapel at Blenheim, in memory of the duke and duchess of Marlborough. He also executed several very respectable portrait-statues.

Rysbrack and Scheemakers were supplanted in the popular favour by Louis François Roubiliac, a Frenchman, who for many years enjoyed unquestioned supremacy as a sculptor in this country, and whose influence was traceable in English sculpture long after Englishmen had risen to eminence in the profession. The work which brought Roubiliac into celebrity was the monument of John duke of Argyle, in Westminster Abbey, of its kind one of the finest monuments in that building. Westminster Abbey contains many other monuments by him, that in memory of admiral Warren

Statue of Newton.

being perhaps the best, but that to Mr. and Mrs. Nightingale the most celebrated. In this, Death in the form of a skeleton is casting a dart at the lady whose husband is endeavouring to shield her from the blow. A less poetic conception it would be hard to find, but similar prosaic conceits disfigure

almost all Roubiliac's more ambitious works, and destroy the pleasure which the design of many of the figures and the execution of all would otherwise produce. Roubiliac's real power is most shown, however, in his portrait statues where he had little opportunity for the exhibition of extravagancies like these, but which he too often placed in affected attitudes, and enveloped in drapery which is deficient in everything resembling sculpturesque simplicity and repose. The statues by which he is best known are those of Newton in Trinity College, Cambridge—a work of a very high order, by far the finest he ever produced, and surpassed by few of later date,—Handel in Westminster Abbey, and Shakspere in the Hall of the British Museum. Roubiliac was an imitator of Bernini, and a constructor of allegories in marble, and to his example and authority it is that we are indebted for no small portion of the monumental absurdities which disfigure our two great metropolitan and most of our provincial cathedrals.

We turn now to Painting. Whatever might be the state of the arts in other respects, England had not for several generations been without portrait painters of distinguished ability. Henry VIII. employed Holbein; Mary patronised Antony More; Elizabeth, Zucchero and De Heere. Under James flourished Mytens and Vansomer; and about this time Mirevelt, Hilliard, and the elder Oliver found employment for their pencils. Vandyck was the court painter to Charles I., but he found in an Englishman, Dobson, no unworthy rival. The features of Cromwell and the Commonwealth chiefs were preserved to us by the manly pencil of our countryman Walker. Under the Restoration, as we have seen, Lely was the royal favourite; and his successor, Sir Godfrey Kneller, had risen into distinction when William ascended the throne.

Kneller, a German by birth, was fortunate in the country he chose for his abode, and fortunate in the time of choosing it. He learned painting under Rembrandt and Ferdinand Bol, but he had afterwards studied in Rome and practised in Venice. He came to England while Lely was at the height of his celebrity, but he was patronized by the duke of Monmouth, and granted a sitting by Charles II., and he soon found that England was a profitable field of labour. He lived till far in the reign of George I., but no change of sovereign or of dynasty produced any change in his fortune. Walpole thinks that "had he lived in a country where his merit had been rewarded according to the worth of his productions, instead of the number, he might have shone in the roll of the greatest masters."* This may well be doubted. There was something beyond his cupidity which would have prevented that; and we certainly need not regret that of all the sovereigns who sat to him,† "not one of them discovered that he was fit for more than preserving their likeness." For most painters it would have been abundant honour to have had such sitters. Kneller was not only fortunate as the painter of so many sovereigns, but even more fortunate as reckoning among his sitters an array of names illustrious in the annals of England, such as perhaps no other painter can boast, and such as would have caused the canvases of a far less worthy

* "Anecdotes of Painting," ii. p. 586.

† Walpole gives the list—Charles II., James II. and his queen, William and Mary, Anne, George I., Louis XIV., Peter the Great, and the emperor Charles VI

painter to be carefully cherished: Marlborough, Godolphin, Somers, Bentinck, Russell, Stanhope, Harley, among statesmen and soldiers; Newton, Wren, Locke, Dryden, Evelyn, Gibbons, Vanbrugh, Congreve, Pope, Atterbury, Steele, Addison, among men of science, art, and letters; are but a few of the more famous for whose likenesses we are chiefly indebted to him. Yet Kneller was far from being a good painter. The Beauties of the Court of William and Mary, which he painted by Mary's desire, in rivalry with Lely's Beauties of Charles II., show that when doing his best Kneller was but an indifferent painter of female loveliness. But another series of pictures produced in his later years, and when his hand was growing feeble, the Kit-Cat portraits,* evince equally with his famous head of Dryden, and several others named above, that he could paint a fine manly representation of a really intellectual countenance. In truth, Kneller was a shrewd man and a great lover of money. He saw that his fashionable customers cared little for the higher qualities of art so that he gave them smooth features and bright drapery. Portraits of this kind were easily painted, yet, even with the help of a staff of drapery painters, he found difficulty in meeting the demand for his productions. But he was a man of keen intellect, and fond of the society of intellectual men, and when he had to paint the head of one of that order, he set about it with a heartiness which ensured a favourable result. His state portraits, therefore, are for the most part smooth, unmeaning, meretricious things; his portraits of eminent men have some of them great merit as works of art, while nearly all bear the stamp of unmistakeable intellect.

Contemporary with Kneller during the early part of his career was an Englishman, John Riley, who was a portrait painter of very considerable ability, but he died young in 1691. The portrait painters who shared largest in the popular favour after Kneller at this time were, however, nearly all foreigners. Michael Dahl and John Closterman were, perhaps, the most conspicuous in England; Sir John Baptist Medina having been persuaded to settle in Scotland, where he painted nearly all the nobility of that country.

The rival during his later years, and the successor of Kneller as the fashionable portrait painter, was Charles Jervas, whose manner was founded on that of Kneller, but who possessed little of Kneller's knowledge of art or native ability. Pope has embalmed his memory in verses which must either be regarded as a remarkable illustration of the complacency of his muse in administering to the vanity of his friend, or of his want of judgment in painting. Along with Jervas flourished Jonathan Richardson, an amiable man, and a pleasing writer on art, but a very poor painter: his skill may be judged of by the portrait of lord chancellor Talbot in the National Portrait Gallery. Portrait painting had been steadily declining in England from the days of Vandyck, Dobson, and Walker. The corruption of the art was commenced by Lely, continued by Kneller, and carried on with constantly accelerating force by Jervas, Richardson, and their compeers, till it was consummated by Hudson; by whose pupil, Reynolds, however, it was once more restored to all its ancient honour.

Turning to other branches of painting we have only to record the same

* These portraits, forty in number, were painted for Jacob Tonson, the bookseller, who was secretary of the Kit-Cat Club. They now belong to Tonson's representative, Mr. W. R. Baker of Hayfordbury, Herts.

process of decline. Charles I. invited Rubens to adorn the ceilings of the palaces of Whitehall and Greenwich, with gorgeous allegories. Charles II. employed Verrio to cover those of Windsor with similar productions. But the Neapolitan had none of the genius which enabled the brilliant Fleming to fascinate the observer, in spite of the coarseness of his forms and the extravagance of his inventions. The paintings of Rubens remain the delight of the connoisseur and the artist. The cold voluptuous allegories of Verrio have become a bye-word and a laughing-stock. Yet his pencil was sought after for similar works as long as he could wield it, and through the reign of William he continued to cover the saloons of the nobility with his prodigious compositions. Laguerre exceeded him in folly, and rivalled him in coarseness. Thornhill, who followed in the same line, and in whom it came to an end, was of a colder temperament; but if his works are more decent, they are also more dull. The best of Laguerre's productions are at Blenheim; the best of Thornhill's on the dome of St. Paul's, and the hall of Greenwich Hospital. Henry Cooke, who painted the choir of New College Chapel, deserves a word of praise in passing for not having quite ruined the cartoons of Raffaelle, which he was directed by William to repaint and restore. Other of these ceiling-painters were Antonio Pellegrini; Sebastian Ricci, a Venetian of real ability, who seemed inclined to make England his home, but left it in dudgeon on Thornhill being appointed to paint St. Paul's; and his nephew, Marco Ricci.

In other branches of painting we might mention as practising with success in this country, the names of the Vandeveldes, the famous sea-painters—the founders of a school which has never wanted followers; Hemskerk, patronised by William for his Dutch drinking pieces; Dirk Maas, the Dutch battle-painter; Godfrey Schalken, whose candle-light subjects are still eagerly purchased; Boit, the enamel painter; Monnoyer, the flower painter; Louis Cradock, who painted birds and animals; and many more of unquestionable ability. But it would be idle to dwell on them. The story would be merely a repetition of what has already been related. There was throughout a certain encouragement of painters, with little knowledge of painting. England possessed neither a school of painting, nor galleries of pictures, nor writers on art. There were no means of instruction for patrons or for students. The demand for pictures was supplied almost wholly by foreign painters of second-rate ability, who found here an amount of patronage they could not hope for in their native places. Art was almost necessarily therefore at the mercy of Fashion. The leading connoisseur or the court painter set the mode, and all of inferior rank hastened to conform to it.

The true regenerator of painting in England was William Hogarth, the sturdy asserter of truth and matter of fact in painting. His merit as a satirist, a painter of manners, and a moralist have to be spoken of in another chapter. Even his contemporaries admitted his ability in these respects, though they hardly perhaps took the full measure of his genius. But Walpole only gave utterance to the common belief when he said that Hogarth was no painter. When Hogarth lived and Walpole wrote, the worship of the "Old Masters" of painting had seized hold of those whose talk was of pictures. Walpole meant that Hogarth did not imitate the composition, and copy the chiaroscuro, and borrow the colours, of the painters of

the Netherlands or Italy. But though Hogarth looked out on nature for himself, and painted what he saw in the manner it appeared to his own eyes, he always placed his figures so that they would tell the story in the clearest way; drew them with skill; gave to them a truth and force of characteristic expression such as few painters of any other school ever equalled; arranged the light and shadow so as that every object should have just that measure of each which belonged to it, yet every figure and every part of the composition should hold its true place in respect of all the rest, and of the picture as a whole; coloured truly and forcibly, and in harmony with the serious purpose of his pictures, although not in accordance with the traditions of painting-rooms and picture galleries; and finally in the manipulation showed an amount of dexterity in the handling of his tools such as many a painter, who is known only as a painter, might well have envied.

With the mention of Hogarth we close this sketch. He forms the link which unites this period with that in which the English school sprang into a sturdy existence, and therefore claimed notice here; but his proper place as a painter undoubtedly is at the head of the school of which he was the founder.

The Rake's Levee.

CHAPTER XXX.

Hogarth as the historian of manners in the transition-time between Anne and George III.—His art essentially dramatic—Society, in Hogarth's pictures, appears a sort of chaos—The life of the streets—The anarchy out-doors a type of the disorder in houses of public resort—Genteel debauchery—Low profligacy and crime—The Cockpit—The Gaming-House—The Prison—Bedlam—The Rake's Levee—The lady's public toilette—Marriage à-la-mode—The Election Prints—The Sleeping Congregation—Fanaticism.

When Defoe, in 1724, had given to the world three novels, in which the incidents in the various fortunes of a low abandoned woman, of a more refined courtesan, and of a young thief, are related with a circumstantiality that is "like reading evidence in a court of justice,"* there was an artist engraving shop-bills and silver plate for a livelihood,—who was also looking with a curious eye upon the world around him. As he walked about London, all its strange exhibitions of pomp and misery,—its habitual contrasts of velvet and rags,—its eccentric characters, its grotesque faces,—were to him materials for artistical study and for moral reflection. Did the genius of Hogarth take any direction from the genius of Defoe? Had he read "Moll Flanders," when he painted his first great fiction of the "Harlot's Progress?" Had he read "Colonel Jack" when he painted that never-to be forgotten figure in "Industry and Idleness" of the young blackguard who is gambling on a grave-stone with Tom Idle—some such as Defoe described as "brutish, bloody, and cruel in his disposition; sharp as a street-

* Charles Lamb, in a contribution to Wilson's "Life of Defoe."

bred boy must be, but ignorant and unteachable from a child." Charles Lamb said that Defoe's novels "are capital kitchen-reading, while they are worthy, from their interest, to find a shelf in the libraries of the wealthiest and the most learned."* Hogarth's first set of prints, in which he might originally have had the adornment of the kitchen-wall chiefly in view, became the subjects of fan-mounts, which ladies of quality displayed at the opera. The graphic representations of Hogarth have been truly termed "books." We look upon them as presenting the best materials for the history of manners in the transition time from Anne to George III. We regard Hogarth as the legitimate successor of Steele and Addison, as presenting a mirror of some portion of the higher and middle classes, and of Defoe in exploring the depths of ignorance and vice.

The works of Hogarth range over a period of nearly thirty years; from the days of Walpole and the Excise Law to the days of Wilkes and Liberty. He was the engraver as well as the painter of these representations, "which have the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of words." He got small prices for his pictures. He made a fortune by his prints. Every one could read his prints; and his art went direct to the popular comprehension. His was essentially a dramatic art. But he was bound by no pedantic rules about the unities of time and place, in opposing which law of the critics Dr. Johnson was "almost frighted at his own temerity." On the other hand, he had an absolute reverence for that "poetical justice," the occasional absence of which in Shakspere Johnson thinks a great demerit. With Hogarth, it is always Vice punished, Virtue rewarded. The limitations of his art might have something to do with this great object of Hogarth as a moralist. Defoe very considerably departed from such an overstrained view of the results of human conduct. Defoe does not, as a matter of course, hang the thief, and make the respectable apprentice Lord Mayor of London. His notion is that "the best and only good end of an impious misspent life is repentance:"—and so, Colonel Jack, the pickpocket, becomes a decent member of society; and Moll Flanders ends as a respectable wife and mother after she is transported. Hogarth could not very well *paint* repentance, so as not to be mistaken for hypocrisy. In his pictorial stories, we are taken through all the transitions of guilt and extravagance;—to Bridewell, to the gaol, to the madhouse, to the gallows. Society, in Hogarth's pictures, is a sort of chaos, in which filth jostles finery; grossness makes decorum blush; and drunken frenzy is well-nigh involving all things in a general conflagration, typified by the revellers at the "Rose" setting fire to the map of the world.

Many of the indications of this chaotic state of life in England may be worth a transient notice. Let us glance first at the out-door life—the life of the London streets. By day, as by night, disorder seems to reign. By day there is not the slightest appearance of authority to repress outrage or robbery; to enforce decency; or to save from accident. The brewer's carman falls asleep upon his shaft, and the child driving his hoop across the road is crushed under the wheels of the dray.† St. James's-street is crowded with sedan chairs bearing lords and

* Essay on Hogarth, in "Reflector."

† Stages of Cruelty.

ladies to queen Caroline's drawing-room; whilst a group of shoeblacks, chimney-sweepers, and half-naked vagabonds are playing at cups and balls, dice, cards, and prick-in-the-garter, on the pavement.* In the city, close by

The Drayman.

the Monument, the great thoroughfare to London Bridge is choked by a mob of butchers with marrowbones and cleavers, of drummers and fiddlers, of beggars relieved with broken meat,—all assembled to greet with their din the marriage of Mr. Francis Goodchild.† Before the window of the Enraged

The Enraged Musician.

Musician in St. Martin's Lane, the blind haut-boy player, the ballad-singer, the boy with the drum, and other gentry that the policeman now

* Rake's Progress, 4.

† Industry and Idleness, 6.

deems street nuisances, are undisturbed, whilst the irritable professor stops his ears and shrieks in vain. Before Covent Garden Church, on a snowy morning, market-women are warming themselves at a fire of sticks, and the quack doctor is holding forth to the crowd.* When magistracy, even, puts on its grandest pomp and splendour in the Lord Mayor's Show, the lumbering gilt coach is surrounded by a mob of whooping and fighting blackguards. By night, confusion is worse confounded. Bonfires blaze in the narrowest streets on occasions of public rejoicing. The Salisbury Flying Coach is overturned at Charing Cross, amidst the crackling of tar-barrels and the hissing of squibs. Traitors' heads upon Temple Bar are lighted up by the fire beneath that burns Guy Faux. In their usual state the streets are dark. The cut-purse and the burglar roam about unmolested. The rake beats the watchman, and carries his staff and his lanthorn in triumph to the hideous revels at the night-house.† The "fiery fop," the "frolic drunkard,"

"Lords of the street, and terrors of the way,"

insult every passenger; and no judicious magistrate fines the rich ruffian five pounds, as in our more decorous days.

The anarchy of the streets is but a type of the absence of all legal supervision and control in houses of public resort, and in places of amusement for high and low. One of Hogarth's early prints is "A Midnight Conversation." Twenty years after Steele and Addison had exhibited, under many forms, the club-life of London, Hogarth brings together a far less decorous set in tipsy jollity. They are not the drunkards of the pot-house. They are the noble Britons who, up to the end of the eighteenth century, thought it no disgrace to a gentleman to be led reeling home by the watchman, or to fall under the table, whilst roaring out the Bacchanalian songs which were the most precious gifts of the English Muse. The president, who is concocting a fresh bowl of punch, is a rubicund divine; whose calling, according to the theory of that age, is as much denoted by the corkscrew hanging from his finger, as by the band and cassock which he wears. The solemn listener next to him, with his band and his full-bottomed wig, is a barrister. Another distinguished personage of the company, judging by his laced cravat and his sword, is an undoubted gentleman, although he is so far gone in enjoyment that he sets fire to his ruffles instead of his pipe. The officer with the cockade breaks his head as he falls from his chair; and the apothecary, holding on to the table, pours brandy upon the bald pate. The justice has hung up his cocked hat and wig, and has made himself comfortable in his nightcap, sitting apart in resolute drinking. Maudlin drunkenness, ranting drunkenness, sleepy drunkenness, sprawling drunkenness, are given with inimitable minuteness of character and incident. This is genteel revelry. In the night-cellar in Chick-lane, Smithfield, some of the low profligates are fighting in the background with chairs and pokers, whilst others are quietly smoking on. The thieves in the foreground are dividing their booty; their murdered man is thrust into a hole; the constable comes, not to disperse the whole gang of the Blood-bowl house, but to carry off Tom Idle to Newgate. He began his career by gambling in the churchyard; the beadle

* Morning. † Rake's Progress, 3.

stands over him with a stick. He is sent to sea; and runs away from the round dozen. He comes home and becomes a thief; and the end is the last ride in a cart to Tyburn. Tyburnia is now otherwise occupied than in looking upon a procession of javelin men followed by a ragged and scrambling mob, whilst Tiddy-Doll sells his cakes, and but for the coffin in the cart, the gathering has as merry an aspect as a country fair. This is the last step in the mad dance of low profligacy; and the great master of the ceremonies is the hangman, who sits astride upon the gallows, smoking his pipe.

What the Bear-garden was in the time of Steele is the Cockpit in the time of Hogarth. It is free for all men. The gambler by profession here sits by the side of the amateur in the blue ribbon, as welcome as in the ring at Epsom. The blind peer is betting with the blackguards around him; whilst the thief at his elbow is purloining the bank-note which my lord is prepared to stake. Another illustrious one, with a star on his breast, is jammed amongst the crowd; the carpenter, in his shirt sleeves, presses on the noble shoulder, and thus disturbs the earnestness with which his lordship contemplates the two cocks at the crisis of the game.* In the fashionable gaming-house, there is the same equality and happy fraternity. The rake, who has run through his inheritance, but is again master of riches, by marriage with an ancient lady, whom he will hate and ruin, is the central figure of the gaming-house. He has lost his money. In the frenzy of despair, has torn his periwig from his head, and is invoking heaven with curses. By the fire sits the highwayman, regardless even of the liquor he has ordered. He has no business in such company; for according to the wise Mr. Peachum, "the man who proposes to get money by play should have the education of a fine gentleman, and be trained up to it from his youth." The company at the gaming-house are gentlemen for the most part in laced coats and ruffles. There is no want of money or credit. The usurer is lending his gold to one, and drawing his bill. Another fortunate gamester is sweeping off his stakes. All are absorbed in their joy or their rage, their hope or their despair; and the watchman who rushes in to bawl that the house is on fire, can scarcely obtain a notice. The retribution must come, according to the Hogarthian doctrine, which cannot be impugned, though the moral is not always so palpable as the great painter makes it. The highwayman will be hanged; for he has lost the means of propitiating the thief-taker. The rake will go to the debtor's prison. The economy of the prison is regulated by those approved principles which subsisted for a century after Hogarth. The misery

The Cockpit.

* The Cockpit.

of the common-room leads to the mad-house. The terrible scenes of melancholy and laughing madness which Cibber personified in his statues, are minutely displayed by Hogarth. Bedlam was an image of the external life which the painter has represented in so many aspects—the ludicrous side by side with the terrible; and the attempts to make the mad world sane were founded upon the same ignorance of moral health and disease as in the treatment of the lunatic by a general system of coercion.

The Highwayman in the Gaming-house.

Horace Walpole has remarked of Hogarth "the very furniture of his rooms describe the characters to whom they belong. . . . . The rake's levee-room, the nobleman's dining-room, the apartments of the husband and wife in Marriage à-la-mode, the alderman's parlour, the poet's bed-chamber, and many others, are the history of the manners of the age." This is true, as far as it goes. "It was reserved to Hogarth to write a scene of furniture." In the same way Hogarth is the great authority for costume. But dress and furniture are only a small part of the "history of the manners of the age." Let us look at the domestic life associated with these externals. The rake's levee-room is peopled with a group of figures that again remind us of the chaotic state of society even in gilded saloons. Charles Lamb has described this remarkable exhibition as "almost a transcript" of the opening scene of Shakspere's 'Timon:' "we find a dedicating poet, and other similar characters in both." But the difference is as manifest as the similarity. In Timon's levee we have the poet, the painter, the jeweller, and the merchant. The Rake, in his morning gown, attends to the bully who grasps his sword, and places his hand on his breast, to intimate the secresy with which he will stab in the dark. The jockey exhibits the bowl which his master's racers have won. The prize-fighter comes to teach him the science of quarter-staff. The French fencer and the attitudinising dancing-master, are ready to give their lessons. Handel is touching the harpsichord. Bridgman has his designs for a landscape garden when the villa is built:

"Heaven visits with a taste the wealthy fool."

The poet is in the antechamber spouting his verses amongst tailors and wig-makers. It is exaggeration, we may say, to group together such opposite professors of fashionable accomplishments. But ostentation makes no nice distinctions. The patron sees no difference between the poet and the dancing-master.

If the Rake's levee may seem to some an overstrained representation, the genius of Hogarth has been vindicated by Scott seizing upon similar characteristics of the levee of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham—"a

gathering of eagles to the slaughter." Amidst projectors, and gamesters, and others of "the sordid train,"—who "stimulate the wild wishes of lavish and wasteful extravagance," are the poet, the architect, the musician—"all genuine descendants of the daughter of the horse-leech, whose cry is, Give, give."* Turn to the fourth plate of "Marriage à-la-mode." The lady Squander is at her public toilette. As her hair is dressed—the most important labour of the day—Farinelli is singing to a flute accompaniment. A fashionable lady is in ecstacy; a country gentleman is asleep. The coxcomb sips his coffee with the vacant indifference that belongs to an exquisite with his hair in papers. The mistress of the mansion, whose plebeian wealth has been wedded to titled poverty, is receiving from a gentleman who is lolling upon a sofa a ticket for the masquerade. The barrister who drew the settlement for the marriage of the lady is thus making arrangements for a very prompt dissolution of the tie. The citizen's daughter is the victim of the lawyer's profligacy. The lawyer passes his sword through the noble husband, and is hanged. The lady takes poison. There are various

Marriage à-la-mode.

scenes of this drama before we reach the catastrophe. One scene has been painted with matchless skill. The lady has passed the night in her splendid mansion, amidst a crowd of visitors. She has snatched an hour or two of broken and feverish sleep, and has risen unrefreshed to a late breakfast. The servants have been unable to repair the disorder of the previous night. It is noon, but the candles are still burning; the furniture is disarranged; the floor is strewed with music, and books of games, and overturned chairs. The husband has spent his night from home. The jaded debauchee—his dress disordered, his features pale and fallen, his whole attitude expressive of that

* "Peveril of the Peak."

withering satiety which has drunk the dregs of what is called pleasure, and found nothing but poison in the cup—tells a tale of the ruin which has overwhelmed thousands. Neither the besotted husband nor the careless wife can listen to the silent remonstrances of the old steward, who comes to them with a bundle of unpaid bills, and a file with only one receipt upon it. The uplifted hand and careworn face of the old servant distinctly paint the ruin which he sees approaching in debt and dishonour. The catastrophe, indeed, is more sudden than he expects.

If this be the life of fashionable England, we can scarcely be surprised at its "Gin Lane," where the drunken wife lets her infant fall from her arms down an area; and the tumble-down house reveals the spectral sight of a wretch hanging to a beam. The moral is here written in Capital letters, which those who run may read. The moral is not quite so legible, when we look upon that print in which Francis Goodchild, esquire, sheriff of London, is represented as feasting the liverymen of his company. The eager clamour for fresh supplies; the gloating satisfaction of the healthful feeder; the exhausted appetite of the apoplectic gorger—these triumphs of civilisation may yet attest that Hogarth was "not for an age, but for all time" in some of these note-books. The satire of his "election" is of course only local and temporary. There is now no treating allowed. The odious attempt to seduce the incorruptible British patriot by a vulgar feast is proscribed by statute and by custom. No candidate at the head of the table, with "Liberty and Loyalty" for his banner, submits to be whispered to by a fat old hag, whilst a facetious elector knocks their heads together. No haberdasher brings an assortment of ribbons and gloves, and is paid by a promissory note. The wife threatening her husband with vengeance if he refuses the proffered bribe,

Election Scene.

is necessarily extinct. The attorney knocked off his chair by a brickbat that comes through the window, can no longer apply to the gentle people that some libellers in our day call "roughs." The banner of "no Jews" has gone, with every other proclamation of intolerance. Ignorance is banished

and no longer shouts "Give us our eleven days." The print of the Canvass, again, must be quite obsolete in its allusions. The yeoman no longer stands between two rival agents, with his palm open to each. This sturdy Englishman is not Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy. He is not Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure. He is an honest elector, who then did what he thought best for his family. He was tempted, and he yielded. All such temptations are at an end. No man takes guineas in the open street; and we may therefore presume that bribery has ceased to exist. Then, again, no such scenes can take place as in Hogarth's Election-booth, for a registration has been established, and all is fairness and tranquillity. No dying freeholder is brought from his bed to the poll; no idiotic cripple has the name of the Blue candidate shouted in his one ear, and of the Yellow in the other. No counsel are now vociferating for or against the legality of the voter who has lost his hands, taking hold of the Testament with his iron hook. No group of voters now chuckle over a squib which, in addition to its subtle wit, has the picture of one of the candidates on a gallows. Lastly, the solemnity of Chairing has gone out; and perhaps the accompanying generosity of setting free and enlightened non-electors to scramble for sixpences. Hogarth has painted a scene of riot, broken heads, blind fiddlers and dancing bears, which have no exact parallel in our age; and the evils of an Election may therefore be supposed, by some believers in social perfectibility, to have died out with many other political evils, in our more decent times.

Hogarth lived at a period when some very signal changes in morals and manners were slowly developing themselves, under influences which were either ridiculed, or regarded as unworthy of notice. The chaotic state of society which he has so truthfully set forth in its most striking examples, must not be received as the whole truth. The essayists, the dramatists, the novelists, the painters, have furnished almost the only materials we possess for estimating the peculiar characteristics of a modern age. But we must not attempt to believe that many of their representations of vice and folly were any other than exceptions to the average amount of decorum and good sense which regulated the intercourse of the higher and middle classes, and of respect for the laws and for public order which, taken as a whole, the labouring class manifested. When we look at the defective state of the municipal administration of the country—the total absence of means for the prevention of crime, except the terror of the barbarous code for its punishment—we may almost be surprised that there were not more Gin Lanes, and more Blood-bowl houses. When we regard the comparatively small influence which the Church then exercised upon social evils, we may wonder how the upper classes passed from the corrupt atmosphere of Hogarth's saloons into the more healthful air of the court-life of eighty years ago. A great change had then come over all classes. Hogarth has two prints which he produced out of his keen observation of passing things,—manifestations which he could scarcely be expected to regard with a prophetic or philosophic spirit. "The Sleeping Congregation" of 1736 speaks of the time when the be-wigged preacher droned through his tedious hour, without the slightest attempt to touch the vicious or to rouse the indifferent. The "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism, a Medley," of 1762, tells that a

new power had arisen. The chief object is the ridicule of Methodism. Whitefield's Journal and Wesley's Sermons figure by name amongst the accessories of the piece, where the ranting preacher is holding forth to the howling congregation. Pope had described the "harmonic twang" of the donkey's bray—

"There, Webster, pealed thy voice, and Whitefield thine."*

Bishop Lavington had written "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared." Hogarth followed the precedent, in all ages, of despising reformers. The followers of George Whitefield and of John Wesley might be ignorant, superstitious, fanatical. They themselves might have indirectly encouraged the delusions of a few of their disciples. But they eventually changed the face of English society.

* Dunciad, book ii.

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1690 William & Mary	Louis XIV.	Leopold I.	Frederic William	Charles XII.	Peter I.	Charles II.
1694 William III.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1700 —	—	—	—	—	—	1700 Philip V. (*disputed succession*).
1701 —	—	—	1701 Frederic I.	—	—	—
1702 Anne	—	—	—	—	—	—
1705 —	—	1705 Joseph I.	—	—	—	—
1711 —	—	1711 Charles VI.	—	—	—	—
1713 —	—	—	1713 Frederic William I.	—	—	—
1714 George I.	—	—	—	—	—	—

GREAT BRITAIN.	DENMARK.	POLAND.	PORTUGAL.	PAPAL STATES.	NAPLES.	SARDINIA.
1690 William and Mary	Christian V.	Augustus II.	Peter II.	Alexander VIII.	Charles II.	Victor Amadeus II.
1691 —	—	—	—	1691 Innocent XII.	—	—
1694 William III.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1699 —	1699 Frederick IV.	—	—	—	—	—
1700 —	—	—	—	1700 Clement XI.	1700 Charles II. died (*disputed succession*).	—
1702 Anne	—	—	—	—	—	—
1704 —	—	1704 Stanislaus Leczinsky	—	—	—	—
1706 —	—	—	1709 John V.	—	—	—
1709 —	—	1709 Augustus II. (*restored.*)	—	—	—	—
1714 George I.	—	—	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BRITISH WRITERS.

In this History the occasional notices of the progress of Literature, have no pretensions to completeness; and are given as illustrative of the general character of an age rather than as expressions of critical opinion. But it may be useful to our readers to have something like a connected view of the British Writers in each century, for purposes of reference. The following Table adds to the name of each author, and the dates of his birth and death, as far as they could be ascertained, the title of the work by which he is best known. The names are arranged under three heads—Imagination; Fact; Speculative and Scientific. The first includes the Poets and Novelists; the second, the writers on History, Geography, and other matters of exact detail; the third, those who treat of Philosophy and Science. This division cannot be perfect, for an author is often celebrated in various departments of knowledge. His name will here be found in the division which includes his best known productions.

Imagination.	Fact.	Speculative and Scientific.
A.D. 500	A.D. 500 Gildas, Conquest of Britain	A.D. 500
600 Cædmon, Saxon Poems Aldhelme, *d.* 709, Latin Poems	600 Nennius, Origin of Britons	600
700	700 Bede, 673-735, Eccl. Hist. of England	700 Alcuin, *d.* 804, Theology, History, Poetry
800 Alfred, 849-901, Saxon Poems, Translations, &c.	800 Asser, *d.* 909, Life of Alfred, Hist. of England	800 J. Scot Erigena, *d.* 883, 'Of the Nature of Things'
900	900 Ethelwerd, Hist. of Great Britain	900
1000	1000 Ingulphus, 1030-1109, History of Croyland Eadmer, Chronicle	1000
1100	1100 Order. Vitalis, 1075-1132, History of England Florence of Worcester, *d.* 1118, Chron. of England Geoffrey of Monmouth, History of Britain	1100 Robert Pulleyn, *d.* 1150, Theology

Imagination.	Fact.	Speculative and Scientific.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1100	1100 William of Malmesbury, *d.* 1143, Hist. of Britain	1100
	Henry of Huntingdon, Chronicles of England	
	Simeon of Durham, Chronicles of England	Richard of St. Victor, *d.* 1173, Theology
	John of Salisbury, *d.* 1181, 'Life of Becket,' &c.	
		Ralph Glanville, Collection of Laws
Layamon, Saxon Poetry		
Nigellus, Speculum Stultorum	G. Cambrensis, Conq. of Ireland, Itin. of Wales	
Walter Mapes, Satires, Songs	Wm. of Newbury, *b.* 1136, Chron. of England	
Jos. of Exeter, Troj. War, War of Antioch, Epics		
1200	1200 Roger Hoveden, Chron. of England	1200
		Alex. Neckham, *d.* 1227, Theology
	Gervase of Canterbury, History of England	
		Robert Grosteste, Natural Philosophy
		Alexander Hales, *d.* 1245, Aristotelian
	Roger of Wendover, Hist. of England	John Peckham, Theology
	Matthew Paris, *d.* 1259, History of England	John Holiwood, *d.* 1256, Astron., Mathematics
Robert of Glocester, Chronicle in Verse	William Rishanger, Hist. of England	Roger Bacon, 1214-1292, Chemistry, Optics, &c.
T. Lermont, the Rhymer, Sir Tristrem, Romance		Rich. Middleton, Theology
1300	1300	1300 Albricus, Theology
		Duns Scotus, *d.* 1308, Philosophy
		Walter Burleigh, Philosophy
Adam Davie, Metr. Romance, Life of Alex.	Nicholas Triveth, *d.* 1328, Hist. Physic, Theology	Gilb. Anglicus, Medicine
		R. Aungervile, 1281-1345, Philobiblion
	Richard of Chichester, Chron. of England	
Lawrence Minot, *d.* 1352, Historical Poems	Ralph Higden, *d.* 1360, Chron. of England	
	Henry Knighton, *d.* 1370, Chron. of England	J. Wicliffe, 1324-1384, Theology, Trans. of Bible
John Barbour, 1326-1396, 'The Bruce'	Matthew of Westminster, 'Flowers of History'	
	John Maundeville, *d.* 1372, Travels	
	John Fordun, Chron. of Scotland	H. de Bracton, Law
R. Langlande, 'Pierce Plowman,' a Satire		
Geof. Chaucer, 1328-1400, 'Canterbury Tales,' &c.		
John Gower, *d.* 1402, Elegies, Romances, &c.		

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1400	1400 Andrew of Wyntoun, Chron. of Scotland	1400
John Lydgate, 1380-1440, Poems		
	T. Walsingham, *d.* 1440, History of Normandy	
James I. of Scotland, 1395-1437, 'King's Quhair,' &c.		John Fortescue, Laws of England
Harry the Minstrel, 'Sir W. Wallace'		
	John Hardyng, Chron. of England	Thos. Littleton, *d.* 1487, Law
	Lord Berners, Trans. of Froissart	
Stephen Hawes, 'Passetyme of Pleasure'	W. Caxton, Translations	
John Skelton, *d.* 1529, Satires, Odes	Douglas of Glastonbury, Chron. of England	
1500 Wm. Dunbar, 1465-1530, 'Thistle and Rose'	1500 R. Fabyan, *d.* 1512, Chron. of England and France	1500 Thos. Linacre, 1460-1524, Philology, Medicine
Gawin Douglas, 1475-1522, Trans. Virgil		
Thomas More, 1480-1535, 'Utopia'		Anth. Fitzherbert, Husbandry
Thomas Wyatt, *d.* 1541, Sonnets	T. Halls, *d.* 1547, Hist. of Houses of York & Lanc.	Thomas Elyot, Philology
John Heywood, *d.* 1565, Drama	John Leland, *d.* 1552, English Antiquities	H. Latimer, 1475-1555, Sermons
Earl of Surrey, *d.* 1546-7, Poems	W. Cavendish, 1505-1557, 'Life of Wolsey'	
Geo. Gascoigne, *d.* 1577, Drama	J. Ball, 1495-1563, 'Lives of British Writers'	Roger Ascham, 1515-1568, 'The Schoolmaster'
	Ralph Hollingshed, *d.* 1581, Chronicles	Thomas Wilson, *d.* 1581, Logic and Rhetoric
	Geo. Buchanan, 1506-1582, History of Scotland	Thomas Tusser, *d.* 1580, Husbandry
	J. Fox, 1517-1587, Book of Martyrs	
Philip Sidney, 1554-1586, 'Arcadia'		
Christ. Marlowe, *d.* 1593, Drama		
Edmd. Spenser, 1553-1598, 'Faëry Queen'		J. Jewel, 1522-1570, Divinity
W. Shakspere, 1564-1616, Drama	N. Fitzherbert, 1550-1612, Biography	R. Hooker, 1553-1600, Ecclesiastical Polity
John Lylie, 1550-1600, 'Euphues'	John Stow, 1527-1605, Chronicles, Topography	W. Gilbert, 1540-1603, 'On the Loadstone'
	Sir T. North, Trans. of Plutarch	L. Andrews, 1565-1626, Sermons
John Fletcher, 1576-1625, Drama		
F. Beaumont, 1586-1615, Drama		
1600 John Owen, *d.* 1612, Latin Epigrams	1600 J. Pits, 1560-1616, Biog. of Kings, Bishops, &c.	1600 Edward Coke, 1550-1634, Law
	Richard Knolles, *d.* 1610, History of the Turks	John Napier, 1550-1617, Logarithms

Imagination.	Fact.	Speculative and Scientific.
A.D. 1600	A.D. 1600 Wm. Camden, 1551-1623, Antiquities	A.D. 1600
	R. Hackluyt, 1553-1616, Naval Histories	
	W. Raleigh, 1552-1617, History of the World	
	Sam. Daniel, 1567-1619, History of England	
	John Hayward, *d.* 1627, English History	
J. Ford, *b.* 1586, Drama	J. Speed, 1555-1629, Hist. of Great Britain	Robt. Burton, 1576-1639, 'Anat. of Melancholy'
Ben Jonson, 1574-1637, Drama	Henry Spelman, 1562-1641, Antiquities	Francis Bacon, 1560-1626, Philosophy, History
P. Massinger, 1585-1639, Drama	R. B. Cotton, 1570-1631, Antiquities	Wm. Harvey, 1578-1657, Circulation of Blood
J. Harrington, 1561-1612, Trans. Ariosto	S. Purchas, 1577-1628, Collection of Voyages	
E. Fairfax, *d.* 1632, Trans. Tasso		
M. Drayton, 1563-1631, Poems		
G. Sandys, 1577-1643, Translations, Poems	Thomas Roe, 1580-1641, Travels in the East	John Selden, 1584-1654, Antiquities, Law, Hist.
J. Daniel, 1562-1619, Poems	E. (Ld.) Herbert, 1581-1648, Hist. of Henry VIII.	J. Harrington, 1611-1677, 'Oceana'
W. Drummond, 1585-1649, Poems	R. Baker, *d.* 1645, Chron. of England	James Usher, 1580-1656, Divinity, Sermons, Hist.
John Donne, 1573-1662, Satires, Essays		Thos. Hobbes, 1588-1679, Metaphysics
Geo. Wither, 1588-1667, Satires	Thos. Fuller, 1608-1661, History, Biography	W. Dugdale, 1605-1686, Antiquities, History
James Shirley, 1594-1666, Drama	Clarendon, 1608-1673, History of Rebellion	W. Chillingworth, 1602-1644, Theology
Sir J. Suckling, 1609-1641, Poems	Thomas May, *d.* 1650, History of Parliament	Isaac Barrow, 1630-1677, Divinity, Mathematics
John Denham, 1615-1668, Tragedies, Cooper's Hill	Izaak Walton, 1593-1683, Biography	J. Pearson, 1612-1686, Divinity
Samuel Butler, 1612-1688, Hudibras	B. Whitlocke, 1605-1676, History	Brian Walton, 1600-1661, Polyglot Bible
John Milton, 1608-1674, 'Paradise Lost'	Mrs. Hutchinson, Biography	Jeremy Taylor, *d.* 1667, Divinity
Edm. Waller, 1605-1687, Poems	W. Prynne, 1660-1667, History, Politics	Algernon Sydney, 1617-1683, 'Discourse on Government'
A. Cowley, 1618-1667, Poems		Thos. Browne, 1605-1682, 'On Vulgar Errors'
A. Marvell, 1620-1678, Poems		Edmund Castell, *d.* 1685, Lexicon Heptaglotton
		R. Cudworth, 1617-1688, Metaphysics
		J. Evelyn, 1620-1706, 'Sylva'
		H. More, 1614-1687, Theology
Rochester, 1648-1680, Satires	Wm. Temple, 1629-1700, History	T. Sydenham, 1624-1689, Medicine
Roscommon, 1633-1684, Poems		W. Sherlock, *d.* 1689, Divinity
N. Lee, 1656-1691, Drama		J. Tillotson, 1630-1694, Sermons
John Bunyan, 1628-1688, 'Pilgrim's Progress'		Archbish. Leighton, 1613-1684, Divinity

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1600 John Dryden, 1631-1701, Tragedy, Satire, 'Virgil'	1600	1600
Thos. Otway, 1651-1685, Tragedy	R. Brady, *d.* 1700, Hist. of England	R. Baxter, 1615-1691, 'Saint's Everlasting Rest'
		R. Boyle, 1627-1691, Theology, Chemistry
1700 John Pomfret, 1667-1703, 'The Choice'	1700 Thomas Rymer, *d.* 1713, 'Fœdera'	1700
		John Ray, 1628-1705, Botany, Natural History
		John Locke, 1632-1704, Metaphysics
		R. South, 1633-1716, Divinity
John Philips, 1676-1708, 'Splendid Shilling'		
Thos. Parnell, 1679-1717, 'The Hermit'	S. Ockley, 1678-1720, Oriental History	Isaac Newton, 1642-1719, 'Principia'
George Farquhar, 1678-1707, Comedies	Thos. Hearne, 1678-1735, History and Antiquities	J. Flamsteed, 1646-1719, Astronomy
	John Strype, 1643-1737, Eccl. History, Biography	R. Hooke, 1635-1702, Nat. Philosophy
	Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715, 'History of his Time'	B. de Mandeville, 1670-1733, 'Fable of the Bees'
Matthew Prior, 1664-1721, Poems	L. Echard, 1671-1730, History of England	Edmund Halley, 1656-1742, Astronomy
R. Steele, *d.* 1729, Drama, 'Tatler,' 'Spectator'	Thomas Carte, 1686-1754, History of England.	Hans Sloane, 1660-1753, Natural History
Daniel Defoe, 1660-1731, 'Robinson Crusoe'	John Potter, 1674-1747, Antiquities	
Jos. Addison, 1672-1719, 'Spectator,' 'Cato'	Sir W. Petty, 1623-1682, Statistics	
Nich. Rowe, 1673-1718, Tragedy		
J. Vanbrugh, *d.* 1726, Comedy		A. Clark, 1696-1742, Divinity, Philosophy
W. Congreve, 1672-1728, Comedy		D. Waterland, 1683-1740, Divinity
John Gay, 1688-1732, 'Beggar's Opera,' Fables	Nathaniel Hooke, *d.* 1763, History of Rome	R. Bentley, 1661-1740, Divinity, Philology
M. W. Montague, 1690-1762, Letters	C. Middleton, 1683-1750, Life of Cicero, &c.	A. Baxter, 1687-1750, Metaphysics
Robert Blair, 1699-1746, 'The Grave'		Lord Bolingbroke, 1672-1751, Politics, Literature
S. Richardson, 1689-1761, 'Clarissa,' 'Pamela,' &c.		G. Berkeley, 1684-1753, Metaphysics, Ethics
		P. Doddridge, 1701-1751, Divinity
		Jas. Bradley, 1692-1762, Astronomy
		F. Hutcheson, 1694-1747, Moral Philosophy
		T. Sherlock, 1678-1761, Divinity
		C. Maclaurin, 1669-1746, Mathematics
		Earl of Chesterfield, 1694-1773, Letters

Imagination.	Fact.	Speculative and Scientific.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1700 D. Garrick, 1716-1779, Drama	1700	1700 Eph. Chambers, *d.* 1740, Cyclopædia
S. Foote, 1720-1771, Drama		
R. Dodsley, 1703-1764, Drama	John Swinton, 1703-1767, History, Antiquity	B. Hoadly, 1676-1761, Polemics
Jonathan Swift, 1667-1745, Satires, Tales, &c.		Bishop Butler, 1692-1752, Divinity
J. Watts, 1674-1748, Hymns		
Edward Young, 1681-1765, 'Night Thoughts'		
Alex. Pope, 1688-1744, Poetry		
Will. Somerville, 1692-1743, 'The Chase'		
Allan Ramsay, 1696-1758, 'The Gentle Shepherd'		
Richard Savage, 1698-1743, Poems		
Jas. Thomson, 1700-1748, 'Seasons'		J. Wesley, 1703-1791, Divinity
John Dyer, 1700-1758, Poems	Lord Lyttleton, 1709-1778, History, Poems, Divinity	D. Hartley, 1704-1757, 'Observations on Man'
H. Fielding, 1707-1754, 'Tom Jones,' &c.	James Granger, *d.* 1776, Biog. Hist. of England	Soame Jenyns, 1704-1787, Theology
Jas. Hammond, 1710-1742, Elegies		W. Warburton, 1709-1779, Theology, Criticism
Lawr. Sterne, 1713-1768, 'Tristram Shandy'		J. Jortin, 1698-1770, Divinity, Criticism
W. Shenstone, 1714-1763, Pastorals, &c.	Sam. Johnson, 1709-1784, Lives of Poets, Dict., &c.	Lord Kaimes, 1696-1782, Elements of Criticism
W. Collins, 1720-1756, Odes	Jonas Hanway, 1712-1786, Travels in the East	R. Lowth, 1710-1787, Divinity, Philology
H. Brooke, 1706-1783, 'Fool of Quality'	John Blair, *d.* 1782, Chronology	W. Blackstone, 1723-1780, Laws of England
M. Akenside, 1721-1770, 'Pleasures of Imagination'	David Hume, 1711-1776, Hist of Eng., Essays, &c.	
Thos. Gray, 1716-1771, Odes, Elegies		
T. Smollett, 1720-1771, Novels	W. Robertson, 1721-1793, Hist. of Charles V., &c.	Adam Smith, 1723-1790, 'Wealth of Nations'
R. Glover, 1712-1789, 'Leonidas'	Thos Warton, 1728-1790, Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Poems	Benj. Franklin, 1706-1790, Electricity, Philosophy
O. Goldsmith, 1731-1774, 'Traveller,' 'Vicar of Wakefield'		J. Harris, 1709-1780, Philology
W. Mason, 1725-1797, Poems, Biography		John Hunter, 1728-1793, Medicine
T. Chatterton, 1752-1770, Poems		F. Balguy, 1716-1795, Divinity
Ar. Murphy, 1727-1805, Drama	H. Walpole, *d.* 1797, 'Historic Doubts,' 'Royal and Noble Authors,' Letters	
Wm. Cowper, 1731-1800, Poems		

Imagination	Fact.	Speculative and Scientific.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1700	1700 J. Moore, 1730-1802, 'Views of Society and Manners'	1700
R. Cumberland, 1732-1811, Drama	James Bruce, 1730-1794, Travels	T. Reid, 1710-1796, Metaphysics
Eras. Darwin, 1732-1802, 'Botanic Garden'	W. Gilpin, 1724-1804, Biography, Divinity	Sir J. Reynolds, 1723-1792, Art
James Beattie, 1735-1803, Poems	E. Gibbon, 1737-1794 'Decl. and Fall of Rom. Empire'	
		S. Horsley, *d.* 1806, Theol.
R. Ferguson, 1750-1774, Poems	J. Whitaker, 1735-1808, Hist. of Manchester, &c.	Jos. Priestley, 1733-1804, Metaphysics, Chemistry
Geo. Colman, 1733-1794, Comedies	Edmund Burke, 1730-1797, Oratory	Hugh Blair, 1718-1800, Sermons
J. Wolcot (Peter Pindar), 1738-1819, Com. Poems	J. Boswell, 1740-1795, Biography	J. Horne Tooke, 1736-1812, Philology
J. Macpherson, 1738-1796, 'Ossian's Poems'		Wm. Jones, 1747-1794, Orientalist
		R. Price, 1723-1791, Metaphysics, Divinity
	J. Milner, 1744-1797, Church History	Wm. Paley, 1743-1805, Theology
Robert Burns, 1759-1796, Poems	Joseph Strutt, 1748-1802, Chronology, Antiquities	Richd. Porson, 1759-1808, Philology
J. Home, *d.* 1808, Drama		Thos. Beddoes, 1760-1808, Medicine
R. B. Sheridan, 1751-1816, Drama		N. Maskelyne, *d.* 1811, Astronomy
		G. L. Staunton, *d.* 1801, Chinese Code
Ann Radcliffe, 1764-1823, Novels	Charles Burney, *d.* 1814, 'History of Music'	W. Herschel, 1738-1822, Astronomy

END OF VOLUME V.

BRADBURY, EVANS, AND CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

00035473

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018